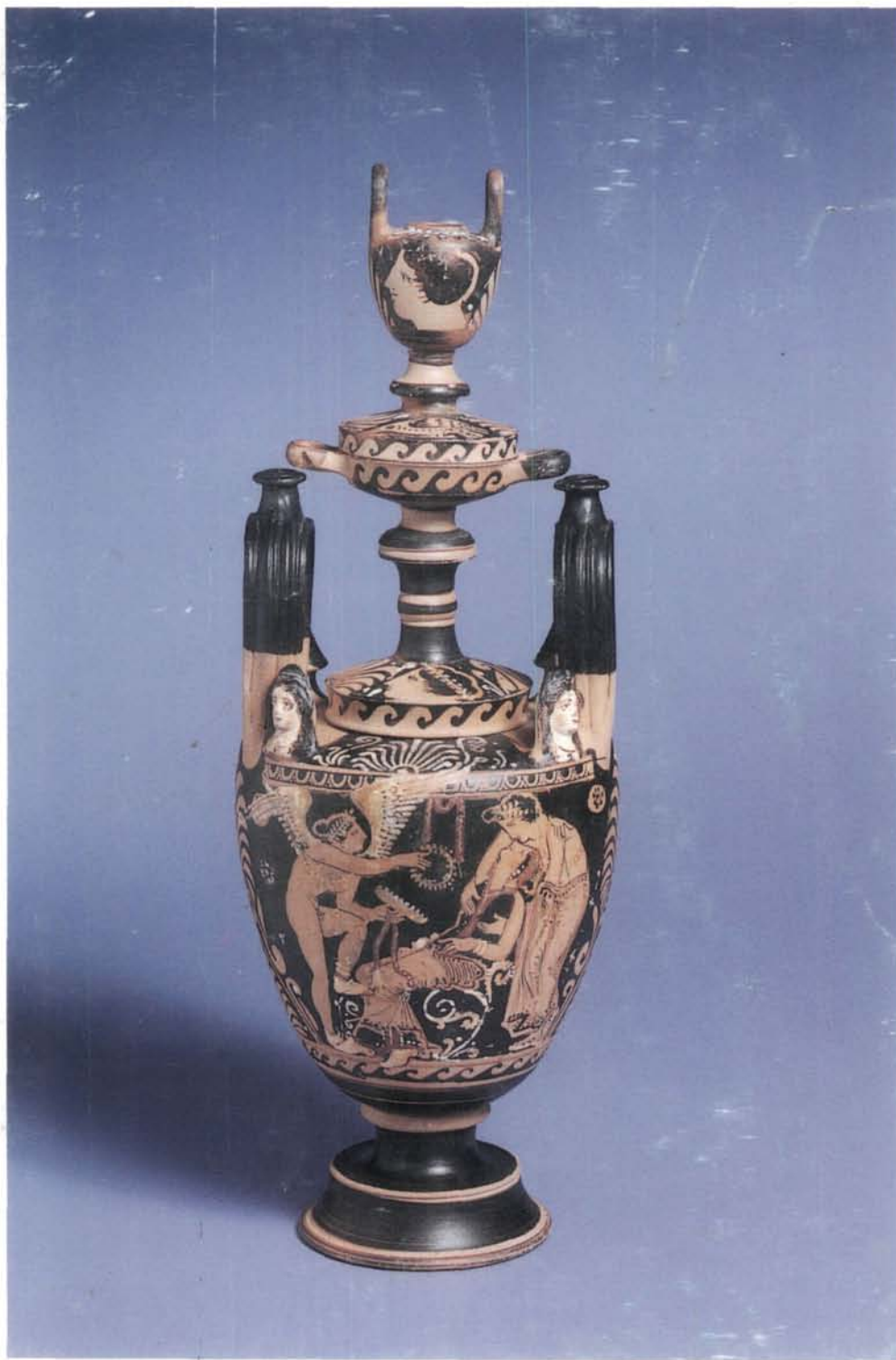


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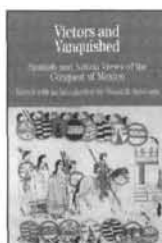
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Cover illustration: Lebes Gamikos (Marriage Bowl). This multi-tiered clay vase is characteristic of other pottery made in the Greek colonies of southern Italy. Such bowls were dedicated to Hera, goddess of marriage and the sexual life of women. This side depicts a loving couple blessed by Eros (left), who holds out a wreath and a dish with offerings. Circa 330 BC, Greek (southern Italy), Paestan workshop, attributed to Follower of Asteas, near the Aphrodite Painter. © Indiana University Art Museum: photograph by Michael Cavanagh and Kevin Montague, accession number 75.104. Our thanks to the staff of the Art Museum, especially Adriana Calinescu (Thomas T. Solley Curator of Ancient Art), and Graduate Assistant Julie Langford-Johnson. See the review essay by Ruth Mazo Karras, "Active/Passive, Acts/Passions: Greek and Roman Sexualities," pp. 1250–65.

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In This Issue

The contributions to this issue—three research articles, a trio of retrospective assessments of the impact of **Edward W. Said**'s *Orientalism* on the practice of history, and a review essay analyzing trends in the study of ancient Greece and Rome—range widely through time and space. They also address topics that are nothing if not diverse. Readers will find discussion below of subjects as different from one another as sexual practices and discourses of the distant past are from late twentieth-century diplomacy, as the structures of European medieval architecture are from late nineteenth-century Iranian debates on nationalism and modernity. Three themes run through the issue, nonetheless, which serve as connecting threads.

One is the way that built environments represent understandings of power, an issue that is flagged in both Americanist **Mary P. Ryan**'s consideration of city halls and **Maureen C. Miller**'s discussion of religion as a marker of difference in medieval Europe. A second theme, which has more to do with editorial intent and represents long-term efforts by this journal to encourage discipline-wide conversation, relates to cross-fertilization between areas of specialization. The author of this issue's review essay, **Ruth Mazo Karras**, is not an expert in the history of the ancient period but rather a medievalist who has done extensive work on the subject in question, sexualities. The contributors to the symposium "*Orientalism* Twenty Years On," similarly, do not work on Western Europe or the Middle East (the two regions that concern Said most in his book). These authors are, rather, specialists in American diplomatic affairs (**Andrew J. Rotter**), southeastern Europe (**K. E. Fleming**), and the European Middle Ages (**Kathleen Biddick**), whom we asked to discuss the impact (or lack of impact) or Said's work on their fields. The third connecting thread relates to the problems of alterity and distortion that, in part because of works such as *Orientalism*, historians have been concerned with for some time now. This theme is the result in part of editorial intervention (the three reviews of Said's work were commissioned) but in part of a fortuitous circumstance: the decision by **Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet** to submit to us an essay on Qajar-era humanism in Iran. This essay shows how scholars can explore the flow of ideologies and concepts across borders—including those separating Western Europe from the Middle East—in a fashion that respects the agency of all the actors involved.

Articles

Maureen C. Miller argues persuasively that religion—like race, class, and gender—can be and in medieval Europe often was an important category of difference. She looks at various ways that the Catholic clergy of the day set themselves apart from other members of society, not only in their literacy, education, and *mentalité* but also in their material culture. This is shown via consideration of the structural layout of the episcopal hall and analysis of some of the events that took place within it, including entertainments that were distinctly ecclesiastical and offered a critique of secular courtly culture and models of lordship. The value of the essay lies both in the new light it sheds on a subject that specialists have long debated (the overlaps of and divergences between clerical and lay culture in medieval Europe) and in the implications it has for all historians concerning the need to be prepared to look beyond the now familiar triumvirate of race, class, and gender when trying to unravel the various concepts of difference in play in a particular time and place.

Mary P. Ryan examines the public buildings of nineteenth-century American cities with an eye toward contributing to several different sorts of literatures and debates. She strives, first of all, to expand our understanding of the history of Western public architecture by adding to the case-study literature a careful look at the American City Hall as a physical structure and cultural symbol. Second, this essay challenges conventional narratives of American urban history that posit a decline from civic virtue to city corruption. The author also outlines a new technique of historical analysis, with potentially very wide applications, that is called “civic materialism” and involves bringing the built environment into political history as something that provides a context for, influences, and is a document to be interpreted while struggling to understand power relations. Ryan argues that “public architecture” needs to be seen as “more than an inert by-product of governmental processes,” since it “can affect the quality of civic life” in myriad ways, and backs up her claim effectively with fascinating detail concerning municipal buildings constructed in New Orleans, New York, and San Francisco between 1795 and 1892.

Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet shows that “Iranian humanism” is not the oxymoron that some readers may assume it to be when first encountering the phrase. Her essay presents the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the 1900s as a period of change and intellectual inquiry for Iran, during which ideas associated with humanism that built on both local and imported traditions and understandings were very much in the air. She is particularly attentive to the complex process by which new understandings of nationalism were incorporated into debates on humanism and learning among Iranian intellectuals, and to the way that here, as in many other contemporaneous contexts, notions of hygiene and modernity became intertwined. This study has much to offer all

historians concerned with the flow of concepts across cultural and physical borders, the role of humanism in shaping political agendas, and the visions that the literati elites of many countries have embraced of reinvigorating their homelands by promulgating notions of progress and citizenship that combine old and new symbols and values.

Review Essays

The first three contributors to this section of the issue—**Andrew J. Rotter**, a specialist in American foreign relations, **K. E. Fleming**, an expert in the history of the Balkans, and **Kathleen Biddick**, a medievalist—all examine the same book: Edward W. Said's *Orientalism*. Rotter, framing his contribution around the idea of "Saidism without Said," stresses the fact that references to *Orientalism* are still rarely made in works by diplomatic historians. This is ironic, in his view, because in their studies of U.S. foreign relations, many people in his field have been embracing the concern with rethinking and putting on a more equal footing the interactions between cultures that is at the heart of Said's book. Fleming, meanwhile, shows that the situation in Balkan studies is radically different: historians in her field routinely cite Said, and the issue debated now is the extent to which "Orientalism" and "Balkanism" should be treated as comparable phenomena. That is, while Western intellectuals have often treated both southeastern Europe and the Middle East as backward "others," have they done so in the same way? Several recent books discussed by Fleming have provided different sorts of answers to this question. Biddick, finally, uses her grounding in the study of a period as opposed to a place that is often used as an opposite to the modern West to raise another set of issues relating to Said. Can his model travel through time as well as space, and which parts of his approach have been easiest and most difficult for medievalists to accept and adapt?

Each of the authors, while grappling with different questions specific to his or her field, also has insightful things to say about the strengths and weaknesses of a book that has made an indelible mark on many different intellectual landscapes. *Orientalism* has become one of those broadly influential works that historians can praise, reject, argue with specific features of, claim should be modified, and so forth—but can only ignore completely at their own peril. The three reviews of it provided here constitute, therefore, a significant service to the field in delineating sharply a series of interesting approaches to Said's arguments and impact.

Standing on its own is another review essay, by **Ruth Mazo Karras**, which focuses on five recent works on sexuality in the ancient Mediterranean basin. Karras approaches the topic as that of an outsider interested in what the

literature in question has to contribute to general understanding of the topic of sexuality. She argues, convincingly, that classical Greece and Rome are of special importance where the historiography in question is concerned, because of the many claims that have been made about the links between ancient and modern approaches to sexuality. Paying particularly close attention to concepts of “active” and “passive” sexual roles and the ways these roles shape ideas about gender, this review essay is filled with valuable insights into issues ranging from Michel Foucault’s effects on historical scholarship to the debates over “social construction” versus “essentialism” that continue to rage in many subfields.



Frontispiece: Bergamo, Aula della Curia, blind window on east wall with early bishops Narnus and Viator (reproduced courtesy of Fototeca della Diocesi di Bergamo/Archivio Edizioni Bolis).

Religion Makes a Difference: Clerical and Lay Cultures in the Courts of Northern Italy, 1000–1300

MAUREEN C. MILLER

MEDIEVAL HISTORIANS HAVE DESCRIBED “clerical culture” in various ways, generating very different meanings and connotations. In the most traditional formulation, culture was assumed to be synonymous with intellectual life and to be more or less clerical, since literacy was largely the domain of the clergy.¹ It is in this sense that Jacques Le Goff, in an article entitled “Culture cléricale et traditions folkloriques dans la civilisation mérovingienne,” used the phrase. Clerical, or elite literate, culture stood in contrast to “traditions folkloriques,” or popular culture.² Le Goff’s opposition gave the concept new currency while eroding its previously uncontested positive connotations by underscoring this clerical culture’s elitism.³ As interest in

In preparing this essay, I profited greatly from the suggestions of Barbara H. Rosenwein, Gary M. Radke, Mack P. Holt, Peter J. Rabinowitz, Christopher S. Celenza, my colleagues in the History Department at Hamilton College, and the anonymous reviewers of the *AHR*. This research was generously funded by the Office of the Dean of Faculty at Hamilton College (thanks to Bobby Fong, Barbara Gold), George Mason University (thanks to my chair, Jack Censer, and dean, Daniele Struppa), a Stanford Humanities Center Fellowship in 1996–1997, and a fellowship in 1999–2000 at the Harvard University Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti. Don Bruno Caccia of the Ufficio dei Beni Culturali Ecclesiastici della Curia di Bergamo graciously provided information on and access to the frescos in the Aula della Curia, and I am also grateful to architect Pino Calzana for his observations on the building and copies of plans. Christine R. Ingersoll at Hamilton College produced all the figures. Finally, I thank John G. Ackerman of Cornell University Press and the trustees of Cornell University Press for permission to reprint some material from my book, *The Bishop’s Palace*.

¹ Thus in Louis John Paetow, *A Guide to the Study of Medieval History* (1917; rpt edn., Millwood, N.Y., 1980), topics such as the development of the Latin language, the classical heritage, medieval schools and the rise of the universities, books and libraries, and the history of philosophy constitute medieval “culture.” Even if vernacular literature is briefly considered, classic treatments of medieval culture emphasized the Latin learning of monasteries, cathedral schools, and universities: Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), esp. 32–54; Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern, 1948), most pointedly on 33.

² *Annales* 22 (1967): 780–91.

³ Le Goff continued to use and develop the idea—see, for example, the essays on ecclesiastical time and on St. Marcellus in *Pour un autre Moyen Age: Temps, travail et culture en Occident* (Paris, 1977)—and other scholars writing on popular culture employed the concept: Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou, village occitan de 1294 à 1324* (Paris, 1975); Jean Claude Schmitt, *Le saint levrier: Guinefort, guerisseur d’enfants depuis le XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1979); Carlo Ginzburg, *I benandanti: Ricerche sulla stregoneria e sui culti agrari tra cinque e seicento* (Turin, 1966), *Il formaggio e i vermi: Il cosmo di un mugnaio del '500* (Turin, 1976), and *Religioni delle classi popolari* (Bologna, 1979); Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*, Janos M. Bak and Paul A. Hollingsworth, trans. (Cambridge, 1988). Even scholars who acknowledged and explored secular elite culture maintained a very powerful vision of clerical culture. Georges Duby, discussing the eleventh century, concluded: “All the contemporary judgments that survive have come down to us because they were recorded in writing—and the writing was done by priests or monks. In those days the Church had an exorbitant cultural monopoly. It alone could create enduring objects capable of lasting through the

popular culture gave way to a more pointed exploration of oppression in medieval society,⁴ “clerical culture” took on more sinister connotations. The most prominent example is David Noble’s book *A World without Women: The Christian Clerical Culture of Western Science*, in which the phrase is general shorthand not only for learned or literate culture but also for misogynist, exclusive, and repressive ecclesiastical culture.⁵

My primary goal here is to redeem and redefine this category of “clerical culture.” It is a useful one. From the eleventh century, at least in European society, the clergy were different from the laity, and understanding these differences is important because power was at stake. But for “clerical culture” to be a useful category of analysis, a better definition is needed. Although a handy polemical bludgeon, the monolithic and sinister clerical culture of recent discourse is overly simplistic. Lay culture could be just as misogynist and oppressive as clerical culture: there were negative and positive aspects to both.⁶ Moreover, the clergy and the laity were socially complex groups. Each had its elites and non-elites, and so Le Goff’s opposition of clerical to popular suppressed important diversity on both sides.⁷ The definition I use and suggest here draws on work in the burgeoning field of cultural studies to help surmount these simplifications and asymmetries: by “clerical culture,” I mean the particular way of life of the clergy, their institutions, their values, beliefs, and customs, their use of objects and their material life.⁸

ages.” Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France*, Barbara Bray, trans. (New York, 1983), 15.

⁴ John Van Engen, “The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem,” *AHR* 91 (June 1986): 528–30; Paul Freedman and Gabrielle M. Spiegel, “Medievalisms Old and New: The Rediscovery of Alterity in North American Medieval Studies,” *AHR* 103 (June 1998): 677–704, but esp. 693, 698; and Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore, Md., 1997), 77–78. Key works in this turn are R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* (Oxford, 1987); David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J., 1996); *Christendom and Its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution and Rebellion, 1000–1500*, Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl, eds. (Cambridge, 1996).

⁵ David F. Noble, *A World without Women: The Christian Clerical Culture of Western Science* (Oxford, 1992); see also Mario Biagioli, “Knowledge, Freedom, and Brotherly Love: Homosociality at the Accademia dei Lincei,” *Configurations* 3 (1995): 139–66, but esp. 157; Dyan Elliott, *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1999).

⁶ Feminist scholarship on courtly romance has amply demonstrated this: Kathryn Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law* (Philadelphia, 1991); R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* (Chicago, 1991); E. Jane Burns, *Bodytalk: When Women Speak in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia, 1993); Roberta L. Krueger, *Women Readers and the Ideology of Gender in Old French Verse Romance* (Cambridge, 1993); Sarah Kay, “The Contradictions of Courtly Love and the Origins of Courtly Poetry: The Evidence of the ‘Lauzengiers,’” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 26 (1996): 209–53. Burns provides a good overview of much of this literature in “Speculum of the Courtly Lady: Women, Love, and Clothes,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 29 (1999): 253–92. Historical considerations of the exercise of lordship have also increasingly emphasized its violent and repressive aspects. See Eleanor Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840–1066* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988); Thomas N. Bisson, *Tormented Voices: Power, Crisis, and Humanity in Rural Catalonia, 1140–1200* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998).

⁷ The classic critique is Natalie Zemon Davis, “Some Tasks and Themes in the Study of Popular Religion,” in Charles Trinkaus with Heiko Oberman, eds., *The Pursuit of Holiness* (Leiden, 1974), but see also Julia M. H. Smith, “Oral and Written: Saints, Miracles, and Relics in Brittany c. 850–1250,” *Speculum* 65 (1990): 309–43.

⁸ A definition of culture I have borrowed from John Clarke, Stuart Hall, Tony Jefferson, and Brian Roberts, “Subcultures, Cultures and Class,” *Cultural Studies* 7–8 (1975): 10; see also Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989); Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula A.

My exploration of clerical and lay courtly cultures in northern Italy is aimed particularly at demonstrating that it was not just the *mentalité* of the clergy that set them apart. Their material culture—their domestic architecture, their artistic expression—also differed significantly from that of their lay counterparts. Second, these differences are important to understanding both how ecclesiastical and lay conceptions of authority differed and how power was asserted and contested in medieval society.

Finally, the clerical culture I describe here was not only political in the sense that it made claims to authority and had built institutions of governance, it also formed subjective identity. Religious indoctrination generally aims to form the individual's view of self (as sinful and in need of redemption, for example, in Christianity), and adepts such as the Catholic clergy underwent a more intensive "formation" in order to set them apart from common believers. Religious formation functioned as a way to differentiate one group of people from another; it constructed difference in ways akin to race, ethnicity, and gender. Although religion has long been a subject of historical inquiry and its ability to form strong allegiances and distinct communities has been much studied, it has been curiously absent from historians' discussions of diversity and the construction of identity.⁹ These discussions have predominantly focused on the categories of social class, race, ethnicity, and gender. Their effects have been immensely salutary, producing more inclusive and richly textured narratives of the past, vigorous debate, and greater theoretical sophistication. But religion tends to enter into these discourses only tangentially, despite the fact that large numbers of people, past and present, define their identities through it.

Indeed, as the following explication of a specific example of religious culture will show, religion can share the defining characteristics that Joan Scott once set out for gender as an analytical category.¹⁰ Scott posited two primary and interrelated characteristics: gender is a "constitutive element of social relations based on perceived differences" and a "primary way of signifying power relations." She further defined four aspects involved in gender as a constitutive element of social

Treichler, eds., *Cultural Studies* (New York, 1992); Ken Gelder and Sarah Thornton, eds., *The Subcultures Reader* (New York, 1997).

⁹ In the *AHR* over the last twenty years, for example, discussions of religion and identity have focused on nationalism and political identities: Nikki R. Keddie, "Iranian Revolutions in Comparative Perspective," 88 (June 1983): 579–98; André du Toit, "No Chosen People: The Myth of the Calvinist Origins of Afrikaner Nationalism and Racial Ideology," 88 (October 1983): 920–52; Rashid Khalidi, "Arab Nationalism: Historical Problems in the Literature," 96 (December 1991): 1363–73; Caroline Ford, "Private Lives and Public Order in Restoration France: The Seduction of Emily Loveday," 99 (February 1994): 21–43. American historians tend to bring religion into discussions of diversity as a form of (or always in conjunction with) ethnicity: Timothy L. Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America," *AHR* 83 (December 1978): 1155–85.

Of leading historians thinking and writing about diversity and identity, Natalie Zemon Davis has given the greatest emphasis to religion: "City Women and Religious Change," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (London, 1975), 65–95; *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), esp. 203–07. On the whole, however, I have to agree with Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing: "Concepts of belief are central to questions of subjectivity and identity in western culture, yet they are repeatedly downplayed by students of cultural studies, whose models of culture are tacitly if not willfully secular." "Before History, Before Difference: Bodies, Metaphor, and the Church in Anglo-Saxon England," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 11 (1998): 316.

¹⁰ Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *AHR* 91 (December 1986): 1053–75.

relations: “culturally available symbols that evoke multiple (and often contradictory) representations,” “normative concepts that set forth interpretations of meanings,” notions of politics, social institutions, and organizations, and subjective identity.¹¹ These aspects will become clear in the course of this analysis of courts and courtliness, but Scott’s two primary characteristics are particularly evident in the heightened inscription of religious differences in the eleventh century that gave rise to a strongly distinctive clerical culture.

Even in the early Middle Ages, religion was a “constitutive element of social relations based on perceived differences.” In the movements of Germanic peoples that remade the cultural and political landscape of Europe, those who had converted to Christianity and those who had not were highly present categories in both the missionary discourses of the era and the self-justifying political rhetoric of ambitious conquerors. Then, there were the Jews. These, St. Augustine argued, should be tolerated rather than converted so they would be an ever-present witness of the “truth of and historical basis for christological prophecy.” According to Augustine, the Jews’ dispersed and degraded existence would remind Christians of the wretchedness of rejecting Christ.¹² The religious alterity of Judaism remained as the Germanic peoples were progressively Christianized over the early Middle Ages. Beginning in the eleventh century, however, European Christians displayed an increasingly intense interest in defining new differences through religion. A greater identification with Christian devotion and institutions heightened awareness of and violence against religious “others.” Pogroms against Jews within Europe and the launching of the First Crusade against “infidels” in the East were the tragic results of Europeans’ stronger Christian identity.¹³ The same intensifying devotion also led Western Christians to define distinctions among themselves using religious criteria. They demanded that their religious leaders, the clergy, be different from common believers.

The movement to create this religious difference is usually called the Gregorian reform after one of its most vociferous proponents, Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085). But it actually had its origins in the demands of lay people that their clergy be held to higher behavioral standards.¹⁴ Before this movement, the clergy were all but

¹¹ Scott, “Gender,” 1067–68.

¹² Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982), 19–21.

¹³ Robert Chazan, “1007–1012: Initial Crisis for Northern European Jewry,” *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 38–39 (1972): 101–17; Gavin Langmuir, “From Ambrose of Milan to Emicho of Leininger: The Transformation of Hostility against Jews in Northern Christendom,” in *Gli ebrei nell’alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1980), 313–68, but esp. 354 and following; Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*, 27–45, 80–91; Langmuir, *History, Religion, and Antisemitism* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990), and *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley, 1990).

¹⁴ Traditional accounts of the reform movement place its origins within the church, either emphasizing the agency of the papacy or of monastic foundations such as Cluny. Augustin Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, 3 vols. (Louvain, 1924–37); Raffaello Morghen, *Gregorio VII e la Riforma della Chiesa nel secolo XI* (Palermo, 1974); Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, 1988); Giuseppe Fornasari, “La riforma gregoriana nel ‘Regnum Italiae,’” *Studi Gregoriani* 13 (1989): 281–320. Work is accumulating, however, to demonstrate not only that the reform “program” was being enunciated in the early eleventh century, before the papacy addressed itself to these issues, but also that lay discontents played a crucial role in defining the reform agenda and propelling it forward. Cinzio Violante, “I movimenti patarini e la riforma ecclesiastica,” *Annuario dell’Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore* (1955–56, 1956–59): 209–23;

indistinguishable from the laity: they took wives, raised families, and worked for a living. But from the early eleventh century, common people raised anxious concerns about these similarities. They wanted the clergy to be “pure” in order to ensure the efficacy of the sacraments they performed, and being “pure” meant *not* acting like a lay person.¹⁵ Thus the reform movement demanded that clerics not cohabit with women, not produce heirs and pass on property to them, not engage in certain kinds of economic practices common in the lay world (offering “gifts” or payments in return for offices, also known as “simony”), not dress like secular males, and, in sum, not live like lay people. As in any attempt to change human behavior radically, the Gregorian reform was not uniformly successful in making priests think and act differently. But my research into the material culture of the medieval clergy has convinced me that the movement was much more successful in this endeavor than has been acknowledged.¹⁶ Certainly, the enforcement of celibacy was never complete, but institutional pressure, particularly through the training of clerics, was strong enough to inculcate different patterns of thought and behavior. The power of the clergy was predicated on such difference—and here we come to the second key characteristic in Scott’s definition, power. Although, theologically, the church insisted that the sacraments performed by unworthy clerics were efficacious, some lay people were never convinced of this, and church leaders knew that clerics who acted like lay persons provoked criticism, weakening their claims to authority. Clerical power was predicated on and asserted through a distinctive religious culture. This clerical culture was a “primary way of signifying power relations” in medieval society. This was not only true for the local politics of individual communities but also for power at the highest levels: during the investiture conflict of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, papal and imperial armies took the field over an issue of ritual (investiture) that was understood as symbolizing authority.

R. I. Moore, “Family, Cult, and Community on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, ser. 5, 30 (1980): 49–69; Johannes Laudage, *Priesterbild und Reformpapsttum im 11. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, 1984); John Howe, “The Nobility’s Reform of the Medieval Church,” *AHR* 93 (April 1988): 317–39; Amy G. Remensnyder, “Pollution, Purity, and Peace: An Aspect of Social Reform between the Late Tenth Century and 1076,” in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, Thomas Head and Richard Landes, eds. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992), 280–307; Maureen C. Miller, *The Formation of a Medieval Church: Ecclesiastical Change in Verona, 950–1150* (Ithaca, 1993); Karl Leyser, “On the Eve of the First European Revolution,” in *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Gregorian Revolution and Beyond*, Timothy Reuter, ed. (London, 1994), 1–19.

¹⁵ Bernard Verkamp, “Cultic Purity and the Law of Celibacy,” *Review for Religious* 30 (1971): 199–217; Remensnyder, “Pollution, Purity, and Peace”; Moore, “Family, Cult, and Community,” 66. On the canon law of celibacy, see Jean Gaudemet, “Le célibat ecclésiastique: Le droit et la pratique du XI^e au XIII^e s.,” *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung* 109 (1982): 1–31; Anne Llewellyn Barstow, *Married Priests and the Reforming Papacy: The Eleventh-Century Debates* (New York, 1982); Joseph E. Lynch, “Marriage and Celibacy of the Clergy: The Discipline of the Western Church; An Historico-Canonical Synopsis,” *The Jurist* 32 (1972): 14–38, 189–212; Charles A. Frazee, “Clerical Celibacy in the Western Church,” *Church History* 41 (1972): 149–67.

¹⁶ This article grew out of my work on episcopal palaces: Maureen C. Miller, *The Bishop’s Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2000), but evidence of the effectiveness of the reform movement may also be found in more traditional written sources: Miller, “Clerical Identity and Reform: Notarial Descriptions of the Secular Clergy in the Po Valley, 750–1200,” *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 32 (1996): 311–32, rpt. in *Medieval Purity and Piety: Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform*, Michael Frassetto, ed. (New York, 1998).

The symbolic language of clerical culture and the meanings inscribed through it are apparent in the domestic architecture of clerical leaders. Like their secular counterparts, bishops had palaces. In describing elite architectural forms (palaces, castles, private chapels) and in elucidating the "courtly culture" staged in elite residences, historians have tended to use both lay and ecclesiastical sources to delineate one homogeneous elite culture.¹⁷ This scholarly holdover of the elite versus popular culture paradigm, however, has obliterated important distinctions between secular and ecclesiastical residences, between lay and clerical culture.

During the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the bishop's palace was usually the only palace in the Italian city, and this coincided with the great age of episcopal power in northern Italy. Bishops in this era exercised significant temporal powers: many of them controlled all public authority in their cities (rights of justice, collection of dues, tolls, and taxes); others wielded partial rights. All of them were significant local lords by virtue of the landed holdings of their sees. This heyday of episcopal lordship coincided with the period of the Gregorian reform, but it came to an end in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. After a series of wars with Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in the mid-twelfth century, the newly formed citizen governments of these urban centers (the "communes") wrested public authority from their bishops. One of the ways bishops reacted was architectural: they expanded and renovated their palaces extensively and competed directly with the communes for visual prominence in the city center.¹⁸

Over the entire period, the central space in both secular and episcopal residences was the hall. But close scrutiny of the architectural characteristics of episcopal halls, their decoration, and the activities that took place within them reveals important differences between the culture of clerical elites and that of secular elites. Some forms and practices were shared, but the meanings constructed by bishops, their self-representation and claims to authority, were distinctly religious.

IN COMPARISON WITH THE HALLS OF SECULAR ELITES, the most striking characteristic of halls in episcopal palaces is their elongation. The eleventh-century hall of the bishop of Como is an extreme example: it was five times as long as it was wide. The

¹⁷ For example, Michael Thompson, *The Medieval Hall: The Basis of Secular Domestic Life 600–1600 AD* (Aldershot, 1995); Jacques Gardelles, "Les palais dans l'Europe occidentale chrétienne du X^e au XII^e siècle," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale X^e–XII^e siècles* 19 (1976): 115–34; Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, Thomas Dunlap, trans. (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 54, 56–57, 104–05, 109, 458–88. C. Stephen Jaeger goes further in *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 932–1200* (Philadelphia, 1985), arguing that courtly culture originated with the clergy.

¹⁸ On episcopal lordship, see Paolo Golinelli, "Strutture organizzative e vita religiosa nell'età del particolarismo," in *Storia dell'Italia religiosa*, Vol. 1: *L'antichità e il medioevo*, G. De Rosa, T. Gregory, and A. Vauchez, eds. (Bari, 1993), 155–72; Giovanni Tabacco, *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy: Structures of Political Rule*, Rosalind Brown Jensen, trans. (Cambridge, 1989), esp. 166–76; *I poteri temporali dei vescovi in Italia e in Germania nel medioevo*, Carlo Guido Mor and Heinrich Schmidinger, eds., *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico*, Quaderno 3 (Bologna, 1979); George Dameron, *Episcopal Power and Florentine Society, 1000–1320* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); Miller, *Formation*, 143–74; Robert Brentano, *Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 1968); *Vescovi e diocesi in Italia nel medioevo (secoli IX–XIII)* (Padua, 1964). The comments here on the architectural expression of power are based on my book *The Bishop's Palace*.

contemporary Pistoian episcopal audience hall (*aula*) was roughly four times longer than it was wide, and the bishop of Parma's roughly three times longer. As there are no excavated Italian comital or ducal residences from this period, it is impossible to compare the narrow character of these eleventh-century episcopal halls with their direct secular equivalents. The late twelfth and early thirteenth-century halls built by the new communal governments of these cities, however, were proportioned quite differently: they were nearly square.¹⁹ These differently configured halls certainly demonstrated different styles of lordship and statements about power: in the way these spaces structured human interaction, the wider dimensions of the communal hall bespoke collective lordship and a more broadly shared access to power, while the narrower confines of the bishop's hall suited personal lordship and a more hierarchical conception of power. Several episcopal halls (at Pistoia, Parma, and Florence, for example) were actually narrower at one end, focusing the vision of the audience on the bishop in an emphatic fashion.

The reason for the elongated character of the episcopal hall is that its proportions were based on those of the cathedral.²⁰ This relationship is best illustrated at Parma. The construction history of the cathedral of Santa Maria is complex, but it is intimately related to the building and rebuilding of the episcopal residence. The bishop of Parma had moved his see to a site just beyond the old Roman walls in the mid-eleventh century. Either Bishop Ugo (1027–1044) or Bishop Cadalus (1045–1071) first built a new residence, calling it a “palace.” Then a new cathedral was begun on a site across from the new palace; it was consecrated in 1106, but the church and its extraordinary sculptural program were not completed until circa 1160.²¹ In the 1170s, after the cathedral was completed, Bishop Bernard expanded the episcopal palace, adding at least one other hall. After the commune built its palace (1221–1223), Bishop Grazia (1224–1236) renovated and expanded his, adding both a gracious façade and another new hall.

The proportions of all these episcopal halls parallel the proportions of the cathedral. Moreover, they emphasize different liturgical positions of the bishop in his church. Both the original mid-eleventh-century hall and one added by Bernard in the 1170s measured 15 meters by 7 meters (2.1 times longer than it is wide). The distance from the high altar to the entrance of the cathedral was 55 meters, and the

¹⁹ Federico Frigerio, *Il duomo di Como e il broletto* (Como, 1950), 384, fig. 410B; Robert Douglass Russell, “Vox Civitatis: Aspects of Thirteenth-Century Communal Architecture in Lombardy” (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1988), 36. Unfortunately, a direct comparison with the hall of the thirteenth-century communal palace of Parma is not possible; too little of it survives to ascertain the measurements: Juergen Schulz, “The Communal Buildings of Parma,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 26 (1982): 279–323.

²⁰ No sources survive for northern Italy in which bishops discussed their intentions in designing and building their palaces; we cannot know if they saw their halls as “copies” of their cathedrals. The spatial resonances produced, however, do conform to “medieval” notions of similarity, redolent with religious meaning, not to modern concepts of formal resemblance. See Richard Krautheimer, “Introduction to an ‘Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture,’” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 7–20. But the significance of numerical relations generally in the Middle Ages and the repetition of these relations between cathedrals and episcopal halls in other sees strongly suggest that the parallels were intentional. Since communal halls were built with very different proportions, we can be sure that the relations are not just the result of general building practices. See Miller, *Bishop's Palace*, 117–18.

²¹ Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, *La Cattedrale di Parma* (Parma, 1974), 31–89. The dating of the cathedral has been much debated; for an overview and bibliography, see G. Zanichelli, “Parma,” in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale* (Rome, 1991–), 9: 235.

width of the nave 25.5 meters (2.1 times longer than it is wide) (Figure 1).²² This geometry assimilated the role of bishop as celebrant of the Eucharist into his role as lord holding court from one end of his hall. His sense of space, whether gazing out over his flock assembled in the church or over those gathered before him in his hall, would have been similar. Conversely, those coming into the bishop's hall were placed in a spatial relationship to him that approximated their relationship to him in the cathedral. The siting of these halls on an east-west axis, like the cathedral, intensified this association. The spatial relationship created by these shared proportions was one of dependence. The salvation of the believer standing in the nave of the cathedral depended on the mystical sacrifice of the Eucharist offered by the bishop at the altar. The bishop assumed the same place, spatially, in his hall, constructing a similar position of dependence for the petitioners and guests who encountered him there. Their salvation in this space also depended on him.

The proportions, axial alignment, and spatial relations of Bishop Grazia's new hall were different but were also related to the cathedral (Figure 2). The new hall measured 25 by 14 meters (1.8 times longer than it is wide) and was oriented north-south; its seven beautiful three-lighted (trifore) windows looked out over the piazza and across to the façade of the cathedral. While the proportions of the earlier episcopal halls placed the bishop at the altar, the proportions of Grazia's hall positioned the bishop at the dividing line of lay and clerical space in the cathedral. Like many Romanesque churches, Parma's cathedral had a raised choir. At the seventh bay of the nave (note the parallel with the seven windows establishing a rhythm down Grazia's hall), a series of staircases led down into the crypt and up into the sanctuary. This demarcation between the space reserved to the clergy for the celebration of the sacred mysteries of the Mass and the space of the laity in the nave of the church was quite pronounced: the sanctuary was raised above the nave, and the staircases visually marked the point of division. The dimensions of the nave from the top of the stairs were 45 by 25.5 meters (1.8 times longer than it is wide). These proportions coordinate the space of the bishop's hall to the place of the people in the church; if the bishop sits at the end of this hall, he occupies the same place that in the cathedral demarcates the transition from lay to clerical space. This point of transition was emphasized liturgically through pontifical benediction: it was exactly at this point, at the top of the stairs leading into the presbytery, that processions into the church paused and the bishop turned to the people to give them his blessing.²³

In choosing this place for himself, the bishop both underscored the separateness of the more worldly concerns of the people in the hall from his function as high priest and claimed a liminal status as a figure negotiating the boundary of the secular and spiritual worlds. Note what has been abandoned in the changed configuration of the episcopal hall. In their proportional relationship to the

²² Quintavalle, *La Cattedrale di Parma*, plate 38; and Maria Ortensia Banzola, "Il Palazzo del Vescovado," *Parma nell'Arte* 14 (1982): 41. I thank Don A. Bianchi at the Curia of Parma for giving me access to the east wing of the palace while restoration of the great hall was under way (1998) and plans of this floor. (Banzola only publishes plans of the ground floor.)

²³ Quintavalle, *La Cattedrale di Parma*, 346.

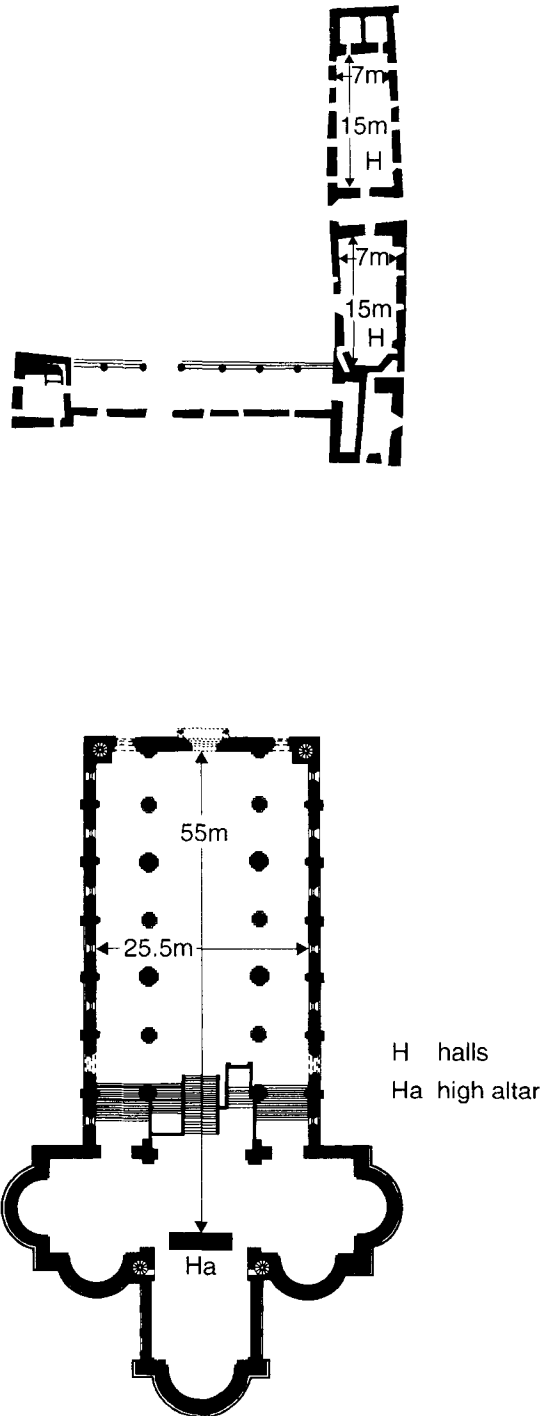


FIGURE 1: Parma, Palazzo del Vescovado, halls in the late twelfth century in relation to the cathedral (drawn by Christine R. Ingersoll).

cathedral, previous halls had joined the bishop's spiritual role as priest to his secular roles (lord to his vassals, landlord to his tenants). This was an optimistic view of a seamless lordship of the bishop in his city. It echoed the Gregorian vision

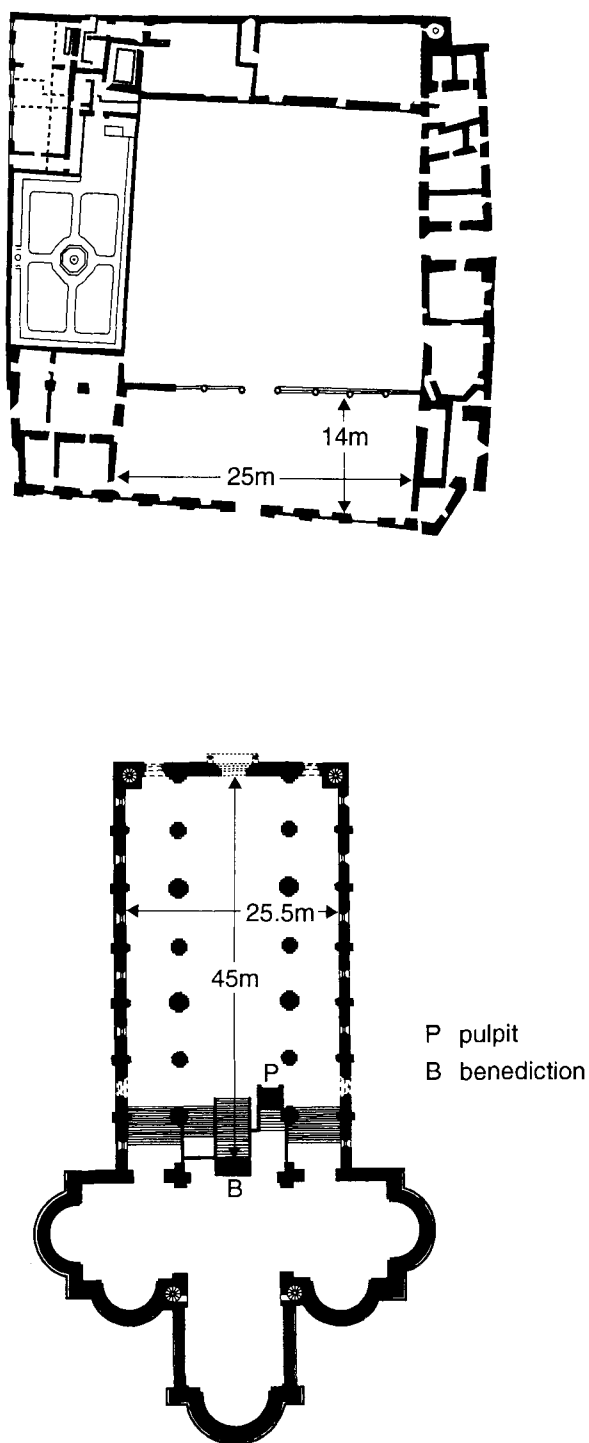


FIGURE 2: Parma, Palazzo del Vescovado, Bishop Grazia's thirteenth-century hall in relation to the cathedral (C. Ingersoll).

of balancing the worldly with the spiritual duties of the episcopal office. Bishop Grazia's early thirteenth-century hall abandons this optimistic vision of a lordship that encompassed both the spiritual and the worldly and acknowledged the changed position of the bishop in the Italian city. He was no longer both spiritual and secular lord of the town. Now he was a negotiator of boundaries, defending the rights of his church against the predations of the laity. Grazia's hall reflects the position of the bishops articulated in contemporary hagiographical sources. Sainly bishops are portrayed as defenders of ecclesiastical rights and religious values against myriad secular forces. Bishop Lanfranc of Pavia did constant battle with the consuls of the city's communal government defending the property and jurisdictions of his church. Bishop John Cacciafronte was martyred in Vicenza defending the poor and the lands of the see against "rich men, nobles, and magnates."²⁴

NOT ONLY THE DIMENSIONS of the episcopal hall had religious meaning, the decor of the hall also articulated ecclesiastical themes. The numerous halls in the Lateran, the medieval papal residence at Rome, were all decorated with religious themes stressing apostolic origins, the preeminence of Rome, and the true lineage of St. Peter.²⁵ Sacred genealogy—tracing episcopal authority from a founding Apostle or

²⁴ Lanfranc's life is in the *Acta Sanctorum* (hereafter, *AASS*), 3d edn. (Paris, 1863–70), 5 Junii: 532–42; for Cacciafronte, see Giorgio Cracco, "Ancora sulla «Sainteté en Occident» di André Vauchez (con un appendice sul Processo Cacciafronte del 1223–1224)," *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3, 26 (1985): 905; see also Miller, *Bishop's Palace*, 157–63.

²⁵ Most of these are known only through early modern drawings, since the Lateran was extensively rebuilt and redecorated in the sixteenth century. The theme for the paintings decorating Leo III's great eleven-apsed *triclinium*, later called the Hall of Councils (*Aula Concilii*), was the Apostles preaching to the gentiles: each of the side apses was decorated with an Apostle, and the main apse depicted Christ and the Blessed Virgin with saints Peter and Paul. In another of Leo's halls, a central image of Christ and the Apostles was flanked by images announcing the transfer of empire from East to West and a very particular view of the relationship between sacred and secular authority. To His right, Christ gives the keys to Pope Sylvester and an oriflamme to the emperor Constantine; to His left, St. Peter gives the pallium to Pope Leo III and an oriflamme to Charlemagne. The emperor receives his authority from Christ, but through St. Peter and his successors. Decorative messages were updated with later popes, but sacred themes always predominate. In the twelfth century, the area just outside the *Sancta Sanctorum* was painted with full-length images of saints and prophets and an array of scenes from sacred history: the Crucifixion, the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, a blessing Christ, and episodes from Genesis. No theory of an iconographic program has yet been advanced for these images. But some additions to Lateran decor were more pointed (and more polemical). Calixtus II (1119–1124) celebrated his triumph over Emperor Henry V and his supporters in the Concordat of Worms by having a very particular set of frescos painted in an anteroom just off the great *Aula Concilii*. The paintings depict reforming popes—Alexander II, Gregory VII, Victor III, Urban II, Paschal II, and Calixtus himself—victorious over the imperial anti-popes set up against them. The victorious pontiffs are enthroned in full pontificalia; the anti-popes (Cadalus/Honorius II, Guibert of Ravenna/Clement III, Theodoric, Albert, Maginulf/Sylvester IV, and Maurice Burdinus/Gregory VIII) crouch under their feet, serving as footstools (*scabella*). Philippe Lauer, *Le Palais de Latran: Etude historique et archéologique* (Paris, 1911), 103–13, esp. fig. 44; Cäcilia Davis-Weyer, "Die Mosaiken Leos III. und die Anfänge der karolingischen Renaissance in Rom," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 29 (1966): 111–32; Hans Belting, "Die beiden Palastaulen Leos III. im Lateran und die Entstehung einer päpstlichen Programmkunst," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 12 (1978): 55–83; Marina Di Berardo, "Le aule di rappresentanza," in *Il Palazzo Apostolico Lateranense*, Carlo Pietrangeli, ed. (Florence, 1991), 37–42; Gerhard Ladner, "I mosaici e gli affreschi ecclesiastico-politici nell'antico palazzo Lateranense," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 12 (1935): 267–80; Christopher Walter, "Papal Political Imagery in the Medieval Lateran Palace," *Cahiers archéologiques* 20 (1970): 157–60, 162–66, 170–76, and its continuation in *Cahiers archéologiques* 21 (1971): 109–23; Gary M. Radke, *Viterbo: Profile of a*

saint through all the bishops of a see—was the most common decorative theme in episcopal halls. As early as the sixth century, Archbishop Maximian of Ravenna had images of all the bishops of the see painted in his hall with inscriptions giving the name of each prelate.²⁶ This decorative scheme was the norm for the episcopal audience hall when palaces were renovated in the Renaissance. Many of these cycles still survive, and some are being continued with the addition of portraits of present-day bishops.²⁷ Unfortunately, the Renaissance renovations of episcopal palaces and their audience halls often obliterated earlier decorative programs, so we have only one fragment at Novara of a possible medieval example of this sacred lineage motif.²⁸

The only complete surviving set of frescos for a medieval bishop's palace does not illustrate sacred genealogy, but it is intensely religious in character. These frescos date from the early thirteenth century and are found today in the Curia of Bergamo. The siting of the hall in which they are found is highly significant. In the early twelfth century, the area between the episcopal residence (just north of this hall, along the west end of the old forum) and the cathedral of San Vincenzo was much less crowded. This was the site of the forum of Roman Bergamo, and before the twelfth century it retained this character of open, public space.²⁹ Over the twelfth

Thirteenth-Century Papal Palace (Cambridge, 1996), 91; Mary Stroll, *Symbols as Power: The Papacy following the Investiture Contest* (Leiden, 1991), 16–35, plates 8–10.

²⁶ Thirteen epigrams of Ennodius on individual archbishops of Milan were also clearly meant to accompany and identify painted images of them. Jean-Charles Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques: Sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord des origines au X^e siècle* (Rome, 1988), 505–06.

²⁷ The bishop's hall in Verona, for example, is decorated with a cycle painted by a local artist, Domenico Riccio Brusasorzi (1494–1567), and then continued in an anteroom down to the present by other artists. At Padua, we know that several artists over the fifteenth century painted the series decorating the great hall of that see's episcopal residence. A register of expenses recorded in 1456 that Bishop Fantino Dandolo commissioned Peter Calzetta to paint “in the great hall, 39 bishops at 3 lira a piece.” Another good surviving example of this motif is the “Hall of the Bishops” at the Castello di Buonconsiglio in Trent: Hans Schmölzer, *Die Fresken des Castello del Buon Consiglio in Trient und ihre Meister* (Innsbruck, 1901), 48–53; Renzo Chiarelli, *Verona—Guida artistica* (Florence, 1963), 70–71; Bartolomeo Dal Pozzo, *Le vite de' pittori, de' gli scultori et architetti veronesi*, 2 vols. (1718; rpt. edn., Verona, 1967), 2: 17; R. Zanocco, “Il Palazzo Vescovile attuale nella storia e nell'arte (1309–1567),” *Bollettino Diocesano di Padova* 13 (1928): 180–81.

²⁸ This one fragment survives in a ground-floor room adjacent to the cathedral (and now used as the sacristy); my thanks to Giancarlo Andenna for getting me access to these murals and for sharing with me his studies of them. The paintings date from the late twelfth century and depict figures of bishops, each posed in the arch of a loggia, crowned by a baldacchino. The best-preserved figure is identified with an inscription as “S. Syrus,” who was the first bishop of Pavia, not Novara, but there were political reasons why the see may have been rewriting its genealogy in this fashion. Maria Laura Tomea Gavazzoli's observation of compositional parallels between the series of arches and ivory diptychs also suggests the depiction of a genealogy: a fifth-century Ravennate diptych was reused in thirteenth-century Novara to record the bishops of the see. Costanza Segre Montal, “La pittura medievale in Piemonte e Valle d'Aosta,” in *La pittura in Italia: L'Altomedioevo*, Carlo Bertelli, ed. (Milan, 1994), 40–41; Maria Laura Tomea Gavazzoli, “Considerazioni sulle pitture medievali della Curia Episcopi di Novara,” *Arte medievale*, ser. 2, 9 (1995): 69–83, 76–77; on the diptych in Novara, see *The Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977, through February 12, 1978, Kurt Weitzmann, ed. (New York, 1979), 56–58 (no. 54); Eduard Hlawitschka, “Die Diptychen von Novara und die Chronologie der Bischöfe dieser Stadt vom 9.-11. Jahrhundert,” *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 52 (1972): 767–80.

²⁹ Bruno Cassinelli, Luigi Pagnoni, and Graziella Colmuto Zanella, *Il Duomo di Bergamo* (Bergamo, 1991), 6–8, 16–17.

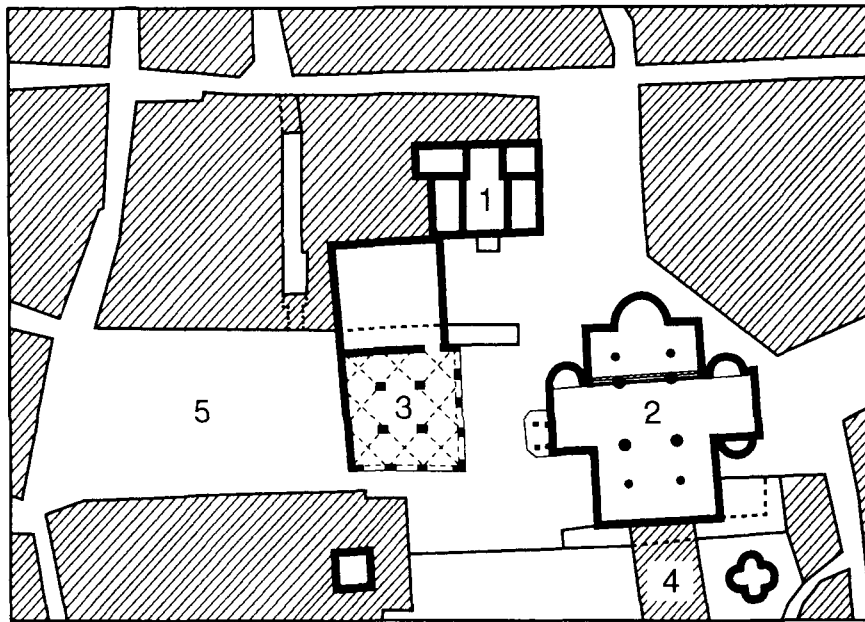


FIGURE 3: Bergamo, center of the city in the thirteenth century with 1) cathedral of San Vincenzo, 2) new "chapel of the city" dedicated to Santa Maria, 3) the communal palace, and 4) the bishop's new decorated hall, 5) Piazza Vecchia (C. Ingersoll).

century, however, this relatively open space between the bishop's residence and his liturgical complex became densely filled. Two new buildings were raised that separated the bishop from his cathedral (Figure 3). First was the church of Santa Maria Maggiore. Although much is ambiguous about the building of this new church (the very date of its construction is still debated), by the thirteenth century it is clear that Santa Maria had the character of a communal chapel. It became known as the "Chapel of the City," and the commune not only supported it but intervened in its administration. Communal business was conducted within the church, and the weights and measures ordained for the city's commerce were inscribed on its north wall facing the piazza.³⁰ Many visitors to the city today mistake it for the cathedral, and this visual impression no doubt served the commune's purposes: built on a grand scale and after an innovative design, it both dwarfed and marginalized the old basilica of San Vincenzo. Right next to it, at the end of the twelfth century, the commune built its palace. The "broletto," or town hall, is parallel to Santa Maria and occupies a portion of that public space of the old Roman forum.³¹ By the thirteenth century, then, when one entered the center of old Bergamo, this communal palace, with the church of Santa Maria rising behind it, dominated the vista. Both the bishop's palace and his church were occluded.

But the bishop of Bergamo did not graciously cede the entire central public space

³⁰ Cassinelli, *Il Duomo di Bergamo*, 213–14, 225–29; and generally on this theme, see Mauro Ronzani, "La 'Chiesa del Comune' nelle città dell'Italia centro-settentrionale (secoli XII–XIV)," *Società e storia* 6 (1983): 499–534.

³¹ Russell, "Vox Civitatis"; Jürgen Paul, *Die mittelalterlichen Kommunalpaläste in Italien* (Cologne, 1963), 123–26.

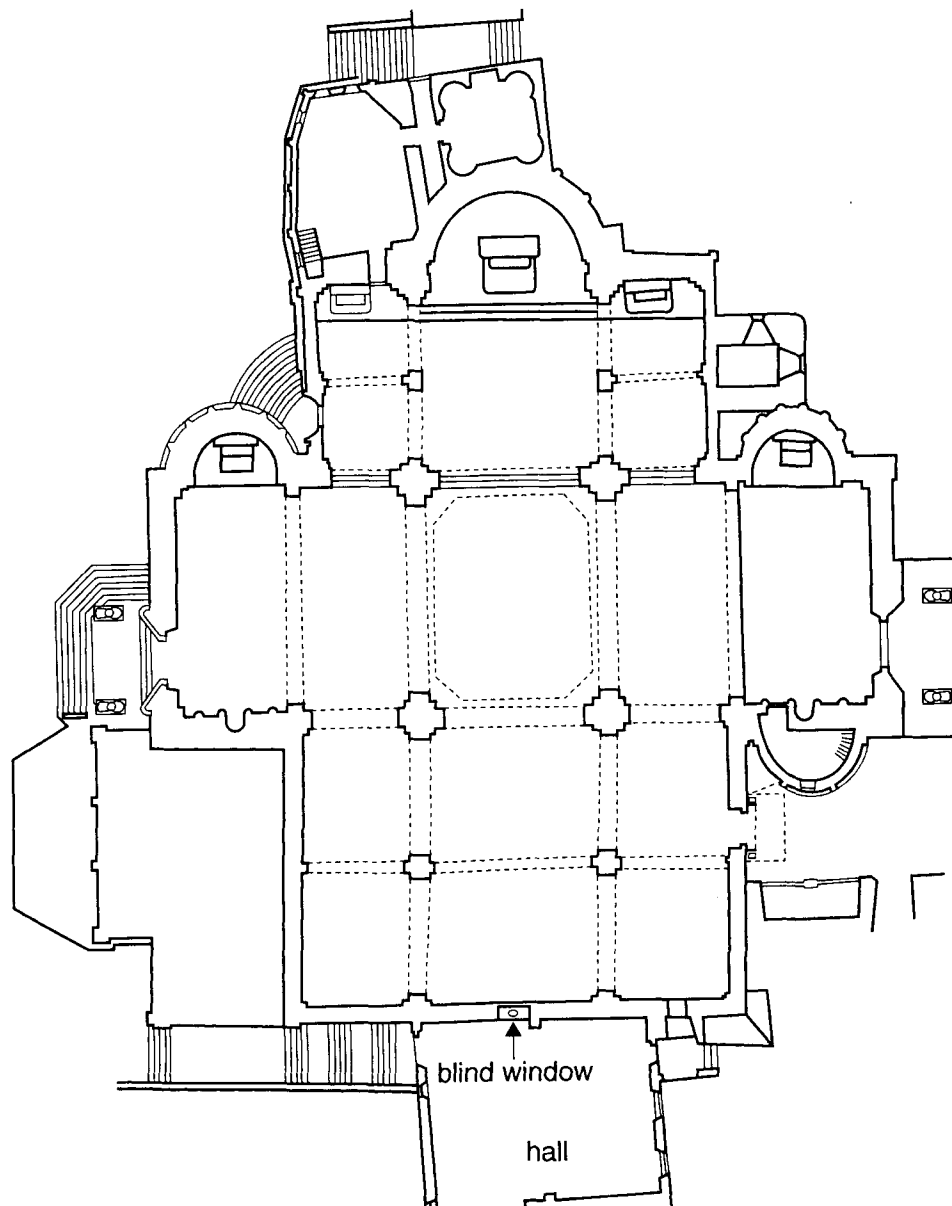


FIGURE 4: Bergamo, plan of Santa Maria and new episcopal hall (C. Ingersoll).

of the town to the new commune. He built a new hall abutting the church of Santa Maria (Figure 4). Local observers have long noted, and detested, the curious siting of this hall. It sits exactly where the façade of the church should be. In the early twentieth century, Luigi Angelini affirmed in his restoration of the hall that it had not destroyed or covered over a decorated façade; Santa Maria Maggiore had never had one. Since medieval churches were usually built from east to west, from the apse to the façade, this would have been the last section to be completed. Recently, several local scholars have suggested that the episcopal audience hall was added after the 1222 earthquake and that it was positioned in order to stabilize the

church.³² This would be one explanation for the large diaphragm arch running through the center of the hall, perpendicular to the west wall of Santa Maria (Figure 5). But this arch, in fact, neither lines up with any of the piers nor is positioned centrally to counter the thrust of the building. There is also no other evidence of stabilizing repairs on other sides of the building. (Would only this side be unstable?)

The siting of the bishop's new hall probably had more to do with destabilizing the triumphalist building program of the commune than with shoring up one of its central elements. The new hall enlarged the episcopal palace and impeded the further expansion of the "Chapel of the City." Were the consuls planning a nave? Since they hadn't put a façade on the west end of Santa Maria, one has to wonder. If such a development of the church's plan was under discussion, the bishop's extension of his residence decisively closed off this possibility. Moreover, it positioned the bishop's new hall as a "nave" to the commune's church.

In light of the proportional relationship between Bishop Grazia's new hall and the nave of his cathedral, the siting of the bishop of Bergamo's new hall is striking. More interesting still is a blind "window" at the east end of the hall—which, if Santa Maria had a nave, would have been that point of demarcation between lay and priestly space—a window perfectly centered with the main aisle of the church, which contains images of two early bishops of the see giving the pontifical benediction (frontispiece). In the deployment of these images and the placement of his new hall, the bishop of Bergamo seems to be reasserting a particular relationship with his people that the commune, in adopting Santa Maria Maggiore as its own church, had been subverting.

That relationship is one of needing and receiving the bishop's blessing. The interior decoration of the hall amplifies this theme, for it was a hall of judgment.³³ The fresco cycle has been dated to the second or third decades of the thirteenth century, based on stylistic considerations. It is composed of several registers of decoration (Figure 6). Just below the ceiling was a band of animal figures, much like the top border of the Bayeux Tapestry. A band with a leaf motif set this off from the main register, which contains scenes from the life of Christ. Below this narrative register was another of equal width divided into squares containing geometric designs and some small figures. Finally, the lower part of the wall was frescoed with drapery; only a small fragment of this survives on the north wall, but it indicates that

³² First suggested by Luigi Angelini, "Scoperte e restauri di edifici medievali in Bergamo alta," *Palladio* 4 (1940): 38; and repeated by Miklós Boskovits, *I pittori bergamaschi dal XIII al XIX secolo*, Vol. 1: *Le origini* (Bergamo, 1992), 70 n. 9; and Laura Polo D'Ambrosio and Anna Tagliabue, "Un ciclo bergamasco di primo Duecento: Gli affreschi dell'aula della Curia," *Arte cristiana*, n.s., 77 (1989): 269.

³³ But not one, as has been suggested, belonging to "*miles iustitie*, that is, the officials of the commune who oversaw fairs and markets": Laura Polo D'Ambrosio, following Giuseppina Zizzo, in *I pittori bergamaschi*, 79. Several indicators demonstrate that this was the bishop's hall. First, this land has always been associated with the see: the hall is still part of the Curia of Bergamo, and in the Middle Ages a passageway connected it to the bishop's chapel, Santa Croce. Moreover, an episcopal document dated 1225 was redacted "in the new high room of the see, next to the church of Santa Maria" (*in camera nova alta episcopatus iuxta ecclesiam sancte marie*). In this document, it was the bishop who presided over a dispute settlement concerning lands belonging to the see. No contemporaneous communal documentation mentions a hall of justice next to Santa Maria. Angelo Mazzi, "I «confini domi et palatii» in Bergamo," *Archivio storico lombardo* 19 (1903): 27; 20 (1903): 332, 342–46, 354–61 with the "Schizzo topografico"; for the 1225 document, see Archivio Vescovile di Bergamo, *Diplomata seu Jura Episcopatus Bergomensis*, Raccolta 2, parte 1, perg. 8.

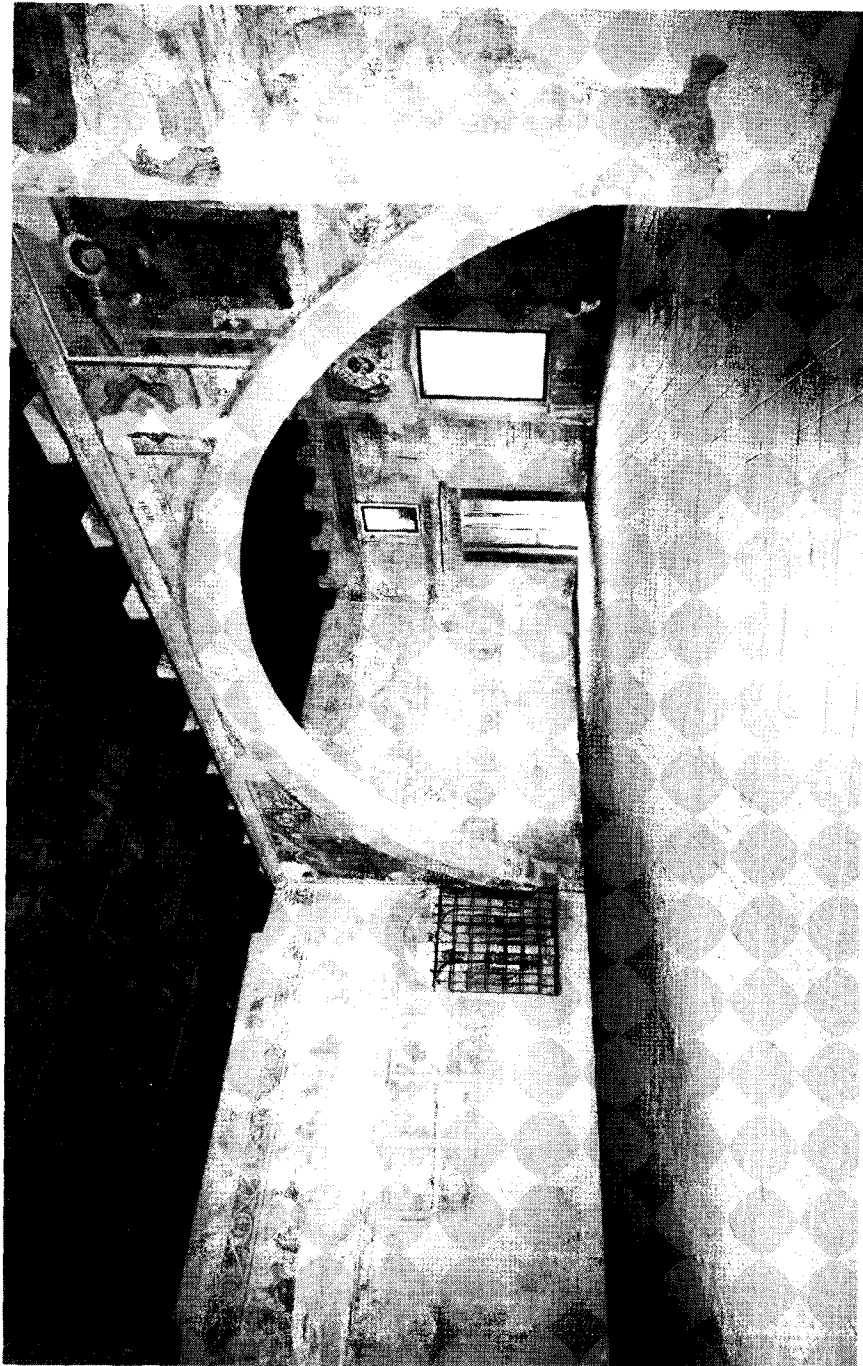


FIGURE 5: Bergamo, Aula della Curia, interior (reproduced courtesy of Fototeca della Diocesi di Bergamo/Archivio Edizioni Bolis).

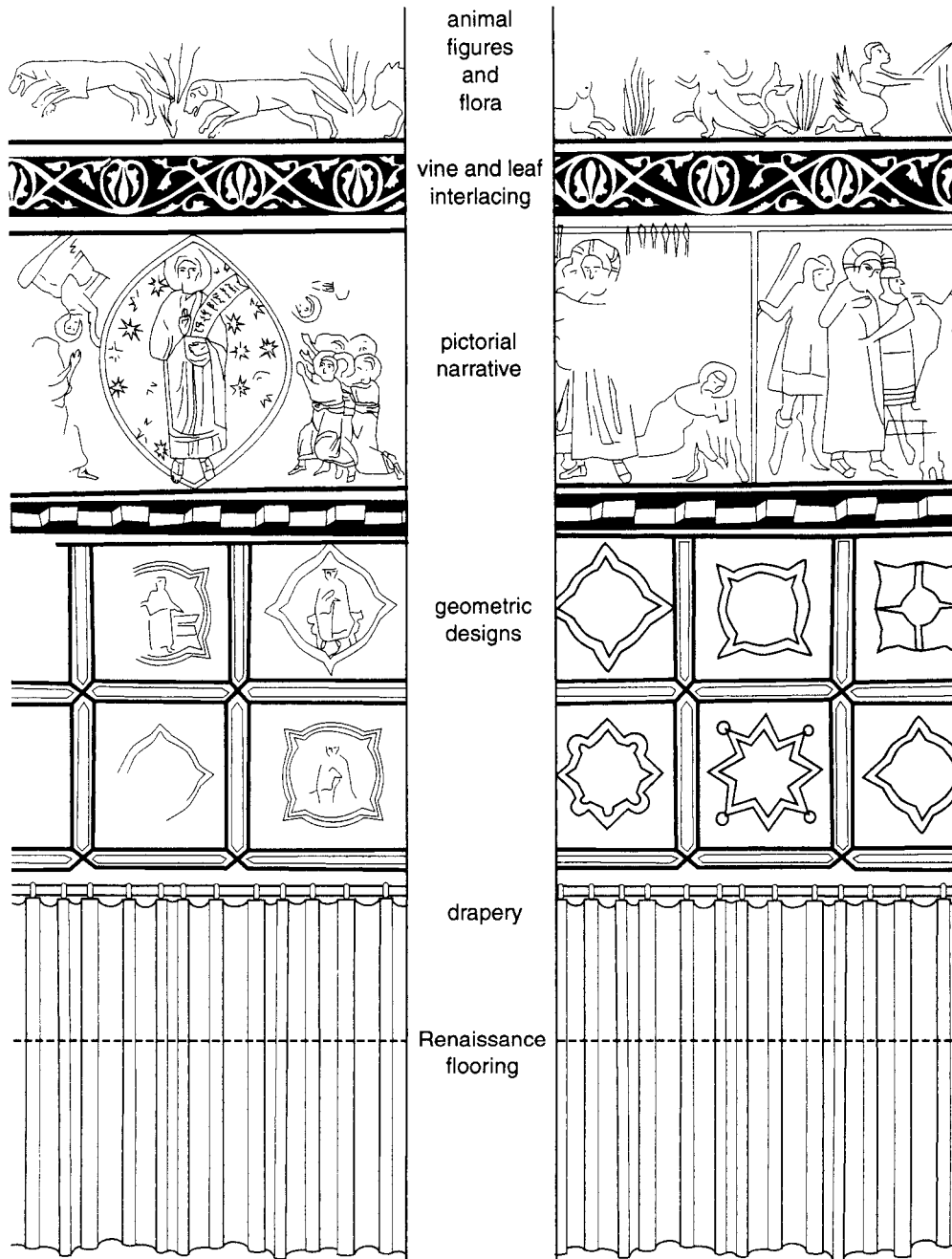


FIGURE 6: Bergamo, Aula della Curia, divisions of wall decor (C. Ingersoll).

the hall was originally much taller. The current flooring was inserted during the Renaissance, probably due to water infiltration. Thus during the Middle Ages, this would have been a more grandiose space, and the narrative scenes that concern us here were probably about three meters higher off the floor.

With these conditions in mind, let us consider the narrative portion of the fresco

cycle as you would have seen it entering from the piazza on the north side of Santa Maria Maggiore.³⁴ The large arch dividing the room would first command your attention. Closest to you, on the east end of the arch, a dynamic angel points across its expanse, its wings emphasizing the urgent gesture of its hands. The eye follows this cue and finds on the other end of the arch a placid Annunziata, an image of the Blessed Virgin receiving the news that she is to bear a son. Her hands reach out toward the angel, indicating her acceptance. Behind her, along the northwest corner, cascade scenes from the infancy of Christ. On your left begins another narrative (Figure 7). The Last Supper is above your shoulder. As you look up, you share the view of the one child-like Apostle on your side of the table who is being fed by the hand of Christ. A sleepy St. John has put his head down, and Judas gestures toward Jesus; his other hand rests on the outstretched arm of the Savior. Walk forward and you see Christ kneeling to wash the feet of an Apostle. Below the seated Apostle is the blind window: across its tympanum, St. Alexander rides, armored as a knight, his cape flying out behind him, his bannered lance emblazoned with a *fleur-de-lis*. The leaping posture of his horse pulls you further along the wall. Below him, in the arched portals of the window, the two earliest bishops of Bergamo—saints Narnus and Viator—offer their blessing: their faces are solemn, one hand raised in benediction, the other holding the crosier (frontispiece). Pass under the arch and the passion cycle continues on the left: Christ prays in the Garden of Gethsemane as you stand with the huddled sleeping Apostles, their rounded forms like bundled infants (Figure 8). In the center of the wall, a mob of soldiers seizes Christ, and Peter strikes the servant of the High Priest. In the corner scene, Christ stands before Pilate while Peter denies him three times in the courtyard. The story continues on the facing wall. Only fragments remain, but the raised-fist postures of the figures in profile and the placid figure at the center suggest the Derision of Christ by the soldiers. Nothing remains of the final scene on this south wall, but it must have been the Crucifixion: just on the other side of this wall was the bishop's chapel, Santa Croce, dedicated to the cross on which Jesus suffered.

The bishop, coming out of his chapel, could enter his hall through a door on the south wall, diagonally across from the piazza entrance. He would have sat just within the door at the west end of the hall. As he looked out into the room, he faced the images of Christ praying in the garden, betrayed to the soldiers by Judas's kiss, and arraigned before Pilate—images of a flawed and corrupt “judicial” process necessary for salvation. Christ the innocent—betrayed, abandoned, and denied by his followers—was the backdrop against which those brought before the bishop's judgment stood (probably not altogether reassuring to the petitioner with the Crucifixion in his peripheral vision). Other images appropriate to a judicial setting were within the bishop's view along the arch dividing the room. Farthest from him was a Wheel of Fortune. Lady Fortune sits at the center. Above her, with the inscription “I reign” (*regno*), is a seated figure raising a branch in his right hand. Toppling head first off the right curve of the wheel is a figure inscribed “I ruled” (*regnavi*). Prostrate under the wheel is a barefoot figure murmuring, “I am without

³⁴ A detailed plan of the frescos is published in *I pittori bergomaschi*, 142–43.



FIGURE 7: Bergamo, Aula della Curia, east wall: Last Supper, Washing of the Feet (Fototeca della Diocesi di Bergamo/Archivio Edizioni Bolis).

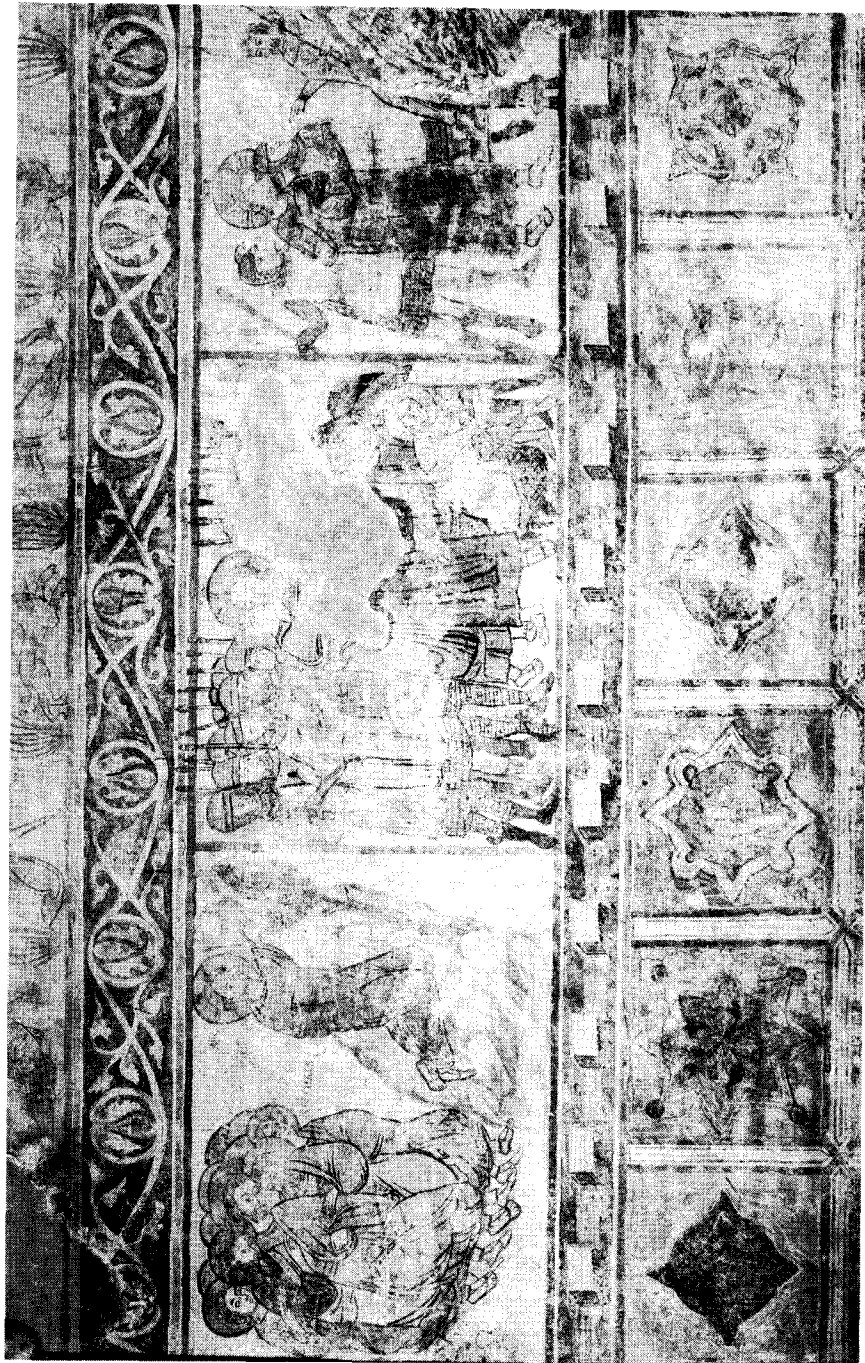


FIGURE 8: Bergamo, Aula della Curia, east wall: agony in the garden, the soldiers seize Christ, Jesus before Pilate (Fototeca della Diocesi di Bergamo/Archivio Edizioni Bolis).

kingdom" (*sum sine regno*), and rising on the left is one looking expectantly upward with the inscription "I will rule" (*regnabo*). Flanking the center of the arch are images of King David and the prophet Jeremiah: both would have been looking at the image of the Crucifixion on the south wall, for both were related in medieval exegesis to suffering and redemption. Jeremiah was the somber prophet of mourning and of the suffering of God's people; David was cast as a messianic forerunner of Christ (his early shepherd's life pointing to Christ the Good Shepherd, the five stones he used to fell Goliath symbolizing the five wounds of the Savior, his betrayal by his counselor Ahithophel and passage to Cedron recalling the Passion).³⁵ And closest to the bishop, at the west end of the arch, is Archangel Michael weighing souls in a balance.

The backdrop to the bishop is equally unambiguous (Figure 9). Above his left shoulder, presiding over the Last Judgment, is the apocalyptic Christ with the two-edged sword issuing from His mouth, the sword that destroys unrepentant sinners (Revelation 1: 16, 2: 16, 19: 15). Damned souls writhe in a tomb on Christ's (and the bishop's) left, and on His (and the bishop's) right are the happy souls of the saved. Over the bishop's right shoulder is an image of Christ in glory adored by the blessed; He holds a scroll proclaiming, "Let he who wishes to come to me, deny his very self." The wording of the scroll stops there, but most in the room would have known that this passage from the Gospel of Matthew (16: 24) continues: "take up his cross and follow me." Further to the bishop's right was the cross: the (now lost) image of the Crucifixion on the south wall and behind it the cross-shaped little chapel dedicated to the "holy cross." As if all this visual association of the bishop with both Christ the eternal judge and Christ the Savior were not sufficient to reinforce the prelate's authority, slightly above and behind him in the patterned squares of the geometric register are little images of legal experts, some pointing at books, others reading scrolls, all looking sage and gesturing didactically.

In a rather simple way, aspects of this decorative program tried to reinforce the bishop's judicial authority by associating it with Christ's authority to pass eternal judgment on all men and women. This powerful linkage between the bishop's justice and God's has to be set in the context of jurisdictional change within the city of Bergamo. The bishop here had been count of the city since the early tenth century: this meant that he by right administered all justice, criminal and civil, within the walls.³⁶ Although a commune emerged in the city at the very end of the eleventh century, judicial authority seems to have remained in the bishop's hands. Indeed, Bergamo was one of the few cities where some titular role for episcopal power survived the wars with Frederick Barbarossa. In 1156, the emperor had even extended the bishop's control of all public functions (*districtus*) to the countryside, which no previous monarch had ceded. These rights were confirmed in 1183, and in the provisions of the Peace of Constance, the bishop of Bergamo was even accorded

³⁵ Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, 2 vols., Janet Seligman, trans. (London, 1971), 2: 30–31, 60, 68, 112; *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale*, 5: 635–38, 9: 747.

³⁶ Jörg Jarnut, *Bergamo 568–1098: Verfassungs-, Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in einer lombardischen Stadt im Mittelalter*, Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beiheft Nr. 67 (Wiesbaden, 1979), 112–32; and Jarnut, "Lo sviluppo del potere secolare dei vescovi bergamaschi fino alla lotta per le investiture," in *Bergamo e il suo territorio nei documenti altomedievali: Atti del Convegno Bergamo 7–8 aprile 1989*, Mariarosa Cortesi, ed. (Bergamo, 1991), 69–79.

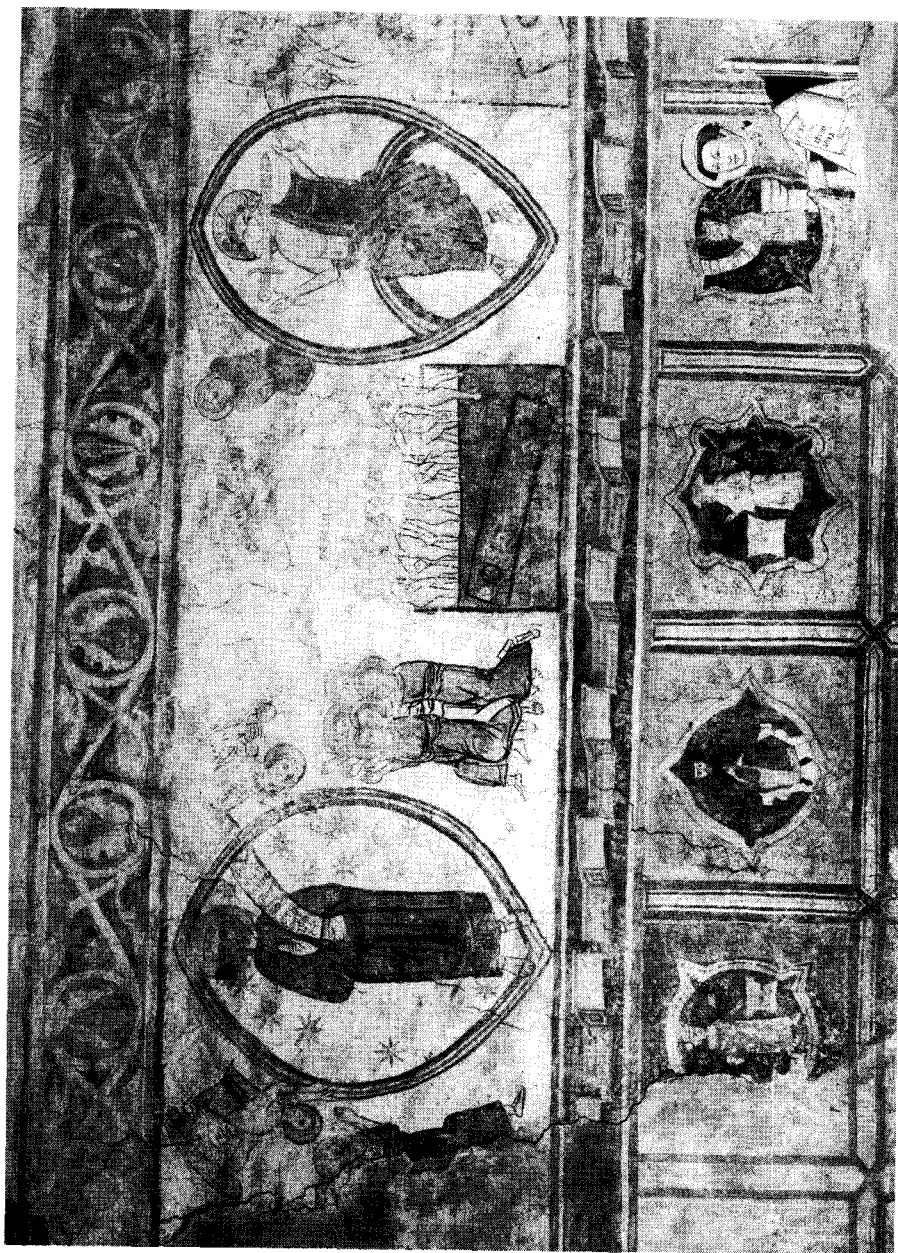


FIGURE 9: Bergamo, Aula della Curia, west wall: Christ in Glory and apocalyptic Christ (Fototeca della Diocesi di Bergamo/Archivio Edizioni Bolis).

the right to nominate the city's officials. (In other cities, the consuls derived their authority directly from the emperor.)³⁷ Regardless of these imperial affirmations, however, in the opening decades of the thirteenth century, the commune was exercising judicial authority in the city and challenging the bishop's lordship in the countryside as well. In 1219, a "consul of justice" appears in a charter, and some of the laws incorporated into the earliest communal statutes (the *Statutum vetus*, redacted sometime before 1248) date from 1211, 1220, or 1221.³⁸ Historian Claudia Storch, recognizing that the bishop still technically held public authority in the city, has suggested that the character of the justice offered by the commune was rooted in neighborhood organizations (the *vicinie*) and drew on traditions of private arbitration and dispute settlement.³⁹ A particularly intense bout of factional violence within the city in the opening decades of the thirteenth century probably fostered the commune's more aggressive involvement in maintaining public order: the earliest laws in the *Statutum vetus* brought homicide and "injuries" within the purview of the chief magistrate (*podestà*).⁴⁰ We know from a lengthy dispute between the bishop and the commune, extending from about 1215 to the early 1230s, that the consuls were also trying to legislate for the countryside, specifically in the Valle Ardesio, where the bishop held lucrative mining rights. The commune responded to the bishop's denunciations by recognizing that the church held public authority (*honor et districtus*) there but claiming that the commune was still "lord over the men of this valley" (*dominus super hominibus illius Vallis*).⁴¹

It is within the context of these competing notions of law that we must read both the building of the bishop's new hall and the semiotics of its fresco cycle. The bishop, by virtue of relatively recent imperial relegation of privileges (*diplomata*) and constitutions, held title to rights of justice in both the city and its surrounding countryside. In the face of the city's long tradition of episcopal rule and these imperial affirmations, the commune fostered and began to systematize traditional private methods of arbitration and dispute settlement, integrating them with their emergent institutions. It basically developed a new parallel and competing system of law and justice, rather than trying to take over the bishop's. The building of the bishop's new hall of justice was a clear reply to the commune's legislation, and its fresco cycle answers the consuls' use of "tradition" by invoking a more ancient, powerful, and eternal tradition: God's just ordering of the world and his plan for human salvation. The bishop was shifting the grounds of his authority, appealing not to the imperial documents he had received but to his consecrated authority and his liturgical role as Christ's representative in Bergamo. In the arrangement of his new hall, the bishop associated himself with the apocalyptic Christ separating the damned from the blessed. The other frescos spelled out a particular reading of salvation history, but the historical character of these scenes is important: it served

³⁷ Claudia Storti Storch, *Diritto e istituzioni a Bergamo dal comune alla signoria* (Milan, 1984), 71–72, 82, 87.

³⁸ Storch, *Diritto*, 161, 228–33. On the date and character of the *Statutum vetus*, see 153–76.

³⁹ Storch, *Diritto*, 181–233, but esp. 197 n. 45; on the general outline of her view of the neighborhood associations, see 49–55.

⁴⁰ Storch, *Diritto*, 51–54, 213–44.

⁴¹ Storch, *Diritto*, 255–61; Archivio Vescovile di Bergamo, *Diplomata seu Jura Episcopatus Bergomensis*, Racc. 2, perg. nos. 36, 37.

to concretize the salvational character of the bishop's justice and to set it in a worldly context. The bishop's new hall was an artful rejoinder in an ongoing public discourse within the city about the source of justice.

But the fresco cycle is even more semiotically complex; it is not just a reassertion of episcopal authority. It acknowledges the fallibility of the judicial process while offering both a deeply Christian exhortation to submission of the will and the reward of holiness to those who do. What immediately confronts the petitioner entering the room is the Annunciation depicted across the central arch facing north: Mary placidly, willingly accepts what God has decreed for her (Figure 10). The inscription across the center of the arch underscores the Virgin's submission. This is not the surprised Mary, favored by Renaissance artists, wondering, "how can this be when I do not know man?" (Luke 1: 34). The Annunziata of Bergamo responds, "behold the handmaid of the Lord; let it be done to me according to your word" (Luke 1: 38).⁴² Accepting God's will is part of the divine plan for Christian salvation. That this message is depicted through Mary has another level of meaning in this particular deployment: the commune of Bergamo had taken Mary as its patron and had patronized the church next door dedicated to her. The bishop, in emphasizing Mary's submission to the divine will, prescribed a certain attitude of submission for the commune.

The submission the bishops sought from their lay "subjects," however, was not an abject one. The route of the petitioner into the bishop's presence was also the route of Christ to Calvary: the placement of the Passion frescos in the room associates the petitioner with Jesus. (The location of the entrance makes this the only possible path to the bishop's place in the hall.) Significantly, the submission and humility of Jesus is emphasized in the frescos. The first scene depicts not the moment of the institution of the Eucharist but Jesus receiving Judas's denial of his betrayal. In the second, he kneels to wash the Apostle's feet. After the agonizing prayer in the garden to be spared his ordained suffering and sacrifice, he accepts his Father's will in words that resonate with the Virgin's: "but let your will, not mine, be done" (Matthew 26: 42; Mark 14: 36; Luke 22: 42). In the next scene, Jesus allows himself to be arrested (and tries to keep Peter from defending him). He stands bound before Pilate in the following scene, refusing to deny the charges against him. Humble acceptance and submission is visually emphasized every step of the way into the bishop's presence, but the redemptive purpose of this submission is also embraced. Thus not only the bishop sitting in judgment is associated with Christ, so, too, is the petitioner. That all the roles in these encounters are patterned on Christ is no accident. The spirituality of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries placed the life of Christ—and the human imitation of it—at the center of Christian devotion.⁴³

Here, obviously, is a complex deployment of what Scott would call "culturally

⁴² Both the separation of the angel and the Virgin across an arch and the emphasis on Mary's submission are typical for this period: Schiller, *Iconography*, 1: 37–39.

⁴³ François Vanderbroucke, *La spiritualità del medioevo (XII–XVI secolo) Nuovi ambienti e problemi*, ed. and updated by Réginald Grégoire, Giovanna della Croce, vol. 4/B in *Storia della spiritualità*, L. Bouyer, E. Ancilli, and B. Secondin, eds. (Bologna, 1991), 65–72; Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1997), 261, 278–88.



FIGURE 10: Bergamo, Aula della Curia, north face of central arch, west end: Blessed Virgin Mary receiving the Annunciation (Fototeca della Diocesi di Bergamo/Archivio Edizioni Bolis).

available symbols.”⁴⁴ The symbols are religious, but they could also be used by lay people to serve their ends. This is what the commune of Bergamo did in building a church dedicated to Mary as the city’s powerful intercessor right next to their new palace (thus pairing a palace and church to challenge the bishop’s palace-cathedral center of authority). That these symbols could evoke “multiple (and often contradictory) representations”⁴⁵ is well illustrated in the episcopal depiction of

⁴⁴ Scott, “Gender,” 1067.

⁴⁵ Scott, “Gender,” 1067.

Mary, patroness of the commune, as submissive to God's will. This is also a particularly good example of what Scott calls "normative concepts that set forth interpretations of the meanings of the symbols, that attempt to limit and contain their metaphoric possibilities."⁴⁶ Christian theology, articulated and controlled by the clergy, is a set of "normative concepts" that attempts to limit the meanings constructed with Christian symbols. Thus the commune of Bergamo might claim Mary as supportive of its governing authority, but the bishop, by invoking the theologically sanctioned interpretations of Scripture that he controlled, could limit the commune's legitimizing uses of Mary. Religion was used here to construct different statuses, to delineate socially acceptable roles for the groups defined, and to accord authority to one—the clergy.

Moreover, the religious character of these decorative wall frescos in the bishop's hall is clear. Fragments from other sites suggest, not surprisingly, that bishops surrounded themselves with religious imagery. At Parma, no medieval decor from Grazia's great hall survives, but in the large room on the third floor (at the south end of the building), there are remains of a thirteenth-century image of Christ offering his blessing.⁴⁷ At Como, there are photographs of some medieval frescos from the west wing of the palace (destroyed early in the last century). One fragment shows the bishop of Como giving a blessing, other fragments show mythical beasts—their bottom halves animal, their tops human—fighting, playing musical instruments, or gesturing.⁴⁸ Such creatures usually were understood metaphorically to represent the constant human struggle with our lower selves, our bestial natures. A frescoed wall in a ground-floor hall within the episcopal palace in Spoleto depicts the Blessed Virgin enthroned.⁴⁹ Finally, although the fresco itself does not survive, an episcopal chronicle from Orvieto mentions a painting within the palace depicting a pious donation to the see by Count Pepo and his son Farolfo the Bald.⁵⁰

The interior decor of secular halls was different: secular themes predominated. Although no medieval decoration survives from the communal palace of Bergamo, the halls of other Italian communes illuminate the decorative preferences of these urban governments.⁵¹ The victories of the commune over its opponents were one prominent theme. At Mantua, a twelfth-century cycle in the great hall depicted an

⁴⁶ Scott, "Gender," 1067.

⁴⁷ Banzola, "Il Palazzo del Vescovado," 36.

⁴⁸ Federico Frigerio and Giovanni Baserga, "Il Palazzo Vescovile di Como," *Rivista archeologica dell'antica provincia e diocesi di Como* 21, fasc. 125–26 (1941): 45, and figs. 21–28.

⁴⁹ This fresco, dating from the early fourteenth century, was the work of an Umbrian artist known as the "Maestro della Fossa," whose refined Gothic-inflected style is considered one of the finest of the Trecento. Elvio Lunghi, "Umbria," in *Pittura murale in Italia dal tardo duecento ai primi del quattrocento*, Mina Gregori, ed. (Bergamo, 1995), 163, 166; Giampiero Ceccarelli, *Il Museo Diocesano di Spoleto* (Spoleto, 1993), 18. I thank Dr. Giuliana Nagni for giving me access to this fresco while the building was undergoing earthquake repairs.

⁵⁰ David Foote, "The Bishopric of Orvieto: The Formation of Political and Religious Culture in a Medieval Italian Commune" (PhD dissertation, University of California, Davis, 1998), 37. I thank the author for allowing me to read his dissertation and for his permission to cite it. The fragmentary remains of frescos in the bishop's palace at Pistoia are more difficult to interpret; see my discussion in *Bishop's Palace*, 202–05, where I also discuss several secular images formerly attributed to bishops but now correctly attributed to lay elites.

⁵¹ From the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the hall was transformed and subdivided; in the sixteenth, when Bergamo came under Venetian rule, its walls were rebuilt, and frescos of St. Mark and a figure representing justice were painted. Robert Russell, "Il Palazzo della Ragione tra incendi e restauri," *Archivio storico bergamasco*, n.s., 1 (1995): 18–19, 25.

unidentifiable battle involving ships, knights, and foot soldiers. In the thirteenth century, this was replaced with a cycle depicting the victory of the Mantuan commune in 1251 over a group of Ghibelline “traitors” who had taken over the castle of Marcaria.⁵² Sometimes, however, more peaceful events were commemorated. The communal hall in San Gimignano was frescoed with scenes from a ceremonial tournament and hunting party the city put on for Charles of Anjou after he was victorious over Ghibelline forces at Poggibonsi in 1274.⁵³ Fragments recently discovered at the Broletto in Milan appear to be the depiction of constituent groups within the commune: groups of men, some armed and some not, are drawn in full length with inscriptions below the clusters identifying them as representatives of different quarters of the city or various communities in the countryside.⁵⁴

Evidence for the character and meaning of decoration within communal, princely, and episcopal halls in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is quite fragmentary. But several patterns seem clear. Secular topics dominate secular halls: communes and noble families alike tended to commemorate important military victories on their walls or to depict the jousts and hunting parties that entertained courtly society. The evidence for episcopal halls is different: religious imagery predominates. Bishops surrounded themselves with scriptural narratives, theocratic allusions, and icons of holiness. There were both secular and clerical dialects within the aristocratic, or “courtly,” culture of medieval Italy. Some themes and types of imagery were shared in common. Both prelates and lay nobles, for example, liked to visualize their genealogies.⁵⁵ And communal decorative cycles often did include some religious imagery: a fresco of the Virgin and Child, for example, or of a patron saint. Metaphorical images of virtues and vices (beasts and partially bestial figures) seem to have been popular with both lay and ecclesiastical lords; floral and geometric decoration can be found in all halls. But the differences between clerical and lay elites in their decorative choices are more important than the similarities. Scholars are quick to acknowledge that secular elites articulated their social status and power in their halls. We need also to acknowledge that prelates did, too, and that both their status in medieval society and the character of their authority were distinctive.

⁵² Matilde, *Mantova e il Palazzi del Borgo: I ritrovati affreschi del Palazzo della Ragione e del Palazzo dell'Abate*, Aldo Cicinelli, et al., eds. (Mantua, 1995), esp. 117–90.

⁵³ *Pittura murale in Italia*, 62–64; and C. Jean Campbell, *The Game of Courting and the Art of the Commune of San Gimignano, 1290–1320* (Princeton, N.J., 1997), 44–106.

⁵⁴ Maria Laura Gavazzoli Tomea, “Le pitture duecentesche ritrovate nel Broletto di Milano, documento di un nuovo volgare pittorico nell'Italia padana,” *Arte medievale*, ser. 2, 4 (1990): 55–70. Much more complex cycles were undertaken in later medieval and early modern secular halls: see Randolph Starn and Loren Partridge, *Arts of Power: Three Halls of State in Italy, 1300–1600* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992).

⁵⁵ A popular decorative schema in imperial halls was the “family of kings.” Gottfried of Viterbo described such a cycle of depictions of rulers in Frederick I’s palace at Hagenau. Family genealogies also graced the walls of the palaces of lesser nobles. Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, 118–19; Andrew Martindale, “Heroes, Ancestors, Relatives and the Birth of the Portrait,” in *Painting the Palace: Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Painting* (London, 1995), 75–111; Martindale, “Painting for Pleasure—Some Lost Fifteenth Century Secular Decorations of Northern Italy,” in *The Vanishing Past: Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology Presented to Christopher Hohler*, Alan Borg and Andrew Martindale, eds. (Oxford, 1981), 109–31.

DID THE CHARACTER OF VISUAL DECOR within halls matter to what went on within them? We know that the visual cues in a library and a sports arena suggest different “appropriate” behaviors. Wouldn’t a hall decorated with religious imagery establish different expectations than one decorated with images of hunting and dancing? Decorative narratives in medieval buildings seem designed to frame the actions that occurred within them. The paintings in Adela of Blois’s room that linked the deeds of her immediate ancestors (who included William the Conqueror) to biblical history framed her, and those who approached her, in a context of dynastic power and destiny.⁵⁶ Likewise, a series of solemn portraits of all the bishops of the see, reaching back to the age of the Apostles, lent a weight of sacred tradition to even the most minor administrative acts of a reigning prelate.

Just as the decor of secular and clerical halls embraced some common motifs but also significant elements of difference, so the activities that took place in these spaces varied. Bishops, like their lay counterparts, had estates and other economic resources that required regular management. Notarial charters reveal the bishop in his hall investing vassals with fiefs, leasing properties, exchanging, buying, and selling lands.⁵⁷ Lay elites did the same sorts of things in their halls. But bishops, by virtue of their ecclesiastical office, also performed a wide array of religious acts, many of them of economic significance. They received pious donations to their own see and renunciations of claims involving churches and their property; they witnessed and ritualized benefactions made to individual churches or monasteries within their diocese and presented gifts to religious institutions.⁵⁸ Bishops were the traditional protectors of widows and orphans, and so frequently the legal guardians of such vulnerable individuals came into the bishop’s presence to transact business on their behalf.⁵⁹ All manner of ecclesiastical appointments could also take place here: in 1285, for example, the bishop of Rimini “in the great hall of the episcopal palace” designated two canons as collectors of a special tithe to support papal campaigns in Sicily.⁶⁰ Disputes between individual clerics and between ecclesiastical

⁵⁶ Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, 117–19.

⁵⁷ Just a few examples: *Codice diplomatico padovano*, Andrea Gloria, ed. (Venice, 1877–81), no. 714, in which Bishop John, “in urbe Padua in episcopali aula,” invests Peter of Naticherio with a fief; *Codice diplomatico laudense*, Cesare Vignati, ed., 2 vols. (Milan, 1879–83), 1: no. 127, and 2: no. 58, are leases of episcopal property enacted “in aula.” Good descriptions of the day-to-day realities of the episcopal office in this era are Brentano, *Two Churches*, 174–237; Dameron, *Episcopal Power*; Robert Brentano, *A New World in a Small Place: Church and Religion in the Diocese of Rieti, 1188–1378* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994), 142–83; and Foote, *Bishopric of Orvieto*.

⁵⁸ Archivio Storico Arcivescovile di Ravenna, perg. 2190, doc. 2 (September 8, 1122), in which Archbishop Walter receives Guido Traversaria’s renunciation of all claim to the churches he had been detaining; Archivio Capitolare di Treviso, perg. no. 215 (December 24, 1196), in which Bishop Conrad, for the good of his soul and remission of his sins, gave houses to the cathedral canons, asking that they commemorate the anniversary of his death.

⁵⁹ The bishop could withhold sanction of actions that harmed the interests of those commended to his care. Archivio di Stato–Piacenza, Archivio Storico degli Ospizi Civili—Atti privati, busta 2, cartella 5, perg. no. 43 (January 23, 1189), in which Bishop Tebaldus makes public the will of Anselm Marthanus and its provisions concerning his three daughters (Athelasia, Lombarda, and Bellahonor) and his wife Donella; and perg. no. 45, doc. 2 (June 25, 1189), in which Obertus Scorpionus, acting as tutor and guardian for the daughters, came before the bishop concerning a sale of lands involving Marthanus’s estate.

⁶⁰ Biblioteca Civica Gambalunga di Rimini, SC-MS. 200, “Schede Garampi, 439–1145,” scheda 467; the appointment of priests to churches might also be done here: *Codice diplomatico laudense* 2: no. 43, “in aula suprascripti domni episcopi.”

institutions also came into the bishop's hall.⁶¹ He settled these quarrels, and in his presence the right order of things was restored and visualized through the exchange of "fustes" (staffs denoting power) and kisses of peace. The acting out of the proper arrangement of things was a frequent activity in the hall: offerings that symbolized institutional and spiritual ties were often made here. In 1180, for example, a priest of San Pietro in Carnario in Verona brought the half-pound of wax, a valuable commodity for candles, that acknowledged his church's dependence on the cathedral canons to the bishop's court and presented it there to the archpriest of the chapter.⁶²

This articulation of correct order also went on in secular halls: this is why palaces were such charged places and why communes and bishops competed for space and prominence in the urban center. Different visions of the right ordering of the world, however, were achieved. The consuls of the communes also settled disputes and received tokens of submission in the halls of their new palaces, but the meanings generated by these exchanges differed from those in episcopal halls. Context was key. The squared shape of the communal hall framed these meetings as gatherings of relative equals. Decisions were made by several people, not just one, and the power they wielded was depicted as the fruit of consensus and valor in defense of the community. The frescos surrounding them placed their actions in the context of civic unity—the ranks represented different neighborhoods and outlying communities such as those depicted on the walls of the Milanese broletto—or military victories in defense of civic freedom (such as the battles that adorn the walls of communal palaces in Mantua, Novara, and Brescia). The religious imagery of the bishop's hall framed his right ordering of human and institutional relations in the context of God's plan of salvation.

This is even true of the "courtly" culture practiced in these places. Much has been made of the notion of the courtly prelate: it is usually presented in the course of emphasizing the corruption and hypocrisy of the medieval church. There were, it is quite true, ecclesiastics who lived in an ostentatiously secular fashion. They offended the sensibilities of contemporaries, both clerical and lay, whose censorious reports of their behavior are our chief sources for these stereotypes. The offensive cultivation of some secular courtly customs by prelates, however, does not mean that all courtly behavior was considered inappropriate for clerics. There was a religious strain of courtly culture, articulated by prelates and regarded as appropriate to their status, that differed from the culture of secular courts. The chronicle

⁶¹ Biblioteca Comunale Ariosto di Ferrara, mss. G. A. Scalabrini, cl. I, no. 445, "Uomini e donne illustrati per santità," vol. 2, fol. 292 (November 7, 1149), "in curia mansionis episcopii Ferrariensis," Bishop Grifo heard a dispute between the abbot of the monastery of St. Bartholomew and a canon of Santa Maria in Reno over lands near the monastery; the bishop of Pistoia settled disputes in 1176 between the nuns of San Mercuriale and a certain Ubertello over unpaid rent and in 1190 between the parish of Montecuccoli and the abbot of the monastery of San Salvatore over a church in Periano; Natale Rauty, *L'antico Palazzo dei Vescovi a Pistoia*, Vol. 1: *Storia e restauro* (Florence, 1981), 287–89, app. nos. 23, 28. Note that *episcopium* (in the Ferrara document above), a Late Antique word used to denote an episcopal residence, by the central Middle Ages usually, as here, means "diocese." See Miller, *Bishop's Palace*, Appendix I.

⁶² Archivio Capitolare di Verona, III–8–7v (AC 10 m5 n15), "in sala domini Omniboni episcopi"; in 1170, the same bishop in his hall had interrogated Paris de Lazisio, archpriest of the church of San Michele in Calmasino, about whether he held his parish from the cathedral canons and whether he owed them tribute (*censum*): mss. Muselli, VI, DCCCXXXVI at 1170, fol. 3.

of Friar Salimbene de Adam (written circa 1283–1288) provides a rich view of clerical courtly culture and contemporary attitudes toward it.⁶³

First of all, Salimbene uses the terms “courtly” (*curialis*, *curialiter*) and “courtliness” (*curialitas*) throughout his chronicle in a strongly positive sense to mean courtesy, kindness, and benevolence. He even attributes these qualities to God: to those who humbly seek understanding, “the Lord bestows it in a courtly and lavish fashion [*curialiter et abundanter*].”⁶⁴ Many clerics are praised for their “courtliness,”⁶⁵ and so, too, are bishops. An excellent example is Salimbene’s initial description of Bishop Nicholas of Reggio: “On the first of June, 1211, Lord Nicholas was enthroned as bishop of Reggio. He was nominated bishop and was something of a military man. He had the grace of both Emperor Frederick II and the Roman curia. He was a Paduan, born of the noble Maltraversa family, a handsome man, generous, courtly, and liberal. He had a great episcopal palace built at Reggio.”⁶⁶ Note the association of palace building with courtliness and liberality. Salimbene returns to Bishop Nicholas later in his chronicle and expands on this description.

He was a cleric among clerics, a religious with religious, a layman with laymen, a knight among knights, a lord among lords, a great barterer, a great manager, generous, liberal, and courtly. At first, he took many lands and possessions of the see and gave them to shady men. For this, Ghibert de Gente accused him before Pope Urban of being an embezzler, destroyer, and squanderer of episcopal property. But, as time went on, he recovered the lands he had given and accomplished many good things in the see. He was a learned man, highly skilled in canon law and ecclesiastical service, and he knew the game of chess. He kept the secular clergy firmly under control [*sub baculo*], and he gave parishes and churches to those who comported themselves well. He loved the religious, especially the Friars Minor.⁶⁷

Nicholas was evidently the kind of person we might call a real “operator.” He got along famously with all sorts of people; he loved making deals and brought a certain gamesmanship to his administration of the see. But Salimbene clearly describes him as a good bishop, and among the “good” qualities he brought to the office was his *curialitas*, his courtliness.

A good point of comparison between clerical courtliness and secular courtliness is in the activity of feasting. Salimbene repeatedly praised bishops for entertaining lavishly, but key to his positive appraisal of episcopal feasting is the attitude shown to the poor. When he criticized bishops for sumptuous living, it was because their liberality did not encompass the needy. Of Bishop William de Fogliani of Reggio,

⁶³ Good recent studies of the chronicler with bibliographies are Jacques Paul and Mariano d’Alatri, *Salimbene da Parma, testimone e cronista* (Rome, 1991); Olivier Guyotjeannin, *Salimbene de Adam: Un chroniqueur franciscain* (Turnhout, 1995); *Salimbeniana: Atti del Convegno per il VII centenario di Fra Salimbene* (Bologna, 1991). Most pertinent for the discussion here is Cinzio Violante’s study, “Motivi e carattere della *Cronica* di Salimbene,” rpt. in *La «cortesia» chiericale e borghese del duecento* (Florence, 1995), 13–80. Violante sees Salimbene’s engagement with courtly culture as evidence of the friar’s worldliness.

⁶⁴ Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, Giuseppe Scalia, ed., 2 vols. (Bari, 1966), 209.16; *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, Joseph L. Baird, trans. (Binghamton, N.Y., 1986), 132. Baird suppresses *curialiter* in his translation.

⁶⁵ Salimbene, *Cronica*, 102.28, 106.14, 149.27, 459.20, 140.15, 75.20, 331.13.

⁶⁶ Salimbene, *Cronica*, 38.16–21.

⁶⁷ Salimbene, *Cronica*, 87.4–16.

he wrote, "He held great feasts frequently for rich men and his relatives, but for the poor he shut off the means of mercy."⁶⁸ Indeed, both Salimbene's chronicle and saints' lives assert that good bishops fed the poor in their halls. There had, of course, been a long and deep tradition of episcopal responsibility for the poor and for poor relief. The property of the church from very early on was conceived of as the patrimony of the poor, and the bishop was their special protector.⁶⁹ But the practice idealized in these twelfth and thirteenth-century texts is of the bishop actually dining with the poor or personally giving them food. This ideal, moreover, seems to be newly emphasized in the same period in which bishops were expanding their palaces and changing their decor, in the closing decades of the twelfth century. In episcopal hagiography of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, mention of any relationship with the poor is rare. In his life of St. Rodolph of Gubbio (circa 1064), Peter Damian did add that the bishop "distributed generously to the poor whatever he managed to steal away from the household stores." But the narrative focus of these lives is the bishop's monastic formation and his continuation of the ascetic and contemplative life after being raised to the see.⁷⁰ In the life of Bruno of Segni, written circa 1178–1182, however, a renewed emphasis on episcopal poor relief is evident. The author asserts that Bishop Bruno "was attentive to works of charity and alms-giving, so much so that he seemed to think of nothing else. He clothed the naked, fed the hungry, gave lodging to pilgrims, and cared to relieve all the indigent equally."⁷¹ John Cacciafronte, Bishop of Vicenza (1179–1184), was remembered as someone who established new customs in poor relief: he bought up clothing and distributed it "with his own hands" (*suīs manibus*) to the poor on Good Friday, he washed their feet, and he brought "food prepared with his own hands" (*suīs manibus praeparatum cibum*) for the sick.⁷²

Salimbene's chronicle reveals much about episcopal dining, mainly because Franciscans were numbered among the "poor" deserving the bishop's charity. He wrote of the archbishop of Embrun that he "wanted every day to provide dinner for two Friars Minor, and he always had all sorts of dishes served to them at his table. And if Friars came, they had [these dishes]; if not, he had them given to other paupers [*aliis pauperibus*]."⁷³ Another vignette Salimbene offers us is of Bishop Obizzo of Parma eating with the "pseudo-holyman" Gerard Segarello. Salimbene had low regard for this enthusiast for the apostolic life; he describes him as "lowly born, an illiterate layman, ignorant and foolish." Bishop Obizzo had him chained up and put in prison for practicing syneisaktism, an ancient ascetic practice of testing one's chastity by sleeping among women.⁷⁴ After a period of imprisonment,

⁶⁸ Salimbene, *Cronica*, 758.3–5; see also 161.17–20 and 628.11–14, praising liberality toward the poor at the bishop's table.

⁶⁹ Michel Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (New Haven, Conn., 1986), 20–23, 38–42; Evelyn Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance 4^e–7^e siècles* (Paris, 1977).

⁷⁰ None of the three lives of the great reforming bishop Bernard degli Uberti of Parma depicts him as showing concern for the poor, and Peter Damian's Life of St. Maurus of Cesena makes no mention at all of episcopal poor relief; for his *Vita sancti Rodulphi episcopi eugubini*, see *Patrologiae cursus completus*, Series Latina, J. P. Migne, ed., 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64), 144: 1011–12.

⁷¹ *AASS*, 4 Julii 480.

⁷² *AASS*, 2 Martii 487.

⁷³ Salimbene, *Cronica*, 469.17–21; Baird, *Chronicle*, 322.

⁷⁴ Although it had been roundly condemned in the patristic era, several adherents of the new

however, the bishop “released him and kept him in his palace. And when the bishop ate, this one also ate in the hall of the palace [*sala palatii*] at the lower table, where others were eating with the bishop, and he enjoyed drinking exquisite wines and eating delicate foods. When the bishop began drinking wine, that one called out to all hearing that he too wanted that wine, and immediately the bishop sent it to him.”⁷⁵ It appears on the whole from Salimbene’s stories that most of the “poor” at the bishop’s table were clerics and religious. The bishop’s interest in them, it is also evident, was not entirely charitable: Salimbene tells of declining an invitation to the archbishop of Embrun’s table because he did not wish to be delayed, and he knew the archbishop “would detain us and impede our journey inquiring news of us because we were coming from the curia.”⁷⁶ Certainly, Bishop Obizzo’s interest in having Gerard Segarello in his palace was as much for surveillance as charity, but the impulse seems to have been pastoral nonetheless. Even if the most abject of the poor were not physically at the bishop’s table, mindfulness of them seems to have been ritually cultivated. Salimbene narrated how Brother Rigaud, a Franciscan who was archbishop of Rouen, “had before him at table two large silver serving bowls in which were placed food for the poor.” Two dishes of every sort of food would be served the archbishop, and he “would retain one for himself, from which he would eat, and the other he would put into the serving bowls for the poor.”⁷⁷

Lay elites were not unsympathetic to the plight of the poor, but they did not invite them to the dining table. Lay nobles made charitable bequests: they founded and supported monasteries, the institutions that were the main sources of poor relief in this period, and they gave alms. Their almsgiving generally took place in public and at ritualized moments: the distribution of alms was expected, for example, at funerals and on feast days on the way to, just outside, and within the church. Feasts were not viewed as the appropriate forum for almsgiving. On the contrary, for lay elites, feasts were primarily a means of visualizing the social distance between themselves and non-nobles. They consumed “noble” foods (white bread, meat, fish, wine) in abundance, reveling in the variety and presentation of dishes. Seating arrangements were by rank, and those eating were waited on by a troop of servants. Greeting of guests and distribution of gifts also called attention to differences of rank. The feasting of secular elites reinscribed hierarchies and celebrated the patrons’ position at the top.⁷⁸

Although feasting was an important part of courtly life for both clerical and secular elites, clearly the manner in which they feasted and the social meanings generated differed in significant ways. This is also true of how both groups

apostolic life cultivated this practice, among them the wandering preacher and founder of Fontevraud, Robert of Arbrissel. See Dyan Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton, N.J., 1993); Bruce L. Venarde, *Women’s Monasticism and Medieval Society* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997), 59; Constable, *Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 68.

⁷⁵ Salimbene, *Cronica*, 369.21 (description), 383.23–384.2; Baird, *Chronicle*, 260.

⁷⁶ Salimbene, *Cronica*, 469.28–29; also Baird, *Chronicle*, 322.

⁷⁷ Salimbene, *Cronica*, 628.22–29; Baird, *Chronicle*, 440–41.

⁷⁸ Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, 178–230; on 229, he notes, “In the descriptions of feast we hardly ever hear of gifts to the truly poor. Only in works that were more legendary in nature is this motif sometimes found. And then we discover that alms for the poor were reckoned in pennies, whereas the gifts for the wealthy were measured in pounds.”

cultivated courtly entertainment. Salimbene mentions minstrels and jongleurs in several descriptions of encounters with prelates; they were evidently commonly welcomed in episcopal halls. We know this as well from episcopal account books. The earliest and most notable is that of Bishop Wolfgang von Erla of Passau. A fragment of his record of expenditures from 1203–1204 reveals sums paid to jongleurs in Germany and Italy and, most famously, to the courtly love poet Walther von der Vogelweide.⁷⁹ No doubt bishops enjoyed some of the same sorts of entertainment that secular elites did: the “jongleurs with knives” Bishop Wolfgang paid in Verona, for example, surely also performed for lay patrons, and the viol player Salimbene describes as entertaining the archbishop of Embrun may have deployed the same instrumental repertoire in secular and clerical courts. Salimbene does criticize clerics who spend too much on minstrels and jongleurs, but he also praises prelates for taking time out from their duties to enjoy courtly entertainment. Moreover, in his description of interactions between prelates and jongleurs, he seems most to value the display of a sort of benevolent wit. After praising, for example, Pope Innocent III as “a man who took time out from his duties now and then for light courtly entertainment,” he recounts an exchange between the pope and a jongleur from the Marches of Ancona. The jongleur recited a brief poem for the pope, praising him as “doctor of all people” and expressing a desire to have him as his lord. The poem rhymed, but its Latin was flawed. Salimbene praises the pope for answering the jongleur “in kind” with doggerel Latin so as not to point out the poverty of the jongleur’s skill. He praises similar qualities in secular lords. Salimbene notes with special admiration how Emperor Frederick II suffered the derision of jongleurs with good humor. The powerful, whether clerical or lay, should not take themselves too seriously, and the ability to enjoy courtly entertainment seems to show a healthy lighter side to them.

What is clear from Salimbene’s chronicle is that the clergy enjoyed poetry and song. We should consider carefully, however, what kind of poetry and song they were recorded as enjoying. First, although Salimbene was highly critical of many prelates and their behavior, he never depicts bishops listening to courtly love lyrics or romances. The secular verse he mentions and repeats is on common pleasures and annoyances of everyday life: the joys of wine, the aggravation of fleas. Second, when he does depict clerics enjoying poetry and song, the material is religious. Salimbene praises Brother Vita of Lucca, a fellow Franciscan, as being “the best singer of his time anywhere, in both styles, plainsong and harmony.” He credits Brother Vita with composing a harmonic accompaniment to the hymn “Having been born and having suffered, the Lord is risen today” (*Natus, passus Dominus resurrexit hodie*) and the words and music of the sequence beginning “Hail Mary, hope of the world” (*Ave, mundi spes, Maria*). “He sang,” says Salimbene, “for

⁷⁹ The text is published in Hedwig Heger, *Das Lebenszeugnis Walthers von der Vogelweide: Dei Reiserechnungen des Passauer Bischofs Wolfer von Erla* (Vienna, 1970): 80.35, 12 denarii to “a certain jongleur” (*Joculatori cuidam. Xij. den*); 90.188, 30 denarii to “the bishop’s jongleur” (*Joc[ul]latori episcopi. xxx. den*); 91.199, 24 denarii to “three jongleurs” (*Tribus ioculatoribus. Xxiiij. den*); 93.20, at Ferrara “to a certain little old jongleur in a red tunic, 5 Paduan solidi”; 93.30, “At Siena, to a certain singer and two jongleurs, 7 solidi and 6 denarii Siense,” etc.; for Walther von der Vogelweide, see 81.98, 86.55.

bishops, archbishops, cardinals, and popes, and they gladly heard him.”⁸⁰ Another “courtly” friar Salimbene mentions is Brother Henry of Pisa. The chronicler praises his ability to converse with all sorts of people, to preach well, to illuminate manuscripts, and to compose and perform music. “He was a man of high morals,” wrote Salimbene, “devoted not only to God and the Blessed Virgin but also to Mary Magdalene.” Brother Henry wrote many hymns to the Magdalene, and Salimbene gives the titles of nine of his compositions, all on sacred themes.⁸¹ Prelates supported these talented clerical musicians in their households just as lay elites supported troubadours.⁸²

Salimbene also praises bishops who both sang and composed poetry and music. The archbishop of Embrun was “a good singer, a good cleric, who loved so much the Alleluia canticle of blessed Francis, namely ‘O patriarch of the poor,’ that he composed a hymn in honor of the glorious Virgin using the same melody. The verse went like this:

O Mary, comforter of the poor,
By your prayers, increase the number
of your [people] in the love of Christ!
Those whom you, o mother,
Snatch from the clutches of death
Through your humble son.”⁸³

Salimbene depicts the archbishop of Ravenna strolling through his palace singing antiphons (responsorial chants) in honor of the Blessed Virgin, and he relates how Pope Gregory X composed a prophetic poem about his own ascent to the see of Peter.⁸⁴

The clergy’s cultivation of courtly song and feasting favored religious imagery and concepts, a model of elite power that contrasted with the laity’s. Indeed, by representing bishops as not enjoying the bawdy jongleur repertoire in their courts and as caretakers of the poor, religious writers implicitly offered a critique of and challenge to lay authority as it was constituted and culturally displayed in medieval Europe. The difference constructed was central to relationships of power.

THE EVIDENCE HERE IS LIMITED but sufficient to suggest that the courts of bishops differed in significant ways from those of secular elites. The proportions of their halls were different, more elongated than those of lay elites, and evoked the

⁸⁰ Salimbene, *Cronica*, 264.18–265.15; Baird, *Chronicle*, 174, mistranslates part of this passage. His translation reads, “He [Brother Vita] wrote many worldly songs with harmonious melodies, which greatly delighted secular clerks.” The Latin text is the following: “Hic fecit multas cantilenas de cantu melodiato sive fracto, in quibus clerici seculares maxime delectantur,” better translated as, “He wrote many songs in both melodious and harmonized style, which secular clerics greatly enjoyed.” Salimbene uses the word “cantilena” at other points in his chronicle, but there is nothing in his usage to suggest that he means “worldly” or “profane” songs when he employs this word. Indeed, Baird does not translate it in this fashion elsewhere.

⁸¹ Salimbene, *Cronica*, 262.15–264.16; Baird, *Chronicle*, 172–73.

⁸² Salimbene, *Cronica*, 262.15, 265.27–28.

⁸³ Salimbene, *Cronica*, 630.34–631.9; Baird, *Chronicle*, 442.

⁸⁴ Salimbene, *Cronica*, 621.24–28, 717.20–719.15; Baird, *Chronicle*, 435, 502–03.

proportions of their cathedrals. The decorations in episcopal halls emphasized religious subjects and established a sacred context for the actions transpiring within their walls. The decor in lay halls emphasized secular themes and established a very different context for actions within them. Although some of the actions taking place in the bishop's hall, particularly administrative dealings and the exercise of lordship, were shared with secular elites, others were distinctly ecclesiastical. Bishops brought the poor and religious to their tables, feasting them in their halls. They bridged social distance through feasting, whereas lay nobles underscored social distinctions at their tables. In contrast to the love poetry enjoyed by lay elites, the songs performed for bishops were in praise of the Blessed Virgin and the saints; the poems recited celebrated sacred themes. This clerical strain of courtly culture distinguished the higher clergy—and the power they wielded—from their secular counterparts.

The material, visual, and aural aspects of episcopal courts suggest the benefits of employing the capacious definition of "clerical culture" used here. This broader definition reveals the aspects of clerical culture that are not evident in traditional equations of clerical culture with elite intellectual life or with *mentalité*. Moreover, these differences between the clergy and the laity are important for medievalists to acknowledge and explore. First, the differences evident in just this limited study suggest that the training and formation of the clergy produced very different outlooks, tastes, and sensibilities. Just how did clerical training influence identity formation? This is important for medieval historians in understanding the clergy and using the sources they produced. Second, in clerical-lay relations, the examples above reveal subtle tensions, discourses, and coercive strategies not evident in other sources. Particularly for those interested in the oppressive power of the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages, an understanding of the complexities of clerical culture seems crucial. Such a nuanced understanding, however, will also reveal the other, more positive, aspects of clerical culture that help explain the enduring power of ecclesiastical institutions. Being aware, for example, of clerical models of lordship and clerical critiques of secular lordship can only contribute to our understanding of medieval "cultures of power" and why in the early modern era many areas of Europe chose to remain Catholic.⁸⁵

Indeed, a new look at clerical culture is needed for the same reasons historians of gender are turning to masculinity studies. Just as notions of masculinity and femininity are constructed in relation to one another, so clerical and lay cultures in the Middle Ages developed in relationship and cannot be understood separately. For medievalists, advocating the study of clerical culture—so often associated with misogyny and repression—may seem like a call to take our focus away from the oppressed and marginal and return it to the traditional subjects of medieval studies. But to understand oppression and power in medieval society, we need a more complex and subtle understanding of the forces of oppression. Many feminists

⁸⁵ Thomas N. Bisson's collection *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia, 1995) is a good introduction to this newer political history of the Middle Ages; on remaining Catholic, see Michelle M. Fontaine, "For the Good of the City: The Bishop and the Ruling Elite in Sixteenth-Century Modena," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27 (1997): 27–41; and generally on interpretive problems in early modern Italian Catholicism, see William V. Hudon, "Religion and Society in Early Modern Italy: Old Questions, New Insights," *AHR* 101 (June 1996): 783–804.

arrived at the same place long ago: the embrace of the concept of gender, as Scott pointed out, acknowledged that “women and men were defined in terms of one another, and no understanding of either could be achieved by entirely separate study.”⁸⁶

This parallel returns us to religion as a category of difference. Scott implicitly positions gender as a more fundamental category of analysis than religion. She discusses religion (along with educational, scientific, legal, and political doctrines) as a source of normative concepts that are “involved in” gender as a “constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences.”⁸⁷ Here it seems to me a ghost of the older categories of “sex” or “sexual difference” is still at work: is gender a more “constitutive” element of social relationships because it can have a biological aspect? If relationships of difference are primarily socially constructed and not biologically determined, are gender or racial differences of a different order and character than religious differences? Only an expansion of our grid of historically important categories of “difference” beyond race, class, and gender will yield an answer to such questions.

⁸⁶ Scott, “Gender,” 1054.

⁸⁷ Scott, “Gender,” 1067.

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“A Laudable Pride in the Whole of Us”: City Halls and Civic Materialism

MARY P. RYAN

THE OBJECT OF CIVIC PRIDE referred to in the title of this essay is a classic municipal building that still stands and serves a public purpose in the city of New Orleans. First opened in 1853 (and now called Gallier Hall, in recognition of its architect), it was designed as the place of government for the city's second municipal district, better known as the “American Quarter.” Upon its inauguration, the Municipal Hall won accolades for serving such diverse public purposes as “affording employment to large numbers of citizens, the bone and sinew of society,” and displaying “the progress of taste in our midst. . . increasing prosperity and of course. . . a laudable pride in the whole of us.” This single and rather modest building proved to be a capacious civic symbol, expansive enough to satisfy both artistic standards and commercial values, to meet the needs of workers as well as merchants, and to inspire allegiance from those who claimed the United States as either their “native or adopted land.”¹

Like thousands of similar structures that dotted the American landscape in the nineteenth century, the Municipal Hall of the Second District of New Orleans also harbors rich evidence about civic life in the past; but, like all historical documents, its meaning remains complex and ambiguous. Even as the inhabitants of the American Quarter of New Orleans boasted of their new public accommodations, the city's sizable and equally proud minority, those of French descent, snubbed the new building and gathered downriver in their own public places in the French Quarter. Public attitudes toward civic buildings were fickle as well as diverse. Midway through the nineteenth century, residents of American cities tended to share New Orleans' pride in their public architecture. New Yorkers were so attached to their City Hall, for example, that when it was ravished by fire it provoked “universal grief” and poignant pleas to rebuild it for the sake of “the

This essay has benefited immensely from the careful reading of my colleagues at the University of California at Berkeley and two groups in particular: first, the American Studies reading group, including Paul Groth, Richard Hudson, Margaretta Lowell, Donald McQuade, and Kathleen Moran, and, second, the Townsend Humanities Seminar and its director, Randolph Starn. Michelle Bogart offered an acute and instructive critique of an early draft. I am indebted to Dell Upton of the Department of Architecture for his erudition, shrewd advice, and correction of my architectural blunders. My Berkeley colleague David Henkin gave his usual incisive and kind reading. I have also to thank Robin Bachin and the American Studies faculty at the University of Miami for their helpful reading of an earlier version.

¹ *New Orleans Picayune*, October 13, 31, 1853.

jostled, jammed and unsheltered public.”² Under a democracy, however, the official occupants of civic residences were only tenants, never owners, and consequently the public reputation of city hall could change as quickly as an annual election. In the last half of the nineteenth century, city halls across America came under a cloud of suspicion and became emblems more of “the shame of the cities” than the “pride of the whole of us.” This essay will not resolve the longstanding dispute about the pride or shame of either cities or civic architecture but seeks to demonstrate that the protean passions public buildings inspired merit more attention from historians. Objects that provoked such intense public reaction, be it pride or scorn, are of interest both in their own right and as factors that contribute to the formation of civic culture and the course of historical events.

Although civic architecture is a tangible, obdurate, indeed monumental, form of evidence about the past, it is too seldom studied outside the field of art history. Yet scattered investigations of Italian Renaissance squares, imperial government houses, English town halls, and Beaux Arts courthouses offer convincing proof that architecture and the built environment are invested with historical significance of a very high order. We are told that public buildings in particular have “the power . . . to shape and structure experience,” to “represent . . . power, authority, and legitimacy within the community.” One scholar has shown that the public spaces of Paris played “a major role in defining the history of the city” and “in the creation and representation of the centralized state.” Others have read English town halls as “statements in brick and mortar of urban consciousness and of pride and confidence in their towns,” as “exponents of the life and soul of the city.”³ Taken in the aggregate, case studies such as these point to public architecture as a prime example of the interpretive promise of the “cultural landscape” as defined by Dell Upton: “The fusion of the physical with the imaginative structures that all inhabitants of the landscape use in constructing and construing it.”⁴

This essay adapts these principles of architectural and landscape analysis as strategies for solving some quite conventional problems in urban and political history. It exploits the potential of the built environment not just to represent the cultural assumptions of its builders and architects but also to provide a three-dimensional form of evidence about history more generally. More than just a textual or visual imprint from the past, the built environment constituted the actual physical space in which people made history. Accordingly, the buildings constructed and used by a public body could be pivotal to historical developments. In the prudent formulation of architect and historian Peter Rowe, they can “without anthropomorphizing too much become actors, or at least significant stage sets for actors in a much broader play of sociopolitical forces.” Rowe has demonstrated this power of public places through the exegesis of something he calls “civic realism.”

² *New York Times*, December 22, 1858.

³ Katherine Fischer Taylor, *In the Theater of Criminal Justice: The Palais de Justice in Second Empire Paris* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), xx; Robert Tittler, *Architecture and Power: The Town Hall and the English Urban Community, c. 1500–1640* (Oxford, 1991), 4; Colin Cunningham, *Victorian and Edwardian Town Halls* (London, 1981), preface; Hilary Ballon, *The Paris of Henry IV: Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 12; Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (New York, 1965); Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization* (New York, 1994).

⁴ Dell Upton, “Architectural History or Landscape History?” *Journal of Architectural History* 44 (August 1991): 195–97.

He postulates that “publicly accessible spaces can have and should have a civic orientation that is direct, palpable, and there for the purposes of reminding us both of who we are and who we might become.” While Rowe’s words echo the sentiments of the editor of the *New Orleans Picayune* in 1853, the examples he offers, the Piazza Del Campo in Sienna, the New York City Plan of 1803, and François Mitterand’s *grands projets* for Paris, are drawn from the pantheon of Western architecture.⁵ This case study considers more vernacular material sources—American city halls—and will interrogate them for evidence about modern democracies rather than ancient republics or West European monarchies.

Before returning to these comparative architectural questions, this investigation will address a more specific and prosaic issue in the history of American urban politics. The history of the nineteenth-century American city has long been encased in a kind of reverse Whig interpretation, which charts a steep decline from republican civic virtue to the corruption of city machines, which provoked a warfare between bosses and reformers that has been waging in the history books and newspapers ever since.⁶ Analysis of the architectural form of the American city hall injects a kind of civic materialism, if not realism, into this debate. What Americans colloquially imagine as “city hall” is a unique focal point of the everyday, ordinary experience of citizenship, a lay person’s political practice that is seldom articulated in a formal or literary way. The term itself was conjured up in the public imagination in the nineteenth century when it anchored the idea of government in a social space and shaped political expectations around a public meeting place, a hall. This essay will examine these public buildings and their immediate surroundings for evidence of a vernacular political culture that complicates that all-too-familiar descending plotline of American urban history.⁷

This material and vernacular evidence requires its own ad hoc methodology. What follows is, first of all, an exercise in institutional political history. It examines the decision-making process that led nineteenth-century American cities to invest, at times extravagantly, in public buildings. The city hall was the product of nitty-gritty political struggle: its planning and construction required decisive collective action, severely tested the public will, and taxed the pocketbooks of notoriously niggardly citizens. Once constructed, the city hall yields a second and especially resonant kind of material evidence for historians. The floor plans and spatial arrangement of the city hall literally set the path of citizens through their government. The way a municipal building was situated within the larger urban plan offers material answers to such vexing questions as, Where do public and private meet? How does civil society relate to the state? The third research strategy is a

⁵ Peter G. Rowe, *Civic Realism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 9.

⁶ Terrence McDonald, “Constructing the Liberal Subject: Re-reading the Narrative of Urban Political Corruption in Twentieth Century America,” paper presented at the Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, 1997.

⁷ Charles T. Goodsell, *The Social Meaning of Civic Space: Studying Political Authority through Architecture* (Lawrence, Kan., 1988); Amos Rappoport, “Vernacular Architecture and Cultural Determination of Form,” in *Buildings and Society: Essays on the Social Development of the Built Environment*, Anthony D. King, ed. (London, 1980), 283–306; Daniel Bluestone, *Constructing Chicago* (New Haven, Conn., 1991), esp. chaps. 5–6; Upton, “Architectural History or Landscape History?” 195–97; Dell Upton, “Another City: The Urban Cultural Landscape in the Early Republic,” in *Everyday Life in the Early Republic*, Catherine E. Hutchins, ed. (New York, 1994).

straightforward analysis of text and rituals, as well as stylistic and decorative features of buildings, in order to decipher the symbolic meanings ordinary citizens might have attached to their government. All told, vernacular architecture bespeaks more than the aesthetic intentions of architects: it testifies about a whole sequence of civic actions that involved politicians, bureaucrats, builders, voters, and anonymous citizens. Many fingerprints, in other words, can be found upon the marble and bronze of America's city halls.

The sites chosen for deploying these tools of civic materialism represent a range of cities, located in the North, South, and West of the United States. Over the course of the critical period of American political development roughly bounded by the nineteenth century, three locations—New York, New Orleans, and San Francisco—produced five exemplary public buildings.⁸ The first research site is the seat of Spanish colonial administration in New Orleans, built between 1795 and 1799 and called the Cabildo. This structure, which occupies the very center of the French Quarter, served as the house of government until 1852, when the city offices were relocated to the Municipal Hall of the American Quarter, the second research location. The story of public architecture in New Orleans will be followed by tales of two buildings located in lower Manhattan. The first has borne the proper name City Hall since construction began in 1803. The second, its intended extension, soon took the name of County Courthouse, and its cornerstone was laid in 1862. The final location for this study, San Francisco, not only extends the regional scope of this story but also provides a chronological counterpoint. For decades, San Franciscans made their civic home in the secondhand quarters of the Jenny Lind Theater. They did not lay the cornerstone for a proper city hall until 1872, and the project was not completed until 1892. San Franciscans made up for their tardiness with an ornate and massive construction project: it would fill four acres of public space. The historical meaning of these city halls did not terminate when construction ended. The buildings themselves framed the subsequent thought and behavior of leaders and citizens, sometimes for well more than a century.

THE FIRST EXAMPLES of municipal building in the New World serve to remind political historians that North American cities hosted a great variety of governmental systems. This catalog of civic architecture begins in the city of New Orleans with a building that testifies to both the multiple national heritages and the imperial ancestry of the American political tradition. The first house of government in Louisiana goes by the generic Spanish title Cabildo, dates from 1769 in the reign of Charles IV, and was erected on a French town plan designed in 1721 for Louis XIV. The dual pillars of the *ancien régime*, military power and religious uniformity, were built into the urban plan for New Orleans, which placed the hall of government in the central square, beside St. Louis Cathedral and facing a military parade grounds, the Place d'Armes. The central square was decorated with such symbols of state power as a pillory, arsenal, and jail. To this day, the alliance of church and state is

⁸ For more background on these cities, see Mary P. Ryan, *Civic Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American City during the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997).

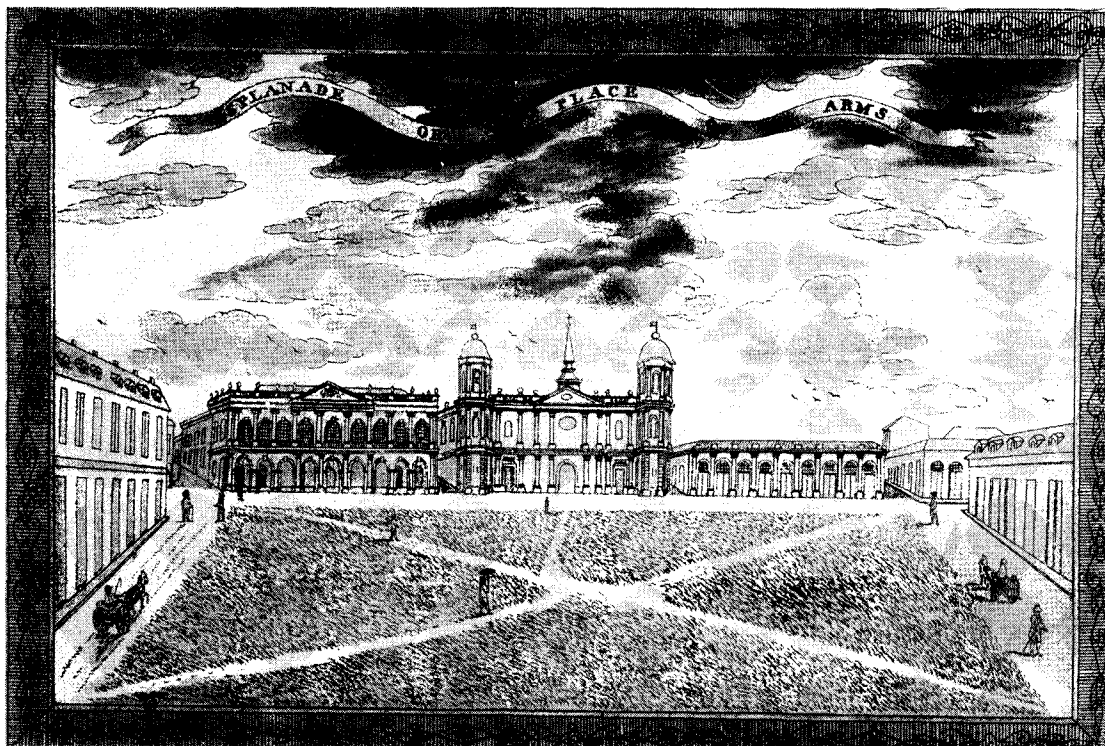


FIGURE 1: The Place d'Armes in 1803 by J. S. Boquet de Woiserie. Shown are the Cabildo, the St. Louis Cathedral, the unfinished Presbytère and Almonester's buildings, which then flanked the square. Courtesy of the Historic New Orleans Collection, Museum/Research Center, New Orleans.

symbolically central in the city of New Orleans, where the symmetrical triad of St. Louis Cathedral, the Presbytère, and the Cabildo stand sentinel over the tourists and street musicians of Jackson Square.⁹ (See Figure 1.)

The first modest Cabildo burned down in 1788, clearing the way for the landmark public building that still stands in Jackson Square. The creation of a new house of government was not the simple fiat of the Spanish throne but rather an act of local administration, which augured a new regime in public architecture. The Cabildo was the initiative of Don Andrés Almonester y Roxas, who had made his fortune by converting land grants from the crown into lucrative real estate in the trading post on the Gulf of Mexico. Almonester parlayed colonial success into a knighthood, a place on the colonial council, and the authority to plan public space. According to the minutes of the colonial council, it was agreed in 1785 "to let this gentleman proceed to reconstruct [the Cabildo] under the terms he had proposed, giving him sufficient authority to carry it out." Almonester's noblesse oblige bore a certain taint of self-interest. His contract called for reimbursement from the government coffers with the sole proviso that the sums expended would never be so large as to deplete the treasury. Nor was the financing of this early American civic building without the petty rancor that would mark the history of American public spending.

⁹ Samuel Wilson, Jr., and Leonard Huber, *The Cabildo on Jackson Square: The Colonial Period, 1723–1803* (1970; Gretna, La., 1973), iv, 1.

The philanthropist's widow would be bickering with the city fathers about the bill for the Cabildo as late as 1803, four years after its completion.¹⁰

The hybrid process of constructing the Cabildo, equal parts colonial decree and New World mercantile enterprise, was reflected in the completed building, as designed by a French engineer named Gilberto Guillemard, who was under the hire of the Spanish military. The Cabildo provided a fitting stage for the top-down administration of colonial power. The majority of the space was set aside for the *corps de garde*, and its signature architectural feature, a five-gabled arcade fronting the square, was adapted from the design of an earlier military structure. The entire two-story rectangular edifice was encased in thick brick and stucco walls and trimmed with Roman embellishments, which lent a sense of enclosing authority to the whole building. The floor above this military fortification was laid out for the more polite aspects of colonial administration. The offices of local administrators were fronted by reception rooms and a handsome arcaded gallery. The largest room on the second story, the Sala Capitular, was the only space in the architecture of authority whose arrangement suggested public deliberation and the interplay of citizens and officials. The beamed ceiling, the fireplace, and comfortable furnishings created an environment conducive to polite conversation about public concerns. The Governor's Council ordered twelve seats, which were probably grouped around a small table like that found in later restorations of the room. A nest of plain benches was placed a few paces away, at a distance that suggests the patience of colonial supplicants who awaited the adjudication of disputes by the crown's agents in New Orleans.

The Cabildo's interior space carefully contained any more active and widespread political participation. The entrance to the house of colonial government was through a vaguely marked arch roughly in the center of the arcade. It did not lead to a clear civic destination within. Doorways to both the left and right of the entryway led to the rooms assigned to the *corps de garde*. Beyond the former was a rugged stone stairway providing access to a second-floor gallery fronting the Place d'Armes and affording a narrow space for courtly reception. At the center of the second story was a block of undistinguished rooms, among them a council chamber set rather recessively toward the side of the building. As if to interrupt this broken, halting access to the Sala Capitular yet again, the architect provided an alternative, more direct but more secretive, access to the office of the executive authority, a small stair at the rear of the first floor room, which was assigned to the lamplighter. In sum, the internal space of this early American governmental building paid some respect to grand neo-classical spaces found in eighteenth-century royal houses (the arcade and the gallery) and resembled the halls of state in Renaissance republics with a council chamber on the second story. Still, the Cabildo offered ordinary citizens limited access and failed to provide anyone a very direct or inviting path to some center of civic assembly or deliberation. (See Figure 2.)

The decorative features of the Cabildo also denoted a government insulated from the general population. The walls were graced with the portraits of Charles IV and his family; the tympanum of the pediment presented the Spanish coat of arms to the

¹⁰ Wilson and Huber, *Cabildo on Jackson Square*, 27–40.

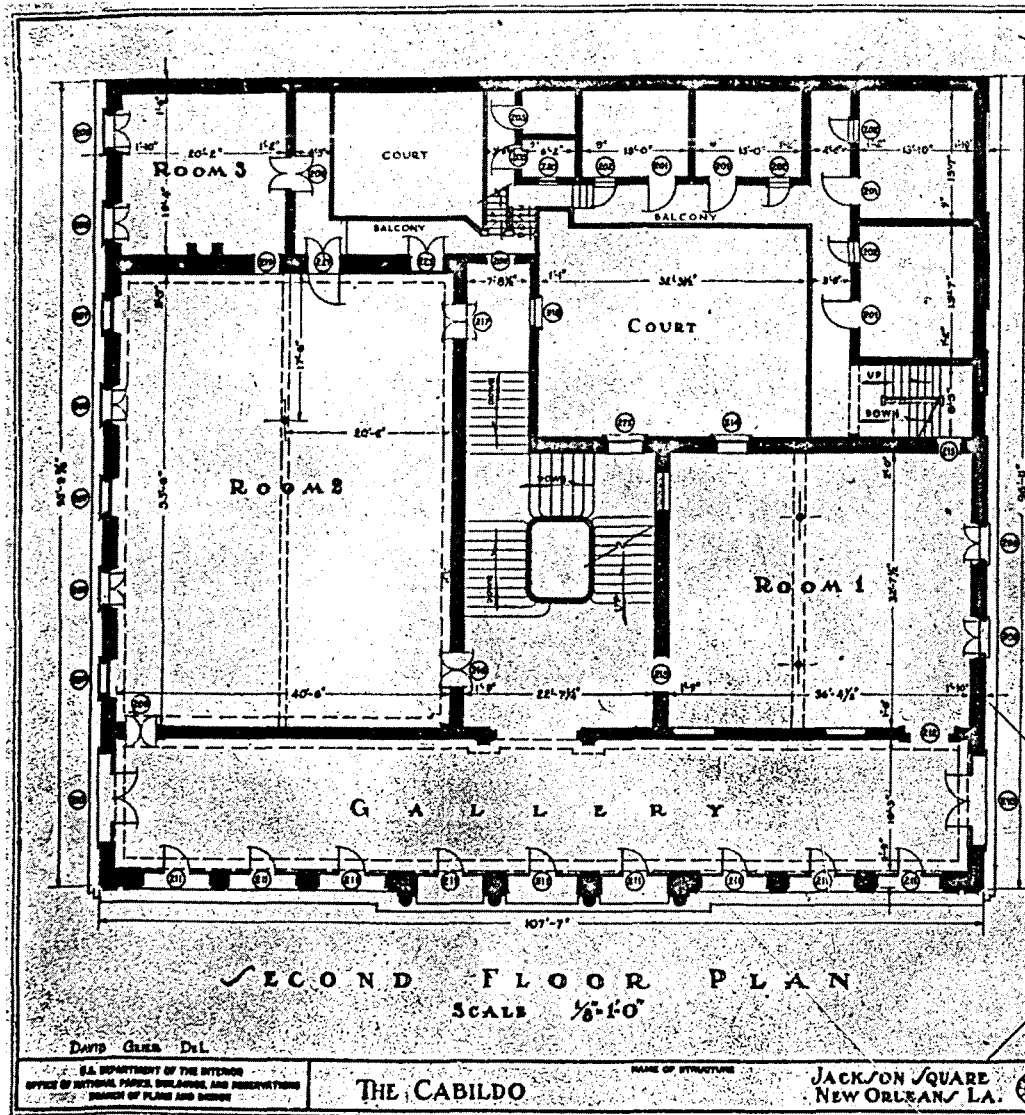


FIGURE 2: Second-floor plan of the Cabildo. Drawn for the Historic American Building Survey. Reproduced from the Collections of the Library of Congress.

rustic population that lounged in the Place d'Armes. Just below that symbol was a second-floor balcony lined with intricate iron railings. This final architectural characteristic of the *ancien régime* in the Americas, the balcony, provided an elevated space from which colonial authorities might issue proclamations and enact the proper protocol of absolutism. Rather than inviting the people into the public house, this architectural feature was designed for dispensing edicts from the citadel of authority.¹¹

The political ideology implicit in the architecture of the Cabildo was also displayed in the ceremonies performed around it and in the impressions it made on

¹¹ Historic American Building Survey, New Orleans, Louisiana. All references to the survey are to the Collection held by the Library of Congress, reproduced and microfiched and arranged by location.

contemporaries. The galleries of the Cabildo and the space of Place d'Armes became the stage on which to mimic the pomp of European courts. Events in the history of the royal family or military victories were commemorated in an almost feudal manner, with a proclamation in the Cabildo, a Mass in St. Louis Cathedral, and a procession of officials through the Place d'Armes. Almonester's knighthood, for example, occasioned a reenactment of Old World pretensions. "He was enveloped in the great mantle of the Order and his train was carried by three lackeys in red. An immense crowd followed him as he went in state from the Cathedral to his dwelling. He placed himself in his mantle, at the door of his drawing room, where he affectionately kissed on both cheeks all who approached to greet him, to the number of more than three hundred." This procession passed by the Cabildo, which was then under construction at the behest of the new knight. It would stand for some time to come as a symbol of the brief and shabby reign of feudal absolutism in North America. A visitor in 1813 was still moved by the symmetry of the north side of the Place d'Armes: "quite an imposing aggregate of law, religion and punishment." A few years later, another visitor from the North was shocked when the deliberations in the Sala Capitular were interrupted by shrieks from the *corps de garde* below, emitted by slaves being whipped at their masters' behest for a fee of 25 cents. The ground outside the Cabildo maintained a pillory for slaves until 1847, twenty years after it had been abolished for free white criminals. Nothing in the manner of erection, the spatial organization, or the vernacular uses of the Cabildo gave any suggestion of incipient democracy in North America.¹²

A visit to the Cabildo at the midpoint of the nineteenth century would find it only slightly updated, despite some major political changes in the Crescent City, by 1850 a booming commercial town in the jurisdiction of the United States of America. A city hall handed down from a colonial oligarchy still served as the mayor's office until 1852. Although the Spanish coat of arms was removed from the pediment in 1804, soon after the Louisiana Territory was purchased by the United States, it was not replaced with an American eagle until 1819. The Sala Capitular was converted to a city council chamber and refurbished in 1825 to serve as the quarters of visiting dignitary General Lafayette. Only with the reorganization of the city into three municipalities in 1836, a time when city elections had become more contested and partisan, was this chamber enlarged to accommodate the popularly elected legislature. By then, the reinvigoration of commerce as well as politics was apparent in the grounds around the Cabildo. The daughter of the Cabildo's original benefactor, Micaela, Baroness de Pontalba, contributed the major improvement of the Place d'Armes, the elegant brick structures laced with iron balconies that frame the two sides of the square perpendicular to the cathedral block. The First Municipality rewarded Pontalba by exempting her from taxes for twenty years and went on to finance additional improvements in the square. The Place d'Armes was fenced and landscaped, and the Cabildo was crowned with a third story and a mansard roof. The last piece of remodeling, which dates from the 1840s, completed the symmetry of the square by complementing the roof of the Presbytère and the

¹² Wilson and Huber, *Cabildo on Jackson Square*, 30, 50, 64.

Pontalba Apartments. A renovated entryway beckoned citizens into the public gallery, which spanned the entire third floor. The democratization of civic space extended to the plaza outside the Cabildo, which would soon be renamed and presided over by an equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson.

These alterations in the Cabildo were relatively minor, however, both structurally and in civic consequence. As of 1850, Jackson Square played host primarily to residents of the First Municipality, most of them of French ancestry and language. The ethnic division of urban politics was especially brazen in New Orleans, where the government itself was divided into separate units anchored by separate “French” and “American” city halls. In fact, the architectural improvements in the French Quarter were in large part an attempt to compete with the more dramatic innovation in public architecture then under way in the Second, “American,” Municipality.¹³ The American district quickly proceeded to mirror itself in a public building. The district council resolved to appropriate \$120,000 for a new city hall in 1845, and when the cost climbed to over \$340,000 a few years later, there was no great public outcry. The boosters of the Second Municipality stipulated: “It is distinctly understood no defective marble is permitted.”¹⁴ They spared no expense in choosing the location of this civic project: the high-priced residential area of Lafayette Square. The exceptions to the private façades around the square were the Oddfellows Hall, a school, and a Presbyterian church, all sites and symbols of Yankee culture and the enterprising voluntary spirit that suffused the commercial economy and civic life in general.

Commercial associations pervaded the new public architecture. The City Council employed the trusted local architect James Gallier, who had already designed many of the spaces they frequented, including the Merchant Exchange and the St. Charles Hotel. Coincidentally, Gallier had accumulated a real estate fortune of his own. The architect, who seems to have been given a free hand in the design of the new city hall, chose to enshrine the commercial republic in Greek Revival casings, modeling some aspects of his design on the Erechtheum atop the Acropolis, perhaps not incidentally the citadel of another slave republic.¹⁵ In keeping with Greek Revival style and in deference to the public importance of his project, Gallier designed a lofty exterior with a sixty-foot portico and towering Doric columns. The elevation of the narrow stairs and depth of the portico placed the inner sanctum of public life at a greater distance from the bustle of the street than was the case in Gallier’s commercial buildings. Yet a naïve observer of the New Orleans skyline would easily mistake nearby places of business for the city hall. The St. Charles Hotel and the Merchant Exchange, but not Municipal Hall, were crowned with domed rotundas in the style of the United States Capitol.¹⁶ (See Figure 3.)

The interior space of Municipal Hall is also a curious mixture of commercial and civic elements. The portico opens into a long, wide central hall that is lined with

¹³ Wilson and Huber, *Cabildo on Jackson Square*, 59–75.

¹⁴ Historic American Building Survey, New Orleans, Gallier Hall.

¹⁵ James Gallier, *Autobiography of James Gallier, Architect* (New York, 1973); Historic American Building Survey, Gallier Hall; *New Orleans Architecture*, Vol. 2: *The American Sector*, text by Samuel Wilson, Jr., compiled by Roulhac Toledano and Sally Kittridge Evans (Gretna, La., 1974), 93, 119, 204–05.

¹⁶ Gallier, *Autobiography*, plates 5–10, pp. 13–17.



FIGURE 3: Municipal Hall in Lafayette Square. Courtesy of the Historic New Orleans Collection, Museum/Research Center.

spacious, square chambers and an even larger reception room. Stairways midway down the hall rise to the second story, which is divided into large quadrants that served as the mayor's reception room, a dining room, ballroom, and city council chamber. (See Figure 4.) On the third floor, Gallier opened up the most dramatic space, a grand hall with a ceiling that arched a full eighty-five feet and was set with a stage and galleries. This space was called a lyceum and, like the assembly room atop the Cabildo, seems designed to gather citizens together and promote public intercourse. The lyceum of Municipal Hall was a somewhat poorer cousin to the grand public space of the St. Charles Hotel, which clustered generous public spaces all around its wide rotunda.¹⁷ Gallier crowned the classic face of the municipal hall with the insignia of public architecture that had become standard in Washington, D.C., as well as locally: a pediment on which was sculpted the figure of "Liberty supporting justice and commerce." By adding Commerce to the more familiar republican deities, Gallier introduced a fitting contemporary element into the architecture of the public. But its precise meaning is as opaque as the plaster of which it was cast. Should we read this grouping as money-changers entering the

¹⁷ Historic American Building Survey, New Orleans, Gallier Hall, 6–7.

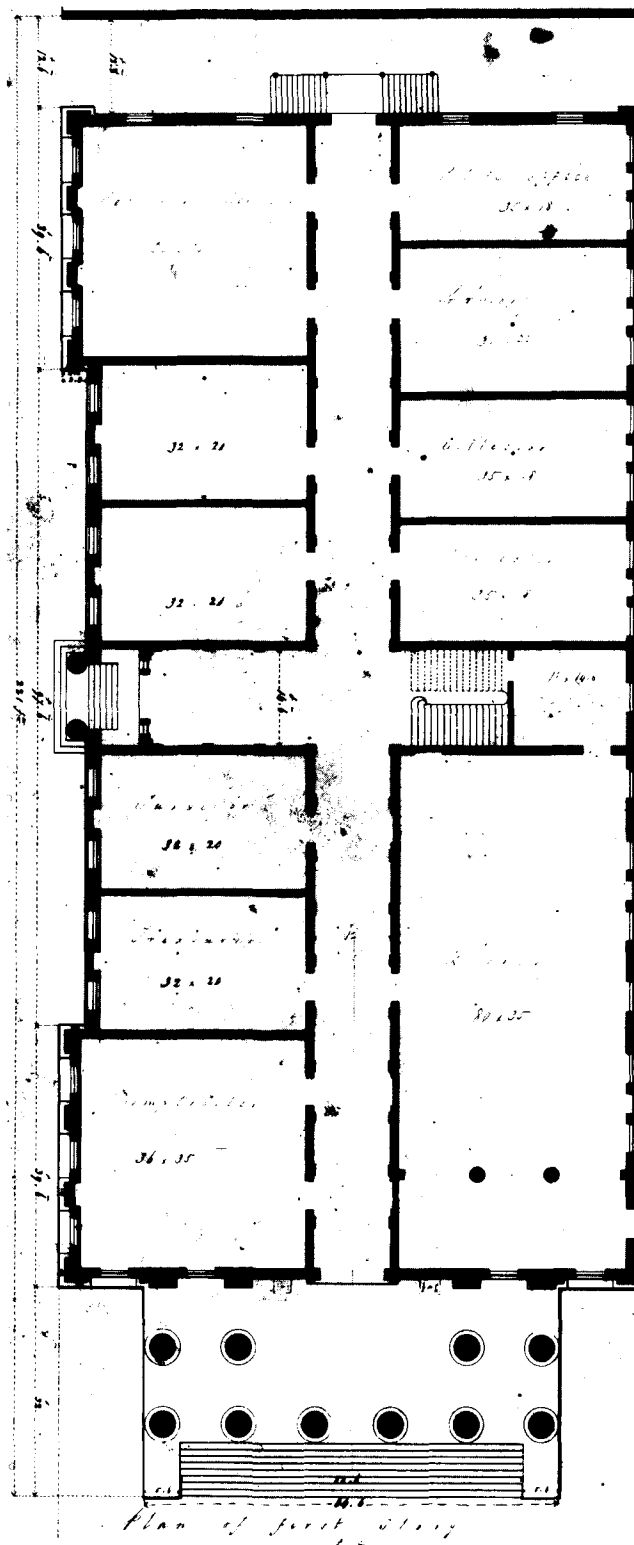


FIGURE 4: Plan of the first floor, Municipal Hall, New Orleans. Courtesy of the Sylvester Labrot Collection, Southeastern Architectural Archive, Tulane University Library.

house of Liberty? As civil society merging with the state? Had commercial prosperity replaced the mixed constitution as the safeguard of republican virtue?¹⁸

One can conclude at least that the New Orleans Municipal Hall presents a contrast with its predecessor in the French Quarter that is suggestive of a transfiguration of the blueprint for urban politics. First, while the circulatory spaces are more open than the Cabildo, they still project a rather daunting monumentality, a pompousness that might well discourage faint-hearted or low-status citizens from entering. The scale of the portico and the narrow, recessed stairways announce the importance of this public space more boldly than they welcome pedestrians within. The ten columns raised sixteen steps above the entryway form a gauntlet of shadows as they obscure and darken the doorway. Those citizens who did enter, however, would find quite an array of commodious spaces. Most of them were called reception (not meeting) rooms, indicating their function was to foster genteel sociability rather than to facilitate the deliberative aspects of an elected legislature. These kinds of spaces were a familiar habitat for merchants accustomed to gathering in hotels and clubrooms of the American Quarter. By setting aside a capacious space in which select citizens could socialize, or study in the lyceum, the municipal government opened its house to polite civil society, and seems to have made the city hall more analogous with other buildings in the neighborhood, like the St. Charles Hotel and the Oddfellows Hall. The Second District of New Orleans at mid-century resembled a spatial model for the bourgeois public sphere as formulated by Jürgen Habermas. It suggests a place where public opinion might be shaped by rational discourse, but it also put severe, if seldom spoken, limits on who might participate in such august proceedings.

The public ceremonies and literary texts that inaugurated Municipal Hall delivered a similar message about changes in the practice of urban politics. Although there appears to have been no formal ceremony laying its cornerstone, the organ of communication for the literate public of the American district, the *New Orleans Picayune*, swelled with pride on the day the council room opened for business in 1853. "The worthy fathers of the second municipality met last evening in solemn enclave for the first time in the new council room. The place is beautiful indeed and in every way worthy of the purpose for which it is to be used." The press praised spaces like the mayor's room as a tribute to the "taste and good judgment of those in charge" and proclaimed Municipal Hall an architectural wonder. The *Picayune* boasted: "The citizens of the second municipality may well be proud of owning the handsomest municipal hall in the United States. The stranger will find in few cities on this continent more to command his admiration or invite his scrutiny than the public and private edifices of New Orleans."¹⁹

Even a superficial look at the public architecture of this one southern city reveals decisive changes in the fundamental principles of government. A spirit of enterprise, civic engagement, voluntary energy, and urban ambition suffused the vaulted spaces of Municipal Hall. The apertures were widened just far enough to permit a thriving middle class to enter its opulent reception rooms and

¹⁸ Historic American Building Survey, New Orleans, Gallier Hall, 7–8: *New Orleans Architecture*, 2: 205.

¹⁹ *New Orleans Picayune*, May 11, 12, 1853; *Daily Crescent*, October 15, 1849.

grand lyceum, under whose high ceilings merchants who were habituated to socializing in the Merchant Exchange and St. Charles Hotel were most likely to feel at home. The council room, that space where elected representatives deliberated about the “common good,” was hard to distinguish from all the other rooms and buildings that displayed the robust commercial enterprise of the American Quarter. In antebellum New Orleans, political participation was skewed by ethnicity and race as well as class. The rather narrow and recessed entry to the haughty Municipal Hall was particularly restrictive for those who lived downriver in either the French Quarter or the immigrant sector further to the east. Slaves and free men and women of color were certainly not invited across the classic portico of Municipal Hall. Nonetheless, when the government of New Orleans was consolidated in 1852, the Municipal Hall of the American Quarter became its only “city hall.” It would remain so until 1957, at which late date its daunting classic façade and off-center location still presented an apt metaphor for the obstacles to equal citizenship in a segregated city.

NORTH OF THE MASON-DIXON LINE, America’s civic materialism tells quite another story. While the architectural heritage of New Orleans bore traces of the European monarchies that adapted easily to American slave society, the citizens of New York City erected their city hall on a freestanding republican foundation. Even during the colonial period, New York’s public buildings had more in common with an English borough than a bastion of empire. The Corporation of the City of New York made its eighteenth-century headquarters first in a tavern and later in a building just north of Wall Street, the far outskirts of the city at the date it was built, 1698. The latter structure featured a tall façade, cupola, and central balcony that presented a rather haughty face to the citizen-pedestrian. Entry to a modest public chamber was through a narrow and secluded passage hidden behind an arcade that ran the front of the building. This colonial construction served briefly as the national capitol during George Washington’s presidency, and the structure was remodeled in 1789 by Pierre Charles L’Enfant. The entryway to the building, rechristened Federal Hall, was still relatively constricted, but those citizens who found their way within enjoyed a commodious public space, whose republican improvements included vaulted chambers for both the Senate and the House of Representatives and lavishly appointed galleries that rose two full stories.²⁰

When the federal government was transplanted to Washington in 1800, the environs of Federal Hall reclaimed a local, but still proudly republican, civic identity. The area bounded roughly by Chambers Street, Broadway, and Park Row was landscaped and renamed City Hall Park.²¹ A few years later, the park was raked clean of the symbols of Old World authority like the jail, armory, almshouse, and the old government house. The almshouse had been converted to the New York Institute, a city-owned building made available to philanthropic and educational societies. The less coercive and more voluntaristic inscription on New York’s public

²⁰ Louis Torres, “Federal Hall Revisited,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 29 (1970): 327–38.

²¹ I. N. Stopes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498–1909* (New York, 1915–28), plate 57.

space befit a city government that was now entrusted to a single, popularly elected deliberative body, the Common Council. With an appointed mayor, nominal property restrictions on the franchise, and ingrained habits of deference, however, the city corporation was far from a pure democracy. Rather, citizens of some property and their chosen representatives ran the city corporation as a rather plebeian facsimile of a classic republic. Soon, they set about redesigning public space in their own image. In 1802, at a time when two public buildings, the old "State House" as well as "Federal Hall," were vacant, the ordinarily parsimonious Common Council voted to construct a civic building all their own. This proud new edifice would become the archetypal "City Hall."

The aldermen of New York City took upon themselves the responsibility of overseeing the entire process of designing and constructing their new workplace. The "City Hall Building Committee," like other specialized city commissions, was composed of members of the Common Council, that is, directly elected, not appointed, officials. The Common Council empowered the committee to select an architect but specified that they "take the opinion or advice of such mechanics, artisans or other persons as shall be deemed useful and make suitable compensation." An open competition elicited proposals from a range of Manhattanites, including a doctor, a painter, carpenters and builders, as well as professional architects. The committee reviewed the plans, made a recommendation to the council, secured a majority vote ratifying their choice, and proceeded to put the winning plan on public view at a nearby confectioner's shop. The republican procedure had a rather democratic outcome. The chosen architects, John McComb, Jr., and François Joseph Mangin, were relatively humble practitioners of their art, each with only a few modest buildings to their credit. In their choice, the councilmen rebuffed a more renowned and pretentious architect, Benjamin Latrobe, who became contemptuous of such competitive public commissions. Latrobe railed against the humiliation of being "preferred to the workman who may enter the lists against me" and dismissed McComb and Mangin as a "New York bricklayer and a St. Domingo Frenchman," each of meager formal education. The public officials of New York seemed to subscribe to more vernacular architectural principles. McComb's local connections, including his familiarity to the Common Council as a one-time city surveyor, won out over Latrobe's pedigree and the patronage of Aaron Burr. The new city hall was built on a sturdy foundation of small-town familiarity, civic pride, and the simple processes of representation and consultation. Such chaste republican practices augured some innovations in the civic landscape.²²

This project proceeded at a lackadaisical pace, taking eight years to complete. While McComb was commissioned to oversee the actual construction of the plan he co-authored, he was only the agent of the Building Commissioners and obliged to confer regularly with the Common Council and consult with elected officials about such minutiae as the selection of marble, the hiring of stonemasons, and the laying

²² Minutes of the Common Council of New York City, December 17, 1802; Evan Cornog, "To Give Character to Our City: New York's City Hall," *New York History* 69 (November 1988): 388–423; "Some Architectural Designs of Benjamin Latrobe," *Library of Congress Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions* 13 (May 1946).

of bricks. By 1808, McComb reported that the walls had advanced up to the windowsills of the second story and had nearly exhausted the quarter-million dollars of the original appropriation. The council demanded and received a close and frugal accounting from McComb, who kept the final expenditure down to an acceptable \$500,000. The tone of this cumbersome but civil process was set in the first official exchange between the republican government and the builder-architect, dated March 21, 1803: "The committee feel impressed with the magnitude of this undertaking, and they assure the Board that in all their determinations, they have endeavored to combine durability, convenience and elegance with as much economy as the importance of the object will possibly admit."²³

In this decorous manner, New Yorkers crafted a modest building that, in the regard of ordinary citizens and architectural critics alike, is a landmark in public architecture. The sight of it evokes a pervasive and palpable sense of welcome into civic space. A newspaperman ambling through City Hall Park in 1834 captured the everyday civic lessons that the municipal improvements of the young republic would convey. He greeted his place of government as a "sight that rejoices our eyes."²⁴ Late in the next century, writer Phillip Lopate echoed these sentiments when he recalled entering City Hall for the first time at the age of twelve: "I looked up at the graceful relic and my heart swelled with pride."²⁵ Just how this relatively humble building acquired its timeless civic power remains an architectural puzzle and political marvel. The Common Council set out only the first vague parameters of republican civic materialism. They gave the project, first of all, a prescient name, calling it not a government house but a "city hall." Next, they specified a central location, in the public commons, with its wings aligned with nearby public buildings. From the earliest sketches and engravings, City Hall stands as the beckoning focal point of a public landscape, situated not on the edge of a martial parade grounds but right in the middle of a place of casual social mingling.²⁶ This welcoming ambiance was carried into the building itself by the stunning sequence of architectural features that create an unobstructed public processional: broad, gradually ascending steps proceed through an open line of graceful arches and glide effortlessly upward along a circular stair to the chambers of representative government. (See Figure 5.)

This masterful blueprint for public space bears no simple architectural signature. No clear precedent is found in either L'Enfant's Federal Hall, the English mansion-house, the French *hôtel de ville*, or the oeuvre of McComb or Mangin. The best approximation of its pedigree is the vernacular process whereby a hands-on, homegrown citizen-architect sifted through the ideas of his French partner, his English pattern books, the directives of the city council, and his own experience in the urban polity.²⁷ Out of this process emerged the unique architectural features

²³ Minutes of the Common Council, March 21, 1803.

²⁴ "City Hall as Seen in 1834," *New York Times*, June 13, 1934.

²⁵ Phillip Lopate, "Unpretentious Mirror for the Metropolis," *New York Times* (October 30, 1998): B38.

²⁶ For a full demonstration of the cultural and social meaning of this space, see Michelle Bogart, "Public Space and Public Memory in New York's City Hall Park," *Journal of Urban History* 25 (January 1999): 226–57.

²⁷ Clay Lancaster, "New York City Hall Stair Rotunda Reconsidered," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 29 (1970): 33–39.



CITY HALL

FIGURE 5: New York's City Hall, 1826. Drawn by William Guy Wall, engraved by John Hill. Prints Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, New York Public Library.

that beckon citizens inside New York's republican sphere. The wide, gently elevated exterior stairs that rose to a single-story portico were probably designed by Mangin, selected by the Building Commission, ratified by the Common Council, altered and engineered by McComb, executed by artisan citizens, and subjected to revision at every turn. The finished building created a remarkable civic effect: it converted virtually the whole front of the central wing of City Hall into a commodious, readily accessible public space. Between 1803 and 1812 (when the project was finally finished), the builders of New York's City Hall systematically rejected the architectural elements of previous civic projects: they eschewed the narrow internal passages of the Cabildo, the daunting portico of Gallier Hall, and the insulation of L'Enfant's remodeling of Federal Hall. A similarly unspoken but decisive process of selection carved out generous public pathways inside New York's City Hall: a wide rotunda, open stairway, and easy passages to public rooms on the second floor. This almost magic combination of openness and elevation suited the virtuous citizens of a republic better than Gallier's commercial style or Latrobe's rejected plan, whose narrower vestibule and squat form were modeled after his design for the Bank of Pennsylvania.²⁸ In building their hall, the representatives of the citizens of New York happened upon an architecture all their own. The commodious circulatory features of New York's City Hall—the stairs, entrances, and hallways—were the

²⁸ Damie Stillman, "New York City Hall: Competition and Execution," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 23 (October 1964): 129–40.



FIGURE 6: Interior stairway, New York City Hall, Historic American Building Survey. Reproduced from the Collections of the Library of Congress.

earmarks of a vernacular republican style. It proved in retrospect to be the standard by which all the previous municipal buildings seemed narrow, constricted, and exclusive.²⁹ (See Figure 6.)

The same unspoken political and architectural standards informed the allocation of space within City Hall. The instructions to architects authored by the Common Council specified only the most basic requirements, each associated with different governmental functions: eight courtrooms, six juror rooms, and “one for the common Council.” Architects and builders translated the blueprints into elegant but comfortable accommodations for the people and their representatives. The rotunda and stairway pointed to destinations on the second floor, where, above the office and courtrooms, stood three major public spaces for which the council would determine the exact use. The central space just opposite the top of the stair became the Governor’s Room and was flanked by two large chambers, approximately thirty-six by forty feet, one of which was reserved for sessions of the municipal legislature. When, for a brief period in the 1830s, the city charter divided the

²⁹ Historic American Building Survey, New York, New York, 234, pp. 1–5; Goodsell, *Social Meaning of Civic Space*; William L. Lebovich, *American City Halls* (Washington, D.C., 1988).

municipal legislature into two chambers, one of these assembly rooms housed the Board of Aldermen, the other the Board of Assistants. It was the southwestern chamber, however, that became enduringly associated with the legislative process central to a small republic. (See Figure 7.)³⁰

The interior decoration of the Common Council chamber suggests further idealized architectural conditions for governing a republic. The furnishings conferred considerable importance and high definition on the central figurehead, usually a mayor, who presided over the legislature. His accoutrements included an ornate podium, a throne-like seat, a canopy, and a place at the front of the room. At the other end of the spectrum, visiting citizens shared simple benches, placed in an elevated gallery space and separated by a railing approximately four feet in height. In between the people and the presidency stood a simple circle of desks and seats for the legislators. This arrangement compelled both the mayor and the citizens to respectfully observe the central political drama, the deliberations of popularly elected councilmen.³¹

If the interior decorations are to be believed, civic virtue was a republican but hardly a spartan matter. The Common Council invested in antique furnishings valued at over \$1,400, commissioned scores of official portraits of political leaders and military heroes, and stockpiled no less than thirteen works by John Trumbull, the Revolutionary War painter, in the Governor's Room. They also agreed to paint the ceiling of the city hall chamber with a view called "New York Receiving the Tribute of the Nation." John McComb lovingly adorned the public rooms with fine woodcraft. At the highest elevation of City Hall perched a simpler but equally classic symbol, a statue of Justice. The icon the city fathers placed atop the cupola was a crude figure, executed in wood, lacking a blindfold, and holding a steelyard. Subsequent councilmen were embarrassed by Justice's rustic appearance and voted to add a blindfold and a more elegant scale to her accessories. The figurehead of justice was the object of considerable public attention, even identification. New Yorkers penned poems to this "Emblem of dignity and durability" and recoiled in pain when she was "wrapped like a martyr" in the fire of 1858. Justice was part of a hodgepodge of political symbols that graced New York's City Hall, from personified power in the mayor's throne to specialized spaces for legislative, judicial, and executive branches of government.³²

This physical evidence establishes a number of broad political principles that underpinned the design of City Hall and then structured the political life that transpired within the building. The first principle comes from that recurrent motif of invitation and openness that proclaims that city government is a public project. A simple contrast with Federal Hall or New Orleans's Cabildo, constructed less than a decade earlier, should suffice to establish this point. The second principle, that of a mixed constitution, seems equally transparent, clearly visible in the allocation of space for the judiciary, the legislature, and the executives (both the mayor and the governor). The official assignment of space in City Hall was the

³⁰ Mary T. Flannelly, "City Hall" (typescript), New York Historical Society, Fall 1975.

³¹ Goodsell provides an excellent description and analysis of council chambers such as this, but I dispute his interpretation, which gives emphasis to the authoritarian meanings of the space and its furnishings.

³² Flannelly, "City Hall"; Stopes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, 587.

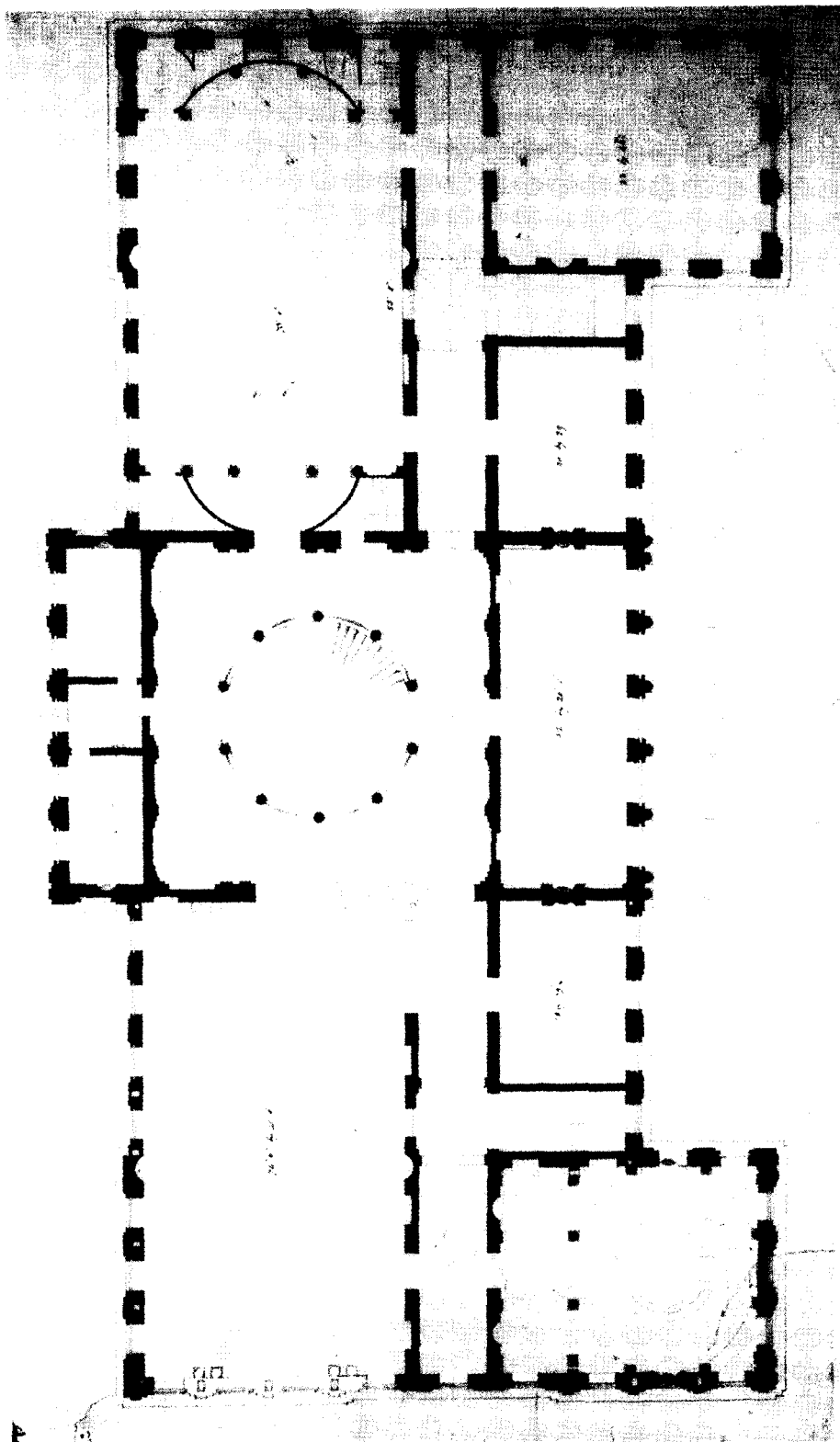


FIGURE 7: Floor plan, New York City Hall. Drawn by John McComb, 1802. Collection of the New-York Historical Society.

subject of considerable discussion by the Common Council in the first two decades in the building's life. The mayor's power was restrained architecturally by his distance from both the circle of legislators and the lobby of citizens. Local practice, as prescribed by state and municipal constitutions and inscribed on the floor plan of City Hall, also disdained pure democracy. Deference to the judgment of social betters was inscribed in elevated and decorous architectural features and enacted in politics. An electorate of propertied, overwhelmingly white men sent their social betters to fill the ornate seats of the Common Council chamber, while the vast majority of the citizenry remained respectfully in the lobby.

Although this classic balance of a mixed constitution was maintained until at least 1830, both architecture and its usage gave a privileged position to the representative branch of city government. The chamber of the Common Council was both the busiest public space and the focus of public attention. As one city directory put it in 1817: "It is fitted up in an elegant and commodious manner for the meetings of the corporation which are open at all times to the citizens."³³ A sketch attributed to C. Burton and dated 1830 focused the eyes of his contemporaries on this same civic space and directly toward the circle of councilmen. Burton etched images of electors in the gallery and posed them leaning over the railing that bordered the legislative space, straining, it would seem, to share in the deliberative process. This artist even found a place for women, or their bonnets at least, in the republican circle. These fashionable ladies were also stationed in the lobby but further to the rear and at a safer distance from the center of the republican drama. (See Figure 8.) Architects, councilmen, and observers seemed to concur in representing politics as a functionally differentiated process that modulated both executive power and democratic participation. Yet the governmental decisions were worked out in a house of government whose public spaces had become conspicuously more open and inviting than its classic republican antecedents.

The interior of New York's City Hall ushers the public into spaces designed expressly for the interaction of citizens with one another. The magnetic circle of the Common Council chamber with its surrounding galleries was the most obvious and official arena for mutual engagement and deliberation. Ordinary citizens were invited to participate in direct public discourse elsewhere as well. They could meet with one another in the Governor's Room, whose elegant spaces were opened to the general public for a mayor's reception every New Year's Day. They could break bread and imbibe alcoholic beverages on the public ground of City Hall Park each July 4th. City Hall also accommodated some more sober and lofty public projects. The Common Council granted space in City Hall for meetings of the Medical Arts and Bible societies, and gave permission for Sunday School students to parade on the grounds. In New York in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the city actually invested a considerable amount of financial resources and enthusiasm in providing space for this open and interactive public assembly, this material and architectural base of the widening, petit-bourgeois public sphere.³⁴

While such architectural evidence about political culture is indirect, inferential,

³³ *Blunt's Stranger's Guide to the City of New-York* [1817], quoted in Flannely, "City Hall."

³⁴ See Minutes of the Common Council, April 6, 1812, November 9, 1804; September 2, 1811; May 13, 1816; April 5, 1819.



FIGURE 8: Council Chamber, City Hall, New York, 1830–1831. Drawn by C. Burton, engraved by H. Fossette. Prints Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, New York Public Library.

and tentative, contemporaries clearly subscribed to one incontrovertible assessment of City Hall. This building was cause for hearty public pride. Even an epidemic could not cancel the festivities planned to inaugurate the building project. The laying of the cornerstone of City Hall was preceded by a long civic procession that included representatives of New York's well-organized public sphere like the Mechanics' Society as well as the Common Council and other city officials. Much of the citizenry was enrolled in the ceremony as the procession filed along Broadway and through the park to the honored site, where a military salute was fired and the crowd regaled with "a supply of wine from the corporation." Once completed, City Hall became New York's major landmark, eclipsing the church spires and Wall Street businesses nearby. Blunt's visitors' guide proclaimed in 1817, "The City Hall is the most prominent and most important building in New York. It is the handsomest structure in the United States: perhaps of its size, in the world."³⁵

Still, it is prudent to recall that these lofty civic sentiments were conjured up in a small city, perched at the outer reaches of European civilization, whose governmental tasks remained very prosaic. The Common Council sat amid those antique furnishings and ruled on such mundane aspects of public civility as the

³⁵ Blunt's *Stranger's Guide*, quoted in Flannelly, "City Hall," 45.

subject of this resolution dated August 15, 1814: "A presentment of the Grand Jury against the indecent practice of persons making water against the walls of the City Hall was read and referred to the City Inspector." We learn a few days later that the civic good was decisively served by the erection of a shed "to present the evil complained of."³⁶ Through the first half of the nineteenth century, such small gestures brought politics and place together in the everyday maintenance of republicanism.

This familiar quality of urban politics would not last for long. As the population of the city of New York passed half a million at mid-century and reached seven digits by 1875, city government outgrew its old quarters, and big city politics burst out of its republican constraints. Property restrictions on voting were abolished for white men by 1842, and the first populist mayor, Fernando Wood, was elected in 1850, making New York City government an aggressively partisan democratic project. Not coincidentally, Mayor Wood proposed that municipal government vacate the City Hall of the early republic and build new quarters uptown nearer the demographic center of the city. When the State Legislature finally approved the project in 1857, clouds of suspicion were beginning to gather over City Hall. Precipitated by charges that Mayor Wood pandered to constituents, especially the foreign-born, this cynicism was given an architectural grounding in the "tea room" on the first floor of old City Hall. In the 1850s, this space was used for the refreshment of the Board of Aldermen, which ran up bills as high as \$9,000 annually. The *New York Tribune* reported in 1852 that the city fathers would soon be returning from recess to "the broad steps of the City Hall and the sacred porches of the Tea Room" and then added sardonically that, until then, there was "no bribery, no bullying, no vote-buying, no juggling of contracts, no fun whatsoever to enliven the sultry hours." A new political climate, the first winds carrying germs of municipal shame, had begun to erode the foundation of public architecture.³⁷

A new political culture required a new architecture. By the time ground was broken for the new city hall in 1862, the project had been reconstituted as a county courthouse. This alteration in the civic building program was more than a simple administrative expedient. It was symptomatic of a restructuring of governmental practice in the late nineteenth century. Increasing suspicion of big city governments and their diverse and intensely partisan electors brought close surveillance from the state level. A series of institutional reforms, often introduced into the state legislatures by middle-class business and rural interests, hamstrung the city council—the local domain, that is, of representative democracy. In New York, that meant that the legislature in Albany transferred major public power from City Hall to the County Board of Supervisors, the governing body that was to be accommodated with a new public building.³⁸ The municipal reforms of the period also complicated the financing of any major civic project. Construction could not commence until the State Assembly and Senate had authorized the Supervisors to sell stock in a public or "sinking" fund in the initial amount of 1 million dollars. By

³⁶ Minutes of the Common Council, August 15, 1814.

³⁷ Barbara S. Peterson, "The Corporation Tearoom" (typescript), vertical file, Municipal Records Room, Municipal Archives, New York City.

³⁸ See Jon C. Teaford, *The Unheralded Triumph: City Government in America, 1870–1900* (Baltimore, Md., 1984).

going into debt and embracing the methods of finance capitalism, New York's public officials would eventually secure as much as 11 million dollars for their county courthouse. The process of paying out these astronomical sums proved even more cumbersome than its appropriation. While making contracts for materials and construction was entrusted to the three members of the Building Commission, their actions were constantly scrutinized by the Board of Supervisors, the State Legislature, and the court of public opinion as convened by the press. At the very least, thirty different companies would contract for everything from iron to awnings before the new courthouse was completed. This intricate and expensive process has left a trail of financial documents that still bewilders historians. We may never know the true cost of New York's County Courthouse, yet we can be assured that its construction inched forward ensnared in a skein of red tape and public suspicion.³⁹

The byzantine process began with the selection of an architect. The commissioners' original choice was John Kellum, who came recommended for his previous work on such local landmarks as Stewart's Department Store. Kellum defined the basic spaces of the new building and oversaw the construction of the interior over halfway to its conclusion, when he was replaced by Leopold Eidlitz, whose previous credits included a number of churches and banks as well as parts of the State Capitol building. Kellum and Eidlitz bore little resemblance to McComb and Mangin, the builder-designers of old City Hall. The second generation of civic builders put themselves before the public as professional architects with well-established reputations, thriving offices in New York City, and considerable professional and aesthetic pretensions. Eidlitz's practice in particular was a far cry from the artisan mode of building design. An author of architectural treatises and a central figure in the Gothic Revival, Eidlitz was acutely conscious of the artistic merit of buildings and relatively indifferent to the taste or needs of the general public.⁴⁰

The people's representatives gave these architects carte blanche in designing the courthouse. The major contribution of the Common Council was to specify the site, just to the north of City Hall on Chambers Street. This decision was based on the administrative convenience of being close to the other courts and official functions clustered around City Hall Park, which by the 1860s had become a more specialized governmental space. Indeed, this municipal building project was conceived more as a service to public employees who required expanded office space than as a site of civic interaction. By the 1850s, the business of public building had become perfunctory to say the least, calculated in terms of square footage and cost estimates. The *New York Times* was contemptuous of pleas to save the trees in City Hall Park and invoked the "Manifest Destiny" of expanding office space.⁴¹ Given this scant attention to architectural (as opposed to financial) details on the part of city officials, Kellum and Eidlitz went quite freely about their work. The public space that they composed seemed, in some respects, to carry forward the

³⁹ "The Tweed Courthouse: Historical Structure Report," prepared by the Landmarks Preservation Commission, New York City: Preservation Commission Archives, New York, n.d., Appendices B and D.

⁴⁰ "The Tweed Courthouse," 29–41; Robert A. M. Stern, Thomas Mellins, and David Fishman, *New York 1880: Architecture and Urbanism in the Gilded Age* (New York, 1999).

⁴¹ *New York Times*, January 18, 1859.



FIGURE 9: Northern façade of Tweed Courthouse with its stairway removed. Historic American Building Survey. Reproduced from the Collections of the Library of Congress.

commitment to openness and accessibility begun by Mangin and McComb. Kellum's original plan invited the people into public space by way of broad steps leading up to a classic portico. (See Figure 9.) In fact, his design called for two such staircases, only one of which was ultimately built. The flow of public space continued well inside the building, where two stairways radiated up a full three-and-a-half stories through a grand rotunda topped with a tinted glass skylight. Combined with contiguous lobbies, the stairs and rotunda created a very generous public space. They accounted for nearly a quarter of the courthouse's total footage and greeted New Yorkers with a first impression of democratic possibilities. (See Figure 10.)⁴²

Yet that impressive pair of stairways and rotunda did not lead to a central civic destination. The floor plans failed to mark off a path to some focal public place (like the Common Council chamber of the old City Hall). Neither did the building plans reserve a large space in which the public might assemble (such of the lyceum in Gallier Hall). When Eidlitz replaced Kellum as architect in 1876, he blocked the civic passageways further by separating the rotunda from the office wings with massive brick walls. The space beyond the stairs and lobbies was carved up into a monotonous honeycomb of rooms layered up six floors (counting the basement and

⁴² "The Tweed Courthouse," report of the Landmarks Preservation Commission, provides a complete pictorial and blueprint record of the spatial composition of the courthouse.



FIGURE 10: View of the rotunda, Tweed Courthouse. Historic American Building Survey. Reproduced from the Collections of the Library of Congress.

mezzanines). Within this warren of offices and courtrooms, it is hard to locate the representative element of county government, the chamber of the Board of Supervisors. A sketch dated 1868 does reveal, however, a chamber fitted with some of the old architectural props of representative government, including the familiar circle of desks and chairs, a podium for the presiding officer, and an elevated lobby.⁴³

The decoration of this and other interior spaces of the County Courthouse suggests further alterations in the use and meaning of public space. The legislative chamber, much like the courtrooms, was invested with relatively opulent architectural detail: intricate moldings, frescos, pediment windows, and ornate chandeliers. Beyond these more public rooms lay a labyrinth of relatively unadorned halls and offices. By contrast, both Kellum and Eidlitz expended an immense amount of artistry and public funds decorating the circulatory spaces under the rotunda. Kellum favored detailed iron and marble, Eidlitz polychromatic brickwork; together, they created a gallery of visual stimulation. This formal and abstract aesthetic was bereft of more explicit political representations (like the icons of civic virtue and portraits of civic leaders found in City Hall). Reviews of the new building were mixed: while some praised the awesome spectacle of the stairway and rotunda, others dismissed the interior of the County Courthouse as "the darkest hallways in New York."⁴⁴ The interior design, like the spatial composition, of the New York courthouse is subject to various interpretations. Some features seem to beckon the people inside and to flatter them with opulent display. Other spaces seem politically hollow, without civic intention, public meaning, or invitation to stop and socialize, much less debate with fellow citizens. New York's new courthouse sent an ambiguous message to the citizenry; its spaces suggested an uneasy cohabitation between democratization and atomization.

What looks like ambiguity in the architecture reads like cynicism in the accounts of the public commemoration of the new municipal structure. The cornerstone ceremonies for New York's new courthouse were at best perfunctory. The indifference cannot be explained entirely by the date, 1862, in the midst of the Civil War, for after all, New Yorkers had braved an epidemic to celebrate the old City Hall fifty years earlier. The press notices of the event of 1862 were uncommonly laconic in their prose. Most of the dailies devoted a short paragraph to describing the truncated procession of officials across from City Hall to the foundation of the courthouse, where they were met by what was variously described as "a large assembly of citizens," "several hundred persons," or "a number of spectators." The oratory was lethargic, if not downright gloomy. It featured a tedious account of the difficulties of winning legislative approval for this undertaking and judicial complaints about the ventilation in the old quarters. The usually flamboyant Mayor Wood damned the whole project with this faint and backward-looking praise: "it gives an importance to the building and thus to some extent imparts a dignity to the purpose for which it is intended." In conclusion, Wood allowed, "I cannot forebear the hope that the historical associations of the new building may be no less

⁴³ Donald M. Reynolds, *The Architecture of New York City* (New York, 1984). See blueprints in "The Tweed Courthouse."

⁴⁴ "The Tweed Courthouse," 61.

auspicious than those which belong to its predecessor." Wood's modest expectations were mocked by the disgruntled editorial in the *New York Times*. Of all the speakers at the cornerstone ceremony, the editor noted, "We do not see in any one of them a very satisfactory explanation of their reasons for throwing on the city the burden of this enormous additional expenditure just at this present time, or any estimate of the rate of taxation to submit to within the next few years according to present appearances." The editorial closed with this taunt: "unless we are greatly mistaken we shall soon see a movement for effective financial reform in our city affairs."⁴⁵ Still, by 1865, the *New York Times* was susceptible to the charms of public architecture, as it boasted that the noble marble pillars of the County Courthouse façade resembled St. Paul's Cathedral.⁴⁶

Only two years later, the *Times* had changed its critical position back again. The headline bellowed, "The County Court House—Extravagance and Plunder." Within five years, the *Times* would paint those same marble pillars as tawdry symbols of financial mismanagement and municipal graft. The façade became a mantle of political shame covering a public building renamed the Tweed Courthouse. Its namesake, William M. "Boss" Tweed, was intermittently a member of both the Board of Supervisors and the Building Commission during the period when the courthouse was constructed. Although hardly the sole catalyst of the campaign against political machines, the Tweed Courthouse was more than just a convenient symbol of corruption. It served as the ledger in which journalists recorded how Tammany Hall misspent the taxes paid by the frugal middle class. The Democratic municipal government was driven from office by a barrage of audit sheets published in the daily press. The charges included such inflated expenditures as \$100,000 for furniture, carpets, and painting and the veiled bigotry of gratuitous comments about hastily naturalized laborers who took six weeks to complete one day's work.⁴⁷ The most legible political symbolism of the courthouse was not carved on its pediment or mounted on its cupola but etched in *Harper's Weekly*. This sketch of a fountain outside the courthouse showed a demure Liberty being presented with the bill of expenses for the construction. At her feet lay an open moneybag spilling filthy lucre into the coffers of Boss Tweed. (See Figure 11.) This masterful political iconography articulated a new vernacular civics lesson, that politics is a dirty business operated by venal men. The cynical attitude toward politics at least brought some cognitive order to the confusing state of municipal government in the Gilded Age. It did not, however, encourage further investment in public architecture.

To this day, this major architectural monument to public life in a democratic city is known as "the house that Tweed built"; its civic identity and architectural reputé are still tainted by association with the corruption of big city politics. The Tweed Courthouse had hardly been completed when it was dubbed an architectural "monstrosity" and threatened with demolition. Its drapery of shame was not unique among American public buildings. The City Hall of Philadelphia set a particularly high standard of graft and gaudiness, and attempts to build a new City Hall in Chicago were thwarted by similar political cynicism. Across the country in San

⁴⁵ *New York Herald*, *New York Tribune*, *New York Times*, December 27, 1861.

⁴⁶ *New York Times*, December 26, 1865.

⁴⁷ *New York Times*, April 22, 1868; October 11, 1870.

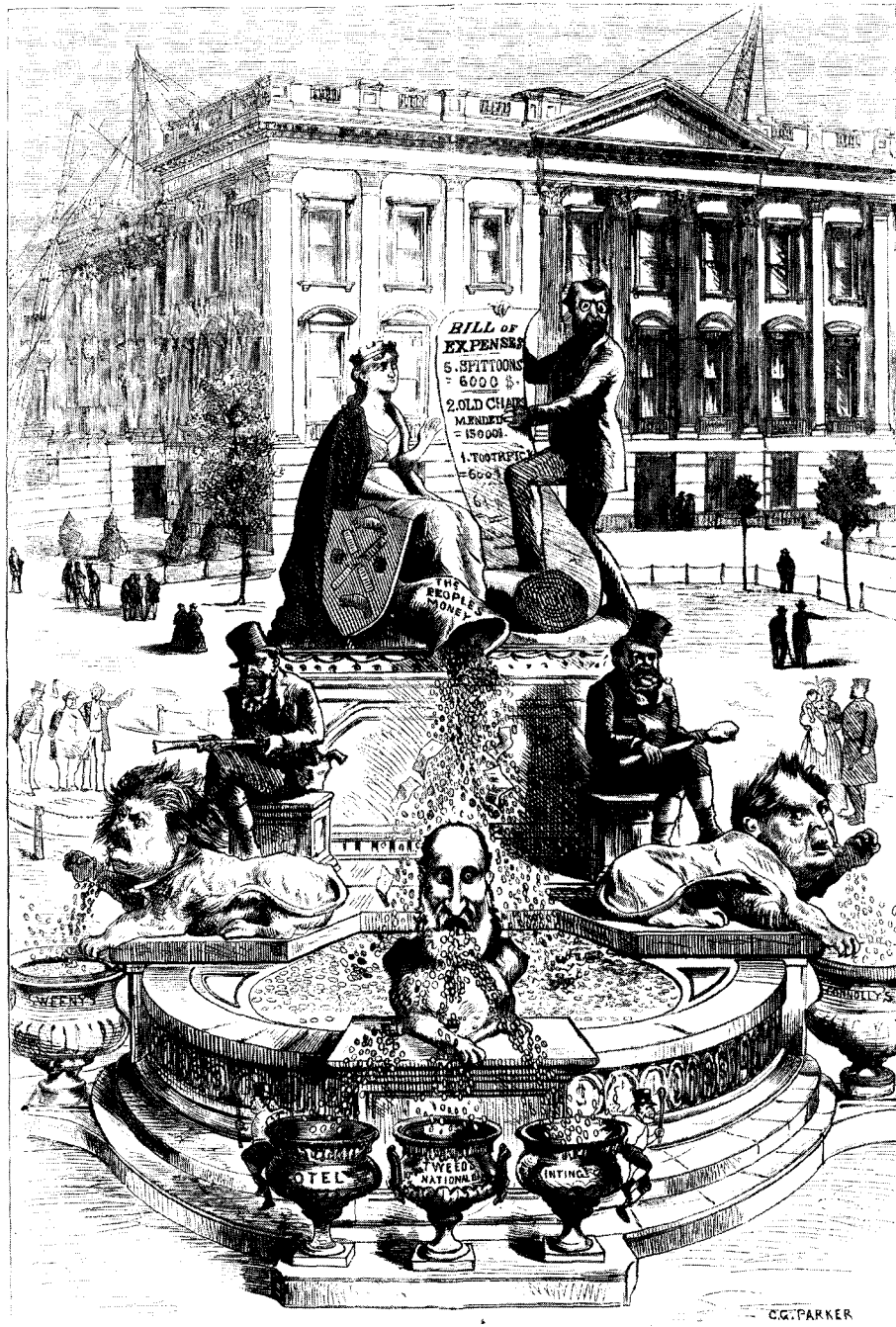


FIGURE 11: "Design for a Proposed Monumental Fountain in the City Hall Park." Cartoon by C. G. Parker. *Harper's Weekly*, October 7, 1871, p. 932.

Francisco, municipal reformers compared another costly public building project to a cesspool and proposed that public funds would be better spent on a sewage system. Civic materialism would seem to have descended from the pristine

symbolism of the classic rotunda to the architectural gutter. At this juncture in the story of city halls, the correspondence between public building and public confidence seems a chimera. How could the same marble pillars evoke civic pride in one instance and public shame but a few years later?

BEFORE SURRENDERING the history of public architecture to the cynicism of the Gilded Age, one more example of civic materialism merits consideration. A look westward to the upstart city of San Francisco indicates that the civic architecture of the late nineteenth century had some redeeming features. Although San Franciscans did not make a major investment in public architecture until 1870, at a time of growing disillusionment with urban politics elsewhere, their belated civic enterprise exuded something of the exhilaration as well as the tension of urban democracy. By this date, city government had democratized to an extent that complicated major public projects. The proposal for a new city hall was initiated by the Board of Supervisors of the County and City of San Francisco, a legislative body that had been elected directly by an active, partisan, and relatively broad citizenry. (It included white and African-American males but still excluded women and immigrants from Asia.) In 1870, however, in San Francisco, as in New Orleans and New York, urban government was held in ill repute at the state level, and the residents of big cities were losing control over their own affairs and finances. The tight-fisted taxpayers of California would not permit any deficit spending whatsoever and required the Board of Supervisors to resort to special revenue-generating activities, such as selling public lands or making special annual assessments. Hence it is understandable that it took twenty-two years to complete the city hall whose cornerstone was laid in 1870. Nonetheless, San Francisco would ultimately commit at least 4 million dollars to this public project, testimony to considerable civic largesse as well as fortitude.⁴⁸ In 1873, Mayor William Alvord explained the tenacious commitment to public architecture in the city of San Francisco: "It is difficult to estimate the full influence on public taste, and the full value as a source of pleasure, of a handsome architectural pile elegantly exposed and surrounded. It is cheap and mean to deny ourselves and our posterity an advantage of this kind which we can secure so easily."⁴⁹

This extravagant civic enterprise was undertaken with popular enthusiasm and press approval. The *San Francisco Chronicle* riveted public attention on the plans for building a new city hall and reported regularly on a nationally advertised design competition. At their editorial suggestion, the San Francisco Commissioners carried the democratic aspects of city planning a step further: they put the entries on public display. The *Chronicle* was pleased to report that "the Art Gallery of the Mechanics Pavilion is now being prepared for the display of the plans in such a way that all those who are interested may examine them at their leisure, make suggestions and propose changes and improvements." The commissioners selected the plan that the *Chronicle* had judged "the most beautiful," the design of Augustus

⁴⁸ A. T. Spotts, "History and Report of the Construction of the New City Hall from April 4, 1870 to November 1889" (San Francisco, 1886), pamphlet, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

⁴⁹ Spotts, "History and Report," 9.

Laver, whose credits included a cathedral in Montreal and the Albany statehouse. Public surveillance did not end with the selection of a trusted architect: the Commission and the Board of Supervisors retained the right to oversee the process of construction and insisted on reviewing all contracts. The volatile political climate of the city also penetrated the construction site and in one instance replaced Laver with an apparent charlatan who was well connected with Denis Kearney, popular leader of the Workingmen's Party. Despite all the vicissitudes of urban politics and the inefficiencies of the democratic process, San Francisco's City Hall Commissioners finally completed their task in 1892 and bequeathed to the city the public building first visualized in Laver's plan but subject to copious vernacular remodeling thereafter.⁵⁰

That plan is unfortunately lost, taking with it almost all physical traces of the ill-fated public building, which was destroyed during the earthquake and fire of 1906. Only a few sketches and incomplete published records of "old city hall" remain extant to suggest the outlines of what was an indubitably distinctive example of public architecture. We do know that the planners were determined to make their city hall central to everyday public life. It was located neither on cheap land at the outskirts of the city nor in the old civic center of Portsmouth Plaza but up Market Street near such hubs of the expanding commercial city as the Hibernian Bank and Mechanics Institute. Unlike the similarly situated New Orleans structure, however, San Francisco's City Hall was not designed to blend in with commercial architecture. A grand domed tower, far higher than any surrounding buildings, boasted the importance of the public sphere. City boosters fought repeatedly to retain funding for this arrogant civic symbol, this "grand and imposing structure" whose size was variously estimated as 57 to 90 feet in diameter and as high as 453 feet. At the same time, the elevation of San Francisco's City Hall was not set at so high an angle that it was aloof from the everyday comings and goings of the people. Both the Commissioners and Board of Supervisors took precautions to make this towering new city hall accessible to citizens. They specified "the erection of a Corinthian portico in the center of the Larkin street front and of two entrance porches on each side of the porticos," added a set of stairs for the use of neighbors, and rejected a location on less expensive land in a more remote part of the city. Engravings and photographs from the turn of the century show a permeable structure, with multiple points of entry for a stream of pedestrians, carriages, bicycles, and trolleys. The entry to the hall of records fronted along a wide landscaped boulevard that afforded a particularly gracious invitation to the citizens who regularly promenaded down Market Street. One bird's-eye sketch of the finished building indicates that the people of San Francisco could access their city hall from a variety of locations, not just one grand stair or portico but multiple portals, on each of the many sides of a building described as an inverted "f." Flush with the street in some places, irregularly broken with indentations at others, the City Hall seemed like a porous maze that, while open, required some ingenuity to navigate. Moreover, citizens could find ample space for navigation within as well as

⁵⁰ Spotts, "History and Report"; Harold Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier: Style and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century* (San Marino, Calif., 1960), 97-99; *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 22, November 18, 16, December 2, 1870.

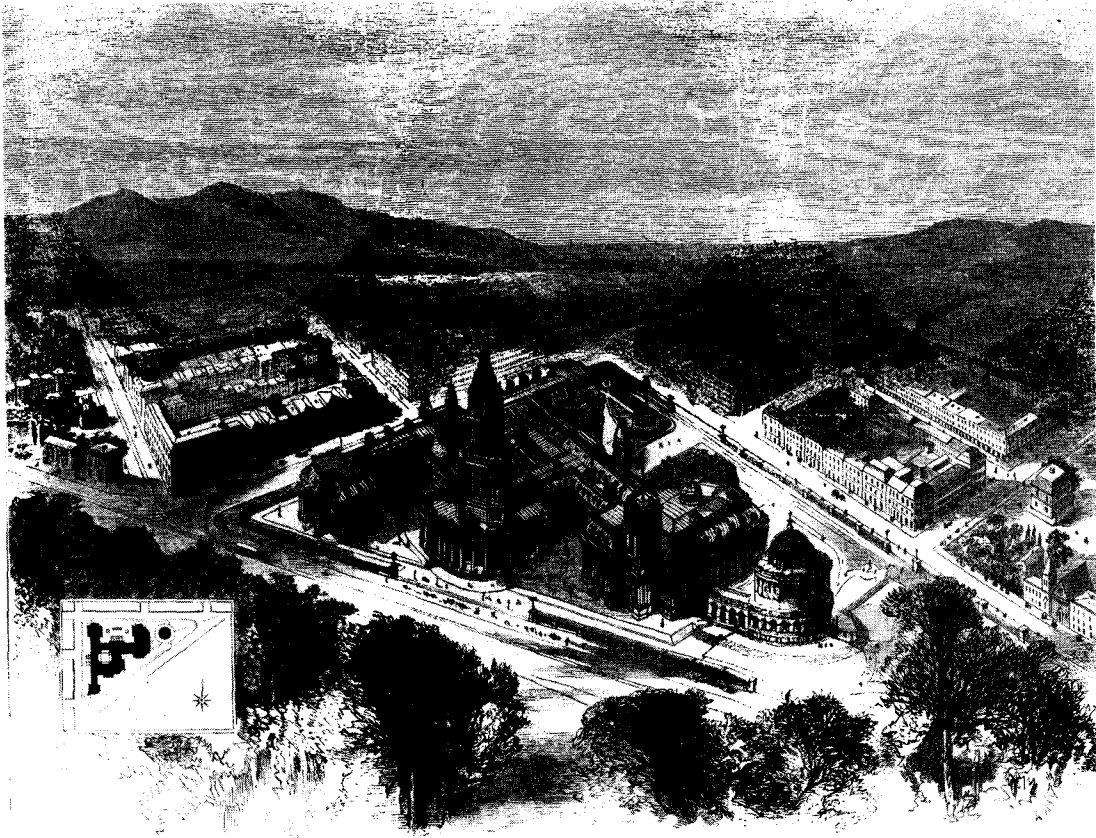


FIGURE 12: Bird's-eye view of the San Francisco City Hall. *Harper's Weekly*, March 30, 1872. Courtesy of Bert Hansen.

outside, in serpentine hallways and a grand interior piazza. It was as if the usual city hall was turned inside out, replicating the streets and squares in the intricate and fluid pattern of interior space.⁵¹ (See Figure 12.)

The original instructions to architects specified some of the intended uses to which these interior spaces would be put: "the different Courts and Boards of City and County, Hall of Records and also offices for the various officers of the said City and County." A directory of the completed building confirmed this rather bureaucratic cast of public space, which was cut up into scores of offices ranging from the 4,000 square feet allotted the tax collector to the 200 square feet reserved for witnesses, segregated into chambers for males and females. The plan as finally approved granted the largest and most central space of the whole building, some 7,200 square feet directly under the dome, to a "hall of records," shelter, that is, for the sacred objects of an expanding city bureaucracy. Spaces for the citizens themselves and their representatives, while dwarfed by the hall of records and greatly outnumbered by administrative offices, were still prominent in the floor plan. San Franciscans, like New Orleanians before them, were invited to assemble within City Hall, in a space of 6,000 square feet called variously the Public Assembly

⁵¹ Spotts, "History and Report," 19, 25.

Hall or Grand Hall. A chamber of 1,800 square feet accommodated the Board of Supervisors in greater comfort than earlier legislative bodies, and was placed, as customary, on the second or main floor with easy access to the stairs. A sketch of this chamber in the published reports reveals a familiar picture of a central semi-circle of desks, the elevated lobby to the rear and along two sides, podium to the front, all overlaid with classic details. The major difference from the chamber of New York's Common Council, furnished more than half a century earlier, was the provision of separate desks and chairs for each legislator, a reflection perhaps of the replacement of corporate virtue by partisan conflict among the people's representatives.⁵²

A paucity of documentation also leaves such questions as specification of the furnishings and decoration of San Francisco's City Hall to speculation. There is little comment in the public records about any central representative symbols, impersonations of Liberty, Justice, or Commerce on the face of this city hall, which is nonetheless a riot of decorations. (A statue erected just in front of City Hall in the 1880s was piled high with civic symbols, featuring robust forty-niners and winsome goddesses, but this was a monument to the private enterprise of industrialist James Lick.) The jagged façades and splayed wings of the public building were planted with Corinthian forests, five turrets, and that haughty hybrid, a towered dome, each blossoming with pediments, balconies, and statuary. In the dim light of this limited historical record, the premier city hall within the Golden Gate seems like a civic fantasyland. (See Figure 13.)

A look at the ceremonies with which San Franciscans celebrated their new city hall does not dispel this phantasmagoric interpretation. On February 22, 1870, an estimated 20,000 people gathered to participate in the laying of the cornerstone. This moment in the city's civic history was marked by a procession of city officials and military regiments into the excavation site, where the parade passed through a white-washed arch of triumph, onto a stage set in an amphitheater of sand piles. The foundation of the domed tower was laid out as a banquet table spread with two barbecued oxen and gallons of beer and "native wine." In word and deed, this festival bespoke an exuberant public spirit that made earlier and eastern ceremonies seem morose by comparison. The official orators trumpeted civic pride into imperial hubris, all symbolized by the plan of the new city hall. One declared the project "worthy of San Francisco, and which will stand for ages, the symbol of the resources, the grandeur and taste of the metropolis of the Pacific." Another proclaimed, "here is the universal empire. It knows neither tropical nor political limits." The grand master mason who laid the cornerstone invested imperial pretensions in the local city hall: "within its walls as beneath its lofty dome, through ages let us trust shall be administered the vast and complicated interest of the queenly city where Orient and Occident under the inspiration of a nobler and more progressive civilization and reaching up to each other over continents and across seas clasp hands in fraternal grasp." These breathless civic boasts elicited cheers of assent from a vast assemblage of the population, from fair ladies to rugged working men.⁵³

⁵² San Francisco Board of Supervisors, *Municipal Reports*, 1871, 403–15, frontispiece, 1877–88.

⁵³ *San Francisco Call*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, and *San Francisco Daily Alta*.



FIGURE 13: "New City Hall, San Francisco," circa 1896. Copyright B. C. Turnbull, courtesy of the California Historical Society, FN-18773.

The applause in San Francisco echoed and amplified the earlier cornerstone ceremonies in New York and New Orleans and seemed to celebrate an unflappably popular and democratic architecture. San Francisco in many ways carried forward and expanded the political ideology implicit in New York's republican architecture. The orderly entryways of a single stair and portico had, with the triumph of partisan party politics, proliferated into multiple points of access to the civic center. This progression from staid and deferential republicanism toward popular, mass democracy was not, however, the only axis of change in the architecture of the city hall. By comparison with its predecessors, San Francisco's City Hall also gave a smaller ratio of space to the deliberative, face-to-face, interactive element of politics. Simultaneously, the space devoted to administrative government had grown disproportionately to places for the open discussion of political issues—bureaucracy was overtaking public debate.

The alterations of urban politics reflected in this sequence of city halls are too complex, however, to be contained in a pat narrative of bureaucracy and interest-group politics advancing fast on the heels of mass democracy (the basic narrative of such influential works as Habermas's *Structural Transformation of the Public*

Sphere). Some of the complications in the basic meaning of politics were connoted by the novel political terminology that seeped into the oratory at the cornerstone ceremony. Leonidas Pratt, the grand master mason quoted above, boasted that San Francisco's City Hall would be the place where "political economy and the science of Government shall attain perfection." Even more portentous than his deference to government by experts and imperialists was Pratt's expectation that City Hall would be a place where "the vast and complicated interest" of the city of San Francisco would "be administrated." This intimation of what would be known as interest-group politics was more than fortuitous; it reflected the conflicts that inevitably emerge when major and costly public projects are opened up for democratic discussion.⁵⁴

In fact, from the very outset, the construction of a new city hall for San Francisco was associated with palpable, specific, and contentious interests within the city. Soon after the cornerstone was laid in place, amid the prolonged depression of the 1870s, 2,000 workers had gathered at Yerba Buena Park to apply for construction jobs. The *San Francisco Chronicle* championed their needs, saying: "There is no harm in making the necessities of the laboring man known and at this time in particular to the representatives of the people assembled in Sacramento."⁵⁵ Those who debated the City Hall Bill before the State Assembly concurred on one rationale for the project: "that a large number of citizens of San Francisco needed employment."⁵⁶ This particular species of interest-group politics, a recourse to government to meet the basic economic needs of disadvantaged citizens, can be seen as a laudable harbinger of social democracy or as vulgar pleading for special treatment. The more unseemly side of interest-group politics was written into the City Hall appropriations in 1876 as something known colloquially as the "anti-Mongolian clauses," which prohibited the employment of anyone but white men on this public works project. If the interests of unemployed white workers were the most clearly expressed in the debate about City Hall, those of more affluent San Franciscans were not entirely invisible. This class of citizens, who most often represented themselves simply as taxpayers, had a penchant for dismissing such expensive civic improvements as "public waste."

But for the time being, in San Francisco at least, the various factions of the citizenry came together and agreed to build lavishly for a public purpose. Some good-hearted opposition to the city hall project surfaced in the press in the form of chagrin at the unruly behavior of the workers, who were ceremonially feasted after the cornerstone dedication. (Their table manners did leave something to be desired as they devoured the meat of two oxen and allegedly threw their tin plates at the women and children who ringed the crowd.) As late as the 1870s, in San Francisco at least, there was still material evidence to support a thriving if disheveled democracy. The language of ceremony, the architecture of public space, and the process of enacting public works projects all conspired to welcome a slowly

⁵⁴ *San Francisco Daily Alta*, February 23, 1870.

⁵⁵ *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 4, 1870.

⁵⁶ *San Francisco Daily Alta*, April 2, 1870.



FIGURE 14: San Francisco City Hall. Courtesy of the California Historical Society, FN-31674.

widening range of different groups and interests into the public realm.⁵⁷ As late as the 1890s, neither the cynicism of civic reformers nor the distaste of latter-day architectural critics had much currency in San Francisco. The ephemera collections of local archives are stocked full of engravings, postcards, and photographs that confer pride of place on City Hall. During public holidays, its dome and tower were

⁵⁷ *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 5, 1870; *San Francisco Daily Alta*, April 2, 1870; *San Francisco Call*, February 23, 1872.

illuminated or draped in laurels. Family portraits were snapped in front of City Hall, and the edifice remained a favorite civic backdrop for fine engravings complete with representations of fashionable men and women. (See Figure 14.)

By the close of the nineteenth century, however, the civic stigma associated with the Tweed Courthouse would be affixed to San Francisco's City Hall and much of American political culture. When, in 1906, the once-proud structure collapsed under the strain of the great earthquake and fire, local historians and architectural critics alike saw some poetic justice in this aspect of the disaster. Few published commentaries mourned the passing of what they now regarded as a monument to bad taste and corrupt politics. The standard narrative of urban politics and public architecture is written from this perspective, and colludes in slandering city hall as a waste of the taxpayer's money. Public architecture would not be redeemed in San Francisco until 1917, when yet another City Hall would gain legitimacy through the sponsorship of Progressive reformers and their architect partners from the City Beautiful movement.⁵⁸

HISTORIANS HAVE GOOD REASON, both architectural and political, to question this chronicle of civic decline, which relies on the written testimony of the most articulate and over-represented historical informants: middle-class reformers, professional architects, and highly educated cultural critics. Public buildings themselves point to some ways of picturing the politics of the past that contradict this assessment. To begin with, this material evidence extends and complicates a history of urban politics that is too often foreshortened and flattened. The architectural record that extends from the podiums of imperial authority like the Cabildo, monuments to republican propriety like Gallier Hall and New York City Hall, and the rugged edges of the Tweed Courthouse and San Francisco City Hall has left landmarks of a finely differentiated political history. Taken together, they denote a halting, erratic development from imperial absolutism to republican politics to a tenuous and imperfect democracy. In their materiality and three-dimensionality, these public buildings served as both the schoolhouses and the theaters of political change. They opened up, and sometimes closed down, access to municipal government on a prosaic, everyday basis—in legislative chambers, administrative offices, and in the stairways, parks, and promenades outside.

As they evolved over the course of the nineteenth century, American city halls introduced some distinctive new elements into the catalog of civic architecture. Understandably, the young republic that had led the expansion of suffrage and invented a two-party system would quickly outgrow authoritarian spaces like the New Orleans Cabildo. The municipal architecture of the early republic was more homologous with the British town halls (described so alluringly by Asa Briggs). New York's City Hall and the Municipal Hall of New Orleans resembled the town halls in both their architectural elements and in their narrow political base, the suffrage limited to the propertied middle class. Still, the eclecticism of American civic

⁵⁸ Judd Kahn, *Imperial San Francisco: Politics and Planning in an American City, 1897–1906* (Lincoln, Neb., 1979).

architecture does not fit snugly within the West European architectural tradition, as seen for example in the acute and telescopic vision of Richard Sennett. While, on the one hand, Gallier Hall resembled the Victorian town hall, it was also like a throwback to the authoritarian floor plan of a Roman basilica, a style that is not entirely incongruous with the modern slave republic of the antebellum South. The homespun architects of New York City, on the other hand, practiced another form of pragmatic eclecticism: they blended French style with the functional and political exigencies of municipal representative institutions. The resulting structure served as an enduring material bridge between republican civic responsibility and the openness of a rapidly expanding plebian democracy. The civic landmarks of the Gilded Age, including such grandiose conceits as the domed tower that rose in San Francisco's civic center, gave exuberant expression to American popular democracy during years of fervid partisanship and high voter turnout. To find facsimiles of its mélange of porticos, colonnades, and assembly halls, one would have to look back to the Acropolis, whose complex of civic buildings provided multiple spaces for public debate but only for a tiny proportion of the population. When such debates engaged a mass electorate in the ethnically diverse and class-divided city of the nineteenth century, classic standards of public decorum were inevitably violated. No sooner had American citizens created a distinctive democratic architecture than their creation became an object of suspicion and then scorn.

These ambiguous meanings and ironic twists in the history of the American city hall can only be understood on native ground, in the particular political history of the nineteenth-century American city. From this second perspective, the evidence of civic materialism suggests some revisions in one prominent chapter in American urban and political history, the standard account of corrupt urban machines. The record of municipal architecture demonstrates that indictments of political graft are not a very sensitive historical barometer. The cost of public buildings like the house that Tweed built, or of San Francisco's City Hall, was shockingly high and inflated far above the original estimate. But so, too, were their august predecessors, like the stately New York City Hall, whose construction also created lucrative public contracts for friends of patrician council members. (Benjamin Latrobe, for example, had boasted of his friendship with Aaron Burr, whose "interest procured me all the votes of the corporation save one," only to lose his bid to a crony of the Federalist majority.) Without discounting the excesses of building projects like the Tweed Courthouse, one can concede that financing civic building has seldom exemplified tidy book-keeping. The new urban historians have calculated that the founding fathers and mugwump reformers also had difficulty balancing budgets, and, conversely, city bosses could be stingy with the taxpayer's money. Furthermore, the charges of corruption can actually be read as symptoms of democracy: neither the Spanish viceroy nor patrician benefactors were subject to such a contentious popular review of their building projects. What had changed over the course of the nineteenth century, however, was the degree to which literate and elite spokesmen trusted city officials and were willing to make these inevitably costly, long-term investments in public projects.⁵⁹ Popular deference to the elite leaders in the small

⁵⁹ Terrence McDonald, *The Parameters of Urban Fiscal Policy* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986); L. Ray Gunn,

city of the early republic had given way to more plebeian, democratically elected officials and a more contentious electorate. All this is to suggest that, rather than prompting historians to ratify the rantings of reformers about the corruption of city bosses, the municipal buildings of the late nineteenth century should inspire some appreciation of the political determination to create costly public places even at a time of political conflict, economic hardship, and middle-class cynicism.

The architectural and spatial features of buildings like the Tweed Courthouse and San Francisco City Hall also speak up through the static of charges of corrupt urban machines to bear testimony to a stubborn and robust urban democracy. The sketches that remain of San Francisco's Old City Hall as well as the standing testimony of Tweed Courthouse—which still flanks New York's City Hall on Chamber Street (clipped of its portico and stair but saved from the bulldozer of urban development czar Robert Moses, thanks to vigilant preservationists)—constitute an entirely creditable architectural record. The city builders succeeded in keeping up with the rapidly growing administrative needs of the big city. The increasing number and complexity of tasks assumed by the public sector required the expansion of the public payroll, the specialization of services, and a concomitant increase and renovation of public buildings. At the same time, cities like San Francisco continued to build for public accessibility and assembly, and gave an honored place to the heart of representative democracy, the council chamber. Voters still spent freely and architects labored diligently to create the legislative chambers wherein the people's representatives, now elected by a broader and more demanding franchise than ever, met, put their minds and interests together, and tried to fashion a civic whole. Public architecture had not yet become "a huge filing cabinet" (architect Charles Moore's phrase for San Francisco's Federal Building) but remained something of a palace of the people. The Tweed Courthouse and San Francisco's Old City Hall deserve an honored place in the pantheon of public architecture. They expressed and carried forward the same ineluctable historical process inaugurated in New York's City Hall in 1803, that of creating space in which to imagine and to practice representative government. The city halls of the Gilded Age, with their playful architectural gestures of welcome to the public, also served such pragmatic functions as putting people to work during hard times, thereby adding a small but laudable dose of social democracy to the political ideals implicit in vernacular republican styles of building. Because they opened up public space, acknowledged social differences, and housed a democratic, deliberative government, city halls provide material refutations of narratives of decline in public architecture and public life. In an architectural history stock full of cathedrals, chateaus, and museums, the city hall claims attention and respect as a modest monument to democracy.

Regardless of their conformity to high aesthetic standards, the buildings created for and by a large and active citizenry can contribute mightily to civic vitality. San Francisco's City Hall, for example, became the staging ground of a major social movement even before the structure was completed. In the late 1870s, the

The Decline of Authority: Public Economic Policy and Political Development in New York, 1800–1860 (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988); Sennett, *Flesh and Stone*.



FIGURE 15: The Sandlots of New City Hall (San Francisco). *The Wasp*, 1880. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Workingmen's Party of California conquered local politics from its base at the "Sandlots," mere mounds of dirt created by the excavations for City Hall. (See Figure 15.) The remarkable steps of New York's City Hall have served as the stage for protest and occasional riot for close to two centuries. All the political struggles that took place just outside formal political spaces like the mayor's office or conference rooms serve as a reminder that the value of public space should not be measured simply as a contribution to good civic comportment in elegant chambers. Late in the twentieth century, when Mayor Rudolph Giuliani threatened to restrict the use of that precious civic resource, the steps of City Hall, he was bluntly informed that "people come to this beautiful building to raise their concerns and express their opinion. We're here today to say that City Hall belongs to the people, and we want it back." Even at the end of the twentieth century, the battle for, at, and on the steps of City Hall was still in process.⁶⁰

This tenacious defense of the civic architectural heritage suggests a final reason to pursue the three-dimensional study of political history yet further. City halls enliven and revise the conventional conception of the historical timeline. The documents of civic materialism do not exit the stage of history on the usual cue but can endure and influence the course of events for centuries. In fact, four of the five buildings studied here still survive; two of them (both in New York City) still serve the same civic purposes for which they were designed. Thousands of New Yorkers congregate every working day in City Hall Park. They come to serve on juries, sue in court, claim social services, get married, or visit the municipal archives. Some of

⁶⁰ *New York Times* (November 15, 1999): A27.

them enter the city council chambers to participate directly in making public policy. When they do, their prosaic acts as citizens are infused with a sense of history. Performing a bureaucratic errand in an older public building is invested with quiet grandeur when a citizen climbs a classic staircase that is the bequest of the early republic to the contentious democracy of our day. When the New York Preservation Society was lobbying to award City Hall landmark status, they surveyed city officials about the architecture they inhabited. At least one public servant replied. Paul O'Dwyer, then president of the Board of Estimate, which met in the old Common Council chamber, wrote: "There is something especially democratic about having the meetings of the Board of Estimate in that room. We have found that people get somewhat disillusioned and discontent when they have to attend public hearings at Police headquarters, although the space there is much more spacious and new and can with greater comfort accommodate all of the people who come there."⁶¹ Even in the waning days of the twentieth century, New York's "City Hall" inspired popular movies and a television series. This is faint praise compared to the florid rhetoric that emanated from cornerstone ceremonies over a century ago. But it demonstrates that public architecture is more than an inert by-product of governmental processes; it can affect the quality of civic life, and for generations. Much as Michael Schudson has argued from the written records of citizenship, the evidence of civic materialism bespeaks an eclectic repertoire of constitutional, republican, and democratic elements that have sustained self-government over the long haul of American history.⁶² The city halls of the nineteenth century continue to offer incentives to build, if not for "the whole of us," at least in the hopes of continually expanding and diversifying the circle of civic life.

⁶¹ A copy of Paul O'Dwyer's letter is appended to the Flannelly report cited above, n. 30. It is dated October 28, 1975.

⁶² See Ryan, *Civic Wars*; Michael Schudson, *The Good Citizen: A History of American Civic Life* (1998; rpt. edn., Cambridge, Mass., 1999).

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Hallmarks of Humanism: Hygiene and Love of Homeland in Qajar Iran

FIROOZEH KASHANI-SABET

IN 1908, AN IRANIAN HUMANIST sounded the bell of doom. Anticipating Iran's "last sigh," this writer—presumably Mu'ayyid al-Islam, the editor of the popular newspaper *Habl al-Matin*—railed against Russia's encroachment on Iran as well as its blatant disregard for human life. For this Iranian, the humanistic entreaties of the so-called "civilized, philanthropic governments" of the West seemed little more than empty words—a point confirmed by Russia's militaristic (and inhumane) drive south of its border. As he remarked, "In this new, bright age of humanism . . . in this age in which the protection of fellow human beings is considered a requisite of humanity . . . our northern neighbor [Russia] has sent a military expedition to our soil without any right or grounds."¹ Territorial threats from Russia, however, were nothing new for Iran. Why, then, had Russia's recent advance so alarmed this writer?

The answer lay in the Qajar dynasty's embrace of humanism and patriotic thinking.² In this "bright, new age," in which Iran had celebrated nationhood and the rule of law, it had expected international recognition of its national sovereignty. Nothing proved more distasteful to this patriot than Russia's sheer disrespect for Iranians and their sacred homeland. The offensive meant that Iran, a country increasingly depicted as "sick" and on the verge of territorial and political demise, had yet to be accepted as a sovereign, "civilized" nation in the commonwealth of humanity. In short, Russia's invasion had flouted Iran's modernist ethos of humanism.³

Iranians were not alone in voicing their cynicism about Europe's rejection of Middle Eastern countries from the community of humanists. Other nations expressed similar ambivalence toward the Western ideal of humanism, which like its Islamic counterpart, included a respect for human life and privileges, or humanity. In 1913, for instance, the nationalist Afghani newspaper *Siraj al-Akhbar al-*

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¹ *Habl al-Matin* (Tehran), no. 33 (25 Rabi' al-Thani 1326/May 26, 1908): 1. For Iranian publications, the Muslim calendar date is given first. Its year 1 is 622 CE, when the Prophet Muhammad went from Mecca to Medina.

² The Qajar dynasty was established in 1796 by Aqa Muhammad Khan. It lasted until 1925.

³ The depiction of Iran or other countries as "sick" was not a new phenomenon. The Ottoman Empire, for instance, was famously known as the "Sick Man of Europe."

Afghaniyah published a cartoon mocking Europe's respect for human life. This journal is relevant to Iran, as it was published in Persian and frequently commented on Iran's political affairs.⁴ Moreover, the reference indicates that discussions of humanism were not limited to Iran but occurred in neighboring countries as well. In this illustration, Europe is symbolized as an attractive woman. She adjusts her hair while holding a "Book of Humanity" (*kitab-i insaniyat*) and pays no attention to the text. Nearby, two skeletons, referred to as "martyrs," converse with each other in a graveyard. Several signs in the graveyard memorialize groups of innocent individuals murdered for various reasons. One skeleton tells the other: "We had heard that this Europe, who holds the Book of Humanity in hand, is very just and humanitarian." The other responds: "But if millions of Muslims burn by fire in one day, no sense of humanity will be detected in them."⁵ Here, as in the Iranian case, there is a perceived double standard in Europe's respect for humanity. This cartoon suggests that respect for human life—a tenet of modern humanism—did not always pertain to Muslims in international politics.

As a concept, "Iranian humanism" may seem an oxymoron. The term forges a link with the intellectual tradition of Western philosophy and Enlightenment thought. To make this connection, however, is not to deny the "Iranian" interpretation (and reconfiguration) of these ideas. Qajar thinkers often grafted new meanings onto Western scholarship. Owing its emergence to the distinct historical circumstances of nineteenth-century Qajar society, Iranian humanism kindled an interest in the study of individuals, culture, and the natural world. Though influenced by Enlightenment and Positivist models, Qajar intellectuals created a unique vocabulary of humanism that derived also from their country's specific experiences, especially its religion and its sociopolitical climate.⁶ They stressed fields such as hygiene, medicine, and geography in their desire to learn about themselves and their evolving society.

Alongside Western influences, strong Islamic roots existed for Iran's embrace of humanism. During the Buyid period (945–1055 CE), for instance, Islam underwent a cultural and philosophical efflorescence that endorsed individualism, as well as the pursuit of literature and science. As Joel Kramer explains, Buyid humanists "were motivated by a shared commitment to reason and mutual interest in the sciences of the ancients."⁷ Yet they also conceived of the kinship of humankind and pursued a general love of humanity (*insaniyya*).⁸ This concept, *insaniyya*, had myriad meanings. Kramer goes on, "It is the quality men share in common, or human nature; it also signifies being truly human, in the sense of realizing the end or

⁴ For one such reference, see *Siraj al-Akhbar al-Afghaniyah*, 2d year, no. 17 (1913): 11.

⁵ *Siraj al-Akhbar al-Afghaniyah*, 2d year, no. 21 (1913): 7. Here, the Persian term *insaniyat* can mean either "humanity" or "humanism." It is worth mentioning that in this illustration the woman depicted as Europe also bears a resemblance to a nurse.

⁶ Throughout this essay, references will be made to "Iranian intellectuals," "thinkers," or "scholars." My intention is not to create a monolithic class of individuals but to show that, in its inception, ideas of humanism did in fact originate among the literati, whether statesmen or writers. Where possible, I have striven to cite specific individuals and to provide background information on them, but background information is not always available on lesser-known writers.

⁷ Joel L. Kramer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam: The Cultural Revival during the Buyid Age* (Leiden, 1986), 8. Also review the introduction, 1–30, for a thorough discussion of these themes.

⁸ Kramer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam*, 10.



From the newspaper *Siraj al-Akhbar al-Afghaniyah*, 1913. The original is held in Princeton University's Near Eastern Collection.

perfection of man qua man, often synonymous with the exercise of reason.”⁹ These converging trends forged a distinct expression of Islamic humanism, but one that would undergo hermeneutic revisions in varying contexts. To historians of Iran, the tenth and eleventh centuries become especially relevant, as it was during this interval that Islam experienced an Iranian revival, benefiting from the literary output of the Persian poet Firdawsi (d. ca. 1020 CE), and the scientific contributions of the renowned physician Ibn Sina (d. 1037).¹⁰

Modern Iranian humanism, though drawing on these myriad sources, diverged from its medieval counterpart. Nor was the Qajar interest in studying the individual wedded exclusively to European thought. In seeking to acquire the cachets of civilization (*tamaddun*) and technological advancement—or, in other words, modernity—Qajar statesmen thus advocated the pursuit of humanistic learning and culture (*ilm va adab*), which entailed not just the “belles-lettres” but also a scientific literacy aimed at a richer understanding of the physical environment.¹¹

⁹ Kramer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam*, 10.

¹⁰ George Makdisi, *The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West: With Special Reference to Scholasticism* (Edinburgh, 1990).

¹¹ In defining the concept of *adab*, the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, new edn. (Leiden, 1954) notes that “in

Much of this interest in humanistic scholarship is chronicled in the newly founded publications of the Qajar period.¹² It is worth noting, for instance, that a newspaper called *Adab* was founded in 1898 in order “to promote knowledge and civilization” and to expound on humanistic disciplines such as “philosophy, logic, mathematics, physics, and medicine.” Like the editor of *Adab*, Mirza Sadiq Khan Adib al-Mamalik, many other Iranian intellectuals looked for creative ways to address Iran’s tectonic shifts, whether in the political or cultural sphere, and believed firmly in the possibility of progress. More than any other process, they stressed the mastery of humanistic scholarship in facilitating Iran’s move toward social betterment.¹³

In the Qajar political discourse, the themes of humanism and civilization often went hand in hand. Humanism became the catchphrase for pursuing progressive reforms aimed at restoring what was seen as Iran’s pride and former grandeur. For instance, in the opening passage of his famous work, *Sih Maktub* (“Three Treatises”), composed in the late nineteenth century, Mirza Aqa Khan Kirmani (d. 1897) discussed humanism in the context of civilization and nationhood. As he contended, “refinement of the manners and habits of humanism and the promotion of humanity in a tribe or a nation” are among the requisites of civilization, which means “a nation saving itself from hardship and savagery.” By extension, a patriot was “a person who for the advancement of the nation and civilization” would sacrifice himself and his means of livelihood.¹⁴ For Kirmani—a controversial intellectual with Babi leanings who is remembered as much for his dislike of the Arabs as for his glorification of Iran’s pre-Islamic imperial past—humanism became one of the cornerstones of Iranian civilization and an expression of its modern patriotic political consciousness. Other sources also expounded on the themes of humanism and civilization. In 1894, one of the semi-official Qajar newspapers, *Nasiri*, featured several essays on these subjects. One piece discussed the superiority of human beings over other creatures, stressing that education is “one of the

the 3rd/9th century there came into being the great literature of *adab* . . . which is not pure scholarship although it often also touches on, and handles scientific subjects, but which is centred above all on man, his qualities and his passions, the environment in which he lives, and the material and spiritual culture created by him”; p. 176. In the Iranian context, *adab* can also mean “ideal refinement of thought, word, and deed.” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Ehsan Yarshater, ed. (London, 1983), “Adab,” 432.

¹² E. G. Browne, *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia* (Cambridge, 1914).

¹³ Qajar thinkers did not generally label themselves modernists despite their humanistic endorsement of civilization and progress. Historians, however, have interpreted Qajar concerns and actions through the prism of modernism. For instance, Evrand Abrahamian regards the policies pursued by the Qajar prince ‘Abbas Mirza as the “first drive for modernization.” Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions* (Princeton, N.J., 1982), 52. Also, Nikki Keddie has noted that Amir Kabir, the famed Qajar minister under Nasir al-Din Shah (1848–1896), “was the first person after Abbas Mirza to attempt modernization.” See Keddie, *Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran* (New Haven, Conn., 1981), 52–53.

¹⁴ Mirza Aqa Khan Kirmani, *Sih Maktub*, Bahram Choubine, ed. (Tehran, 1370/1991), 56–58. Mirza Aqa Khan was a prolific writer, who served for some time as one of the editors of the nineteenth-century Persian newspaper *Akhtar*, published in Istanbul. In addition, he was in close contact with another influential thinker, Sayyid Jamal al-Din “Afghani,” who strove to create a unified pan-Islamic movement. The writings of Kirmani and Afghani played an important role in fomenting political dissent against the Qajar political leadership and in promoting ideas of reform, revolt, and constitutionalism in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Iran. See Choubine, *Sih Maktub*, 4–54, for a discussion of Kirmani and his writings; and Nikki Keddie, *Sayyid Jamal ad-Din “al-Afghani”: A Political Biography* (Berkeley, Calif., 1972).

characteristics of humanism [*insaniyat*],” since human beings, unlike other creatures, could better themselves through education.¹⁵

The use of the term “humanism” (*adamiyat*, *insaniyat*) occurred most frequently in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, usually in an attempt to increase national sentiment and patriotic loyalty toward the homeland (*vatan*). It is therefore unsurprising that in discussions of homeland, *vatan* often became associated with humanity itself. As one writer explained in 1900, “*Vatan* is a piece of land on which a person is born and is his place of growth and existence . . . From *vatan* comes his speech, knowledge, and culture [*‘ilm va adab*] . . . and outside of *vatan* there is nothing that human beings can imagine . . . Thus *vatan* is none other than a part of one’s own person.”¹⁶ Homeland thus became the source of humanity as well as the fount of cultural humanism and enlightenment.

There was not always a stark differentiation in the use of the terms *adamiyat* and *insaniyat* to mean humanism, which could alternately connote either “humanistic,” in the sense of promoting rational thought and empiricism through literary and scientific pursuits to achieve human betterment, or “humanitarian,” in the altruistic sense of protecting and promoting humanity or human life, dignity, and privileges.¹⁷ These concepts circulated rather widely among the Qajar literati. In 1906, a newspaper called “Humanism,” *Adamiyat*, began publication in Tehran. It was edited by Aqa Mirza ‘Abd al-Muttalib Yazdi, who supported the constitutional movement and participated in a secret society by the same name.¹⁸ In its second issue, for instance, *Adamiyat* considered the reasons why the “inhabitants of the East” (*ahali-yi sharq*) had been “banned from the realm of humanity and rejected from the league of humanism.”¹⁹ Like many other journalists of the period, its editor advocated the pursuit of knowledge as a means to move Iran closer to the community of humanists. Another newspaper, *Insaniyat*, also emerged in Tehran in 1907 CE/1325 AH, which, according to the famous historian of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution, E. G. Browne, “appeared to have been the organ of the

¹⁵ *Nasiri*, no. 6 (15 Dhul-hijja 1311/June 19, 1894): 48; also 46–47 on civilization. Another article highlighted the importance of acquiring technical knowledge in order to promote humanism and civilization as a way of strengthening the structures of the nation. See *Nasiri*, no. 17 (1 Jumada al-Thani 1312/November 30, 1894): 135. The Babi movement was a religious and political movement that emerged in nineteenth-century Iran under the leadership of Sayyid Ali Muhammad of Shiraz.

¹⁶ *Habl al-Matin*, no. 41 (September 3, 1900): 15–16. In 1907, a newspaper called *Vatan* elaborated on the need for patriots to undertake their humanistic duty of pursuing education and serving the nation in a column called “The Duty of Human Beings.” *Vatan* (21 Dhul-qa‘da 1324/January 6, 1907): 1–2. For theoretical works on nationalism, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn. (London, 1991); and Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of a Nation* (Honolulu, 1994). For a discussion of these ideas in relation to Iranian nationalism, see Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, *Frontier Fictions: Shaping the Iranian Nation, 1804–1946* (Princeton, N.J., 1999).

¹⁷ It could be argued, however, that later in the twentieth century, *insaniyat* was used more in the sense of humanity, rather than humanism per se.

¹⁸ Nazim al-Islam Kirmani, *Tarikh-i Bidari-yi Iranian*, ‘Ali Akbar Sa‘idi Sirjani, ed. (Tehran, 1357/1978), 2: 375. The famous chronicler of the Constitutional Revolution. Nazim al-Islam Kirmani, described ‘Abd al-Muttalib as “one of the people who have greatly served the nation and the state.” *Ibid.*, 2: 375. However, E. G. Browne’s opinion of Aqa Mirza ‘Abd al-Muttalib was less favorable, as “from the beginning of the Constitution, [he] was an object of suspicion to the Constitutionalists and was in league with the Reactionaries.” Browne, *Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*, 27.

¹⁹ *Adamiyat*, no. 2 (26 Jumada al-Avval 1325/1907): 1.

Anjuman [society] of the same name.”²⁰ Other works also addressed the theme of humanism, focusing on education, the political well-being of the country, hygiene, or the creation of a civilized and thriving national community.²¹

Humanistic philosophy not only spurred scientific pursuits and colored political rhetoric, it also influenced Qajar literary and artistic trends. Qajar art often drew its inspiration from human forms, a shift from the traditional religious art of Islam. While this tendency revealed the bias of royal patrons, it had other longstanding philosophical roots. Humanism, with its increasing emphasis on secular values, became especially prominent in the realm of art. Many Qajar paintings thus rejected religious ideas, embracing instead the more profane and secular world of the individual and the state. Human beings became popular subjects of study in relation to the natural world—in the realms of both aesthetics and science—precisely because they exemplified temporal authority and cultural enlightenment. Luxury and extravagance were witnessed in the use of rich, earthy colors in paintings, as well as in the selection of subjects and objects such as kings, coronets, swords, necklaces, and elaborate costumes. Similarly, paintings of wars and other dramatizations of society were conveyed in human terms in an effort to recreate and idealize the earthly setting of the individual. The human body itself became a landscape, even inviting painters to use partial nudity in the depiction of women.²² In literary circles, humanism inspired a rereading of classical Persian works and a desire to purify the Persian language.²³ Originating in a milieu of innovation and crisis, Iranian humanism thus embraced material changes in Qajar society and inspired a wide array of intellectual responses to social transformations.

Two salient themes of Iranian humanism concerned patriotism (*hubb-i vatan*) and hygiene (*hifz al-sihhat*). Though ostensibly unrelated, these subjects blended seamlessly in discussions of Qajar life. If patriotism involved respect for the national soil, or homeland, it also included an interest in human beings and the maintenance of a clean and healthy society. Nationhood—the quintessential symbol of modernity—could not be wholly achieved without other accoutrements of civilization such as humanism and hygiene. In embracing nationalism, Iranians advanced humanistic values to forge an ideal patriotic society and to create a healthy and enduring national community.

Scholars in other fields have also written on the relevance of sanitation and disease control to the processes of modernity and nationalism, yet the role of

²⁰ “AH” stands for anno Hegirae, year of the migration. Browne, *Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*, 48.

²¹ *Umid*, no. 1 (15 Ramadan 1324/November 2, 1906): 3–4.

²² There has been a renewed interest in the study of Qajar art. For a useful recent article on the subject, see Layla S. Diba, “Images of Power and the Power of Images: Intention and Response in Early Qajar Painting (1785–1834),” in *Royal Persian Paintings: The Qajar Epoch, 1785–1925*, Diba, ed. (New York, 1998), 30–49. For other studies of Qajar art, see B. W. Robinson, *Studies in Persian Art* (London, 1993). While many aspects of Qajar art have been studied in these works, the theme of humanism has not been explored. My paper “The Sacred and the Profane: Humanism and the Individual in Qajar Art,” forthcoming, addresses this subject.

²³ In the nineteenth century, two proponents of this trend were Mirza Fath ‘Ali Akhundzadah (d. 1878) and Mirza Aqa Khan Kirmani, who was influenced by the former. See Akhundzadah, *Alifba-yi Jadid va Maktubat* (Tabriz, 1357/1978); and Choubine, *Sih Maktub*, 257–62. For other discussions of the Persian language, though not in relation to humanism, see M. Tavakoli-Targhi, “Refashioning Iran: Language and Culture during the Constitutional Revolution,” *Iranian Studies* 23 (1990): 77–101.

humanism has not been adequately amplified in many of these works. This has resulted less because of its irrelevance and more because of the predominant scholarly desire to trace the etiology of particular epidemics within an immediate medical or social setting.²⁴ Yet, as the creation and proceedings of the International Sanitary Conferences have shown, the themes of humanism, civilization, and hygiene were not popular just in Qajar Iran but also in various European countries.²⁵ In documenting Iran's efforts to promote hygiene, scholarship, and nationalism, I argue that humanism served as a philosophical pivot for hygienic and scholastic reforms at a time when many countries such as Iran strove to remain politically viable. I also regard humanism as an underlying cause for the advancement of hygiene and modernity in Iran and elsewhere.²⁶

THE SOCIAL CONDITIONS of Qajar Iran sharpened interest in humanism and hygiene. In particular, the frequent outbreak of disease, which posed an ostensible threat to human life, spurred discussion of and innovation in modes of public sanitation. In 1831, for instance, as Iran was attempting to recover from its territorial losses to Russia, a serious bubonic plague epidemic spread throughout the capital—an outbreak that exacerbated the country's already difficult social conditions in the aftermath of the Russo-Persian War.²⁷ The plague of 1831 was neither the first nor the last outbreak of the disease in Iran. In 1851, the first official Qajar gazette, *Ruznamah-i Vaqayi' Ittifaqiyah*, reported that in an effort to contain epidemics of plague and other diseases, state officials were patrolling the capital city, Tehran, and ordering residents to clean up their garbage to limit the spread of illness. Yet

²⁴ For instance, in her study of bubonic plague, Carol Benedict addresses "questions surrounding the origins of this disease in Yunnan; the reasons for its spread from the southwest to provinces lying along the southeastern seaboard; and the changing social, medical, and religious responses of the Chinese to it over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries." Benedict, *Bubonic Plague in Nineteenth-Century China* (Stanford, Calif., 1996), 3. David S. Barnes, *The Making of a Social Disease: Tuberculosis in Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), 5, writes: "This book undertakes to trace what was known about tuberculosis in the nineteenth century, the conditions under which that knowledge was produced, and how it was used." For other studies, see J. N. Hays, *The Burdens of Disease: Epidemics and Human Response in Western History* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1998); W. F. Bynum, *Science and the Practice of Medicine in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994); David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India* (Berkeley, 1993); and Ruth Rogaski, "From Protecting the Body to Defending the Nation: The Emergence of Public Health in Tianjin, 1859–1953" (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1996).

²⁵ In the second session of the Paris sanitary conference, August 5, 1851, one of the participants declared: "Sirs, . . . in order to complete this magnificent work of the human spirit, no effort will be more fecund and more powerful than the wise regulation, than the reduction . . . of sanitary obstacles. Let us work in common to reach this goal, and we will have been well worthy of civilization and humanity." *Procès-verbaux de la Conférence sanitaire internationale ouverte à Paris le 27 juillet 1851* (Paris, 1851). Similar pronouncements were also made at subsequent International Sanitary Conferences: *Procès-verbaux de la Conférence sanitaire internationale, ouverte à Constantinople le 13 février 1866* (Constantinople, 1866); and *Procès-verbaux de la Conférence sanitaire internationale, ouverte à Vienne le juillet 1874* (Vienna, 1874).

²⁶ For histories of modern medicine in Iran, see C. Elgood, *A Medical History of Persia* (Cambridge, 1951). See also Mahmud Najmi, *Tarikh-i Tibb dar Iran pas az Islam* (Tehran, 1354/1974); and *Tarikh-i Ravabit-i pizishki-yi Iran va Faransih* (Tehran, 1991). None of these works addresses the relevance of humanism to the development of modern medicine in Iran, nor do they evaluate the distinct rise and development of hygiene, often considered a branch of medicine in Iran.

²⁷ J. D. Tholozan, *Histoire de la peste bubonique en Perse, ou la détermination de son origine, de sa marche, du cycle de ses apparitions, et de la cause de sa prompte extinction* (Paris, 1874), 25.

this source also confirmed little success and organization in the administration of these activities.²⁸ Plague erupted again a short time later, this time in Rasht, Gilan, threatening the commercial and social order of that city.²⁹ In June 1877, for instance, deaths from plague in Rasht were estimated at “between 7 and 10 a day.”³⁰ In describing the reaction to plague in Rasht, the Austrian ambassador to Tehran commented that “the emotion of the inhabitants is at its height, misery is terrible, the site of religious processions traversing the city fills with anguish the spirits of the survivors.”³¹ The proceedings of the Board of Health in Tehran also reported suspected cases of plague in Kermanshah and Bushehr, both regions contiguous with the Ottoman Empire, which itself was contending with outbreaks of plague in Baghdad.³² Surgeon-Major Colvill, who investigated the plague in Mesopotamia for the British government in the 1870s, reported in April 1876 “that in every town and village between this and the Persian Gulf people are dying from this disease.”³³

Cholera, diphtheria, and smallpox also appeared at different times, making disease control a priority for Qajar society.³⁴ A memorandum from the March 1877 meeting of the Board of Health in Tehran reported the spread of smallpox to Persian Kurdistan, as well as several deaths from diphtheria.³⁵ In July 1879, a Persian source stated that approximately 1,825 deaths had occurred in a one-month period of illnesses, ranging from dysentery and vomiting to diphtheria and

²⁸ *Ruznamah-i Vaqayi' Ittifaqiyah*, no. 45 (17 Safar 1268/1851): 1.

²⁹ For a study of quarantines and the plague in Iran, see Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, “‘City of the Dead’: The Frontier Polemics of Quarantines in the Ottoman Empire and Iran,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 18 (December 1998): 51–58.

³⁰ Public Record Office, Kew Gardens, Foreign Office (hereafter, FO) 248/330, June 14, 1877.

³¹ PRO, Ministry of Health (hereafter, MH) 98/24/51345, “The Austrian Minister at Tehran to Count Andrassy,” 2.

³² FO 248/326/51262, “Memo of the Board of Health held on Sunday, April 15, 1877,” 1.

³³ MH 98/24/51345, “Surgeon-Major Colvill to the Secretary to the Surgeon-General, India Medical Department, Bombay,” Baghdad, April 26, 1876. For a brief history of the plague epidemics in Mesopotamia, see MH 98/24/51345, “Memoranda on the Plague in Mesopotamia,” received October 10, 1876, 1–11; MH 98/24/51345, “Reports from Colonel Nixon respecting the cases of Plague in Mesopotamia,” July 18, 1876; and MH 98/24/51345, “Report by Consul-General Nixon on the Epidemic in Mesopotamia.”

³⁴ On cholera, see “Cholera,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Also see Hormoz Ebrahimnejad, “Un traité d'épidémiologie de la médecine traditionnelle persane: *Mofarraḡ ol-Heyze va'l-Vaba* de Mirza Mohammad-Taḡi Shirazi (ca. 1800–1873),” *Studia Iranica* 27 (1998): 83–107; and Ebrahimnejad, “La médecine d'observation en Iran du XIX^e siècle,” *Gesnerus* 55 (1998): 33–57. For relevant work on frontier polemics and or hygiene, see Kashani-Sabet, “‘City of the Dead,’” and F. Kashani-Sabet, “Fragile Frontiers: The Diminishing Domains of Qajar Iran,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (May 1997): 205–34. For further work on cholera and public health, see A. A. Afkhami, “Defending the Guarded Domain: Epidemics and the Emergence of International Sanitary Policy in Iran,” in *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 19 (1999): 122–36. As far as smallpox was concerned, efforts to vaccinate citizens widely became a desired goal for the government. In 1894, the newspaper *Nasiri* noted that “every year many children die or become maimed because of the lack of smallpox vaccinations,” suggesting that smallpox vaccinations were far from widespread in Qajar Iran. For this reason, and particularly in the interest of helping the poor protect their children, it reported that smallpox vaccinations were available gratis twice a week, on Saturdays and Wednesdays, at the clinic of Mirza Mahmud Khan Mushir al-Hukama, “who is one of the proficient doctors of our time.” Families from “any guild or class” were encouraged to seek these medical services. *Nasiri*, no. 4 (15 Dhul-qa'da 1311/May 21, 1894): 30.

³⁵ FO 248/326/51262, March 25, 1877, “Memo of the Board of Health held on Sunday, March 25, 1877,” 1.

smallpox.³⁶ The outbreak of plague and other epidemics caused widespread public concern and generated numerous works on medicine and related subjects.³⁷

Diseases, it seemed, had become a commonplace of Qajar life—a reality that concerned not just Iranians but also European countries engaged in regular contact with Iran and other Middle Eastern societies because of trade and advances in communications. It was therefore unsurprising that a series of International Sanitary Conferences would be held to address epidemics and sanitation in the second half of the nineteenth century, since promoting health and hygiene was not unique to nineteenth-century Iran but, rather, a subject of broad international concern. In 1851, when the first such conference was convened in Paris, the themes of hygiene and humanism undergirded discussions of medicine and disease management. The conference was organized in an effort “to regulate in a systematic manner the quarantines and lazarettos” along the coast of Mediterranean countries. But the gathering also had a broader goal: to advance humanity through international cooperation and a “civilized” dialogue about hygiene and disease control. One participant declared, “hygiene is civilization. Without hygiene, civilization would only be a true social travesty.”³⁸ In 1866, when the next conference opened in Constantinople, ‘Ali Pasha, the Ottoman minister of foreign affairs, reiterated similar sentiments: “This reunion,” he declared, “is an incontestable proof of the immense step that civilization has taken in our century. Human fraternity, this fundamental law of all progress, gains more and more by the mutual guarantees that the civilized nations do not cease to give themselves. And what greater guarantee could we have offered the whole of humanity than the one we have before our eyes, in other words, to see governments that work toward civilization converge . . . to research and adopt measures that preserve against a disaster that decimates the human genre.”³⁹ Although Iran was absent from the 1851 sanitary conference in Paris, it maintained representatives at the conferences of 1866 and 1874, thus participating in the larger humanitarian drive to bring hygiene to an international public.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, in response to the growing interest in public health, Dr. Tholozan, the physician of Nasir al-Din Shah (r. 1848–1896), and others had helped to establish a Sanitary Council (Majlis-i Hafiz al-Sihhat) as well as a quarantine service to promote sanitation.⁴⁰ In 1874, the Sanitary Council in Tehran was under the presidency of the minister of Public Instruction, Iʿtizad al-Saltanah. Physicians from the British and Russian legations served as advisers to

³⁶ *Farhang*, no. 9 (11 Shaʿban 1296/July 31, 1879): 1.

³⁷ Many of these treatises can be found at the National Library in Tehran and at the Central Library of Tehran University. See the following works at the National Library as representative samples, although there are countless others that can be included both from these and other libraries: *Dastur al-Attiba fi Dafʿ al-Taʿwun va al-vaba* (F/605); *Risalah dar Vaba va Taʿwun* (2767/3); *Maraz-i Abilih* (F-1227/7); *Hafiz al-Sihhi-yi Nasiri* (RF-447); *Hifz-i Sihhat* (132/1); and *Tuhfat al-Sihhi* (F 905). I reviewed many of these while on a research trip to Iran several years ago, and use some of them (and other manuscripts) for my larger study.

³⁸ *International Sanitary Conference* (Paris, 1851), 31st séance, M. le Docteur Monlau, secrétaire rapporteur.

³⁹ *International Sanitary Conference* (Constantinople, 1866), no. 1, séance du 13 février 1866, 3.

⁴⁰ E. G. Browne, *Arabian Medicine* (Westport, Conn., 1983), 93; also C. Elgood, *A Medical History of Persia* (Cambridge, 1951), 518.

the council, even though “they did not have a voice” in the deliberations.⁴¹ During this time, although Iran had attempted to institute quarantines in several instances to limit the spread of disease, it was not always successful in its efforts. In 1877, for instance, in a meeting of the Board of Health in Tehran, Iʿtizad al-Saltanah was quoted as saying that “the Persian Government had no experience of quarantine,” but it had attempted to set up a quarantine the previous year and strove to take steps to improve its quarantine measures for the future.⁴²

Other organizations also emerged to assist with disease control and sanitation. In Isfahan, Persian physicians instituted a forum called the Anjuman-i Pizishkan-i Isfahan (the Society of Physicians of Isfahan) to stress hygiene and to enhance the performance of their medical duties. In 1877, when plague erupted in Mesopotamia and its borderlands with Iran, Zill al-Sultan, the governor of Isfahan, had ordered the creation of this organization to improve urban sanitation. Although it ceased functioning after one year, the society resumed its sessions in 1879, when smallpox and diphtheria broke out in Isfahan.⁴³ Mirza Taqi Khan Hakimbashi headed the society and proposed certain requirements for doctors and surgeons involved with its activities. The provisions stipulated that at the start of every week, doctors provide a report to the head of the society on the diseases observed during that period. If the diseases treated were of an epidemic nature, doctors were asked to provide more detailed observations, including the sex and general age of their patients, as well as relevant symptoms.⁴⁴ The emphasis on generating and gathering detailed medical information showed an interest in scientific empiricism and a regard for medicine as an objective science. It also illustrated a desire to control and subject to public scrutiny medical officers and establishments.⁴⁵

As new institutions appeared to improve public sanitation, newspapers continued to drum the theme of hygiene in their pages both as a social necessity and as a symbol of humanism and civilization. *Ruznamah-i ʿIlmi*, a nineteenth-century Qajar newspaper dedicated to promoting science, reported on the activities of the technical college, Dar al-Funun, founded in 1851, and the Sanitary Council. In one issue, the journal discussed the Sanitary Council’s desire to regulate the flow and use of drugs by having them tested first for safety by a chemistry and physics teacher at the Dar al-Funun named Mirza Kazim, before making them publicly available.⁴⁶ Another essay addressed the successes of a local hospital in treating complex illnesses. In fact, Iʿtizad al-Saltanah as well as members of the council had inspected the hospital, which demonstrates their desire to scrutinize and observe public medical facilities and to promote empiricism, objectivity, and scientific rigor in these disciplines.⁴⁷ Medical discussions such as these tended to reflect optimism and

⁴¹ MH 98/24/51345, “Count Beust to the Earl Derby,” Belgrave Square, June 27, 1877, 3–4. This document notes that although the Persian government had previously instituted a sanitary council, it “soon stopped functioning.”

⁴² MH 98/24/51345, Memorandum by J. Dickson, Tehran, January 2, 1877.

⁴³ *Farhang*, no. 8 (4 Shaʿban 1296/July 24, 1879). The Society of Physicians of Isfahan was called either the “Anjuman-i Pizishkan-i Isfahan” or the “Anjuman-i Tibbiyah-i Isfahan.”

⁴⁴ *Farhang*, no. 8 (4 Shaʿban 1296/July 24, 1879).

⁴⁵ Compare Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archeology of Medical Perception* (1973; New York, 1994).

⁴⁶ *Ruznamah-i ʿIlmi*, no. 1 (22 Dhul-hijja 1293/January 8, 1877): 4.

⁴⁷ *Ruznamah-i ʿIlmi*, no. 10 (3 Rabiʿ al-Avval 1294/March 19, 1877): 1. Compare Foucault, *Birth of*

a belief in the ability of modern science to conquer human illnesses, as new information and methodologies directed the transition from traditional to modern medicine in Iran. Moreover, the emphasis on inspection and observation highlighted the desire to make the practice of medicine more scientific and accountable to public surveillance and debate.⁴⁸

The prevalence of epidemics correlated with the low level of public hygiene in Iran. These conditions impelled Qajar thinkers to expound on the idea of cleanliness, medicine, hygiene, and physical fitness in their works. In 1880, *Farhang*—a Persian journal published in Isfahan—ran a regular feature entitled “Hygiene and the Cleaning of Cities.” Its writer, Mirza Taqi Khan, discussed numerous issues, such as the spread of disease through open ditches as well as the proliferation of illnesses because of faulty sewage systems.⁴⁹ Moreover, he pointed out that the failure to remove household garbage from the streets on a regular basis heightened unsanitary conditions, particularly if rainfall added to waste putrefaction.⁵⁰ Other Qajar sources discussed further aspects of public health and sanitation. *Ittilaʿ*, another important nineteenth-century journal, defined hygiene as the collective effort among the inhabitants of every city to eliminate disease through an emphasis on cleanliness (*nizafat*). Although personal habits in matters of dress, drinking, and home life contributed to forging a sanitary society, they did not replace the need to promote cleanliness in the broader societal context. This source identified certain causes for the persistence of unsanitary conditions in Iran, which facilitated the spread of epidemics such as smallpox—an illness with which Iran had grappled. These causes included the following: sickness or overwork in communal labor, intemperance in drinking, the lack of cisterns for eliminating waste and disorganization in the maintenance of such sewage systems, inattention to sanitation in the cities, and a dearth of water, especially potable water. The absence of effective municipal offices responsible for providing such services exacerbated social hardships, making living conditions even more trying for Qajar subjects.⁵¹

Success in combating disease, however, remained fleeting despite the creation of a hygiene council and other organs. In the 1890s, Malik al-Muvarrikhin, a member of the Qajar elite, observed that “the streets of the city [Tehran] are very ruined and very dirty.” Indeed, he claimed that the public roads were “dustbins for the homes” of the capital—a situation heightening unsanitary conditions and leading to the proliferation of illnesses throughout the city. According to him, Tehran’s filthy streets were “the cause of air pollution and disease.”⁵² Despite the fact that Tehran

the Clinic. In his study of tuberculosis in nineteenth-century France, David S. Barnes has discussed the term “hygienic gaze,” which, he argues, “did indeed represent a strategy of controlling pathology through surveillance, knowledge, and writing.” Barnes, *Making of a Social Disease*, 213. It may be argued that a similar “hygienic” or sanitizing gaze was developing in nineteenth-century Iran.

⁴⁸ For related discussions, see H. Ebrahimnejad, “Les épidémies et l’évolution de la médecine en Iran du XIX^e siècle,” *Medicina nei secoli* 11 (1999): 167–96.

⁴⁹ *Farhang*, no. 76 (6 Muharram 1298/December 9, 1880): 2–4; also *Farhang*, no. 75 (28 Dhul-hijja 1297/December 2, 1880): 2–4. This topic is continued in other numbers as well.

⁵⁰ *Farhang*, no. 84 (3 Rabiʿ al-Avval 1298/February 3, 1881): 2–3.

⁵¹ *Ittilaʿ*, no. 186 (26 Safar 1305/November 13, 1887): 3.

⁵² Malik al-Muvarrikhin, “Qanun-i Muzaffari,” Manuscript at the National Library, Tehran, no. 314, chap. 19. For studies of Tehran in the nineteenth century, see Nasir Najmi, *Dar al-Khilafah-i Tehran* (Tehran, 1977); Najmi, *Tehran-i Ahd-i Nasiri* (Tehran, 1990).

had been subjected to renovation and expansion under Nasir al-Din Shah just decades earlier, the city's material setting required further attention and improvement.

Because of its practical significance, other sources continued to explore the theme of hygiene as a way of expounding on social problems. A treatise from the early Muzaffari period (1896–1907) stressed the state's responsibility in upholding antiseptic conditions. Its writer, Khan-i Khanan, contended, "The necessities of life include hygiene . . . [and] just as the state must make efforts to protect [the country's] security [*hifz-i amniyat*], it is also obligatory to pursue hygiene."⁵³ The attention to hygiene reflected an interest not just in improving social services but a desire to do so within the political structure. If the circle of justice—a political concept of Persian governance that considered the ruler and society working in cooperation to ensure the prevailing of a fair and righteous administration—had entailed the preservation of religion, it now also included support for community sanitation projects. This author also emphasized the Islamic injunctions to keep clean in an effort to promote public morality and social policing. For instance, Khan-i Khanan argued that the police needed to regulate the amount of time and money that people spent in coffeehouses because of their potential to cause moral depravity. He also considered gambling and the offering of alcoholic beverages to students illicit activities—actions forbidden in the Qur'an but that apparently existed in Qajar society.⁵⁴ Hygiene thus evolved as an expression not just of Qajar support for patriotism and cleanliness but also of morality.

For hygiene was a subject both personal and social, both private and public. The social perspective of hygiene took account of the country's unsanitary conditions, while its personal dimension concerned the human anatomy.⁵⁵ Hygiene thus became a way to conquer the human body—and, by extension, human society—through its emphasis on health, cleanliness, and the elimination of disease. Human empowerment might be attained if only people could comprehend their bodies and promote health through an understanding of nature and biology. That understanding could subsequently be applied to political institutions in order to promote social well-being. As one journalist commented, "Hygiene has illustrated the conditions of health and the provisions . . . that provide the endurance and continuation of life."⁵⁶ This celebration of life offered another optimistic assurance of Iranian humanism and modernity. Rigorous attention to hygiene not only promised a long and fulfilling existence, it professed an ideal life—whether personal or political—in

⁵³ Khan-i Khanan, "Risalah-i dar Siyasat," Manuscript at the National Library, Tehran, no. 385 RF, 110. Unfortunately, this manuscript offers little information on the background of the writer.

⁵⁴ Khanan, "Risalah-i dar Siyasat," 111–12.

⁵⁵ *Tarbiyat* (11 Ramadan 1315/February 3, 1898): 239. It is important to note that the study of the human anatomy and physiology had roots in medieval Islamic medical literature. A fifteenth-century Persian manuscript, "Tashrih al-Badan" (Description of the Body), by Mansur ibn Muhammad ibn al Faqih Ilyas, provided a drawing of the circulatory and nervous systems of the human anatomy. As Howard R. Turner explains, "Medieval Muslim physicians added significantly to our knowledge of anatomy and physiology. Diagrams such as this fifteenth-century example reveal considerable understanding of the body's vital processes. Muslim achievements included a new theory about the secondary, or lesser, circulation of the blood (between the heart and the lungs) that remained generally ignored until its rediscovery in our own time." Turner, *Science in Medieval Islam: An Illustrated Introduction* (Austin, Tex., 1995), 144.

⁵⁶ *Adab*, no. 181 (6 Safar 1324/April 1, 1906): 5.

which the need for healers and drugs might eventually be obviated.⁵⁷ By suggesting the possibility of creating an ideal society, it also gave a modernist interpretation to the concept of the perfect human being (*insan-i kamil*), an Islamic notion presuming the dominant position held by man in creation.⁵⁸

IN 1898, A PROMINENT INTELLECTUAL, Mirza Husayn Khan, Zuka' al-Mulk wrote, "Science and literature . . . are the pillars of humanism and the bases of civilization."⁵⁹ For him, the realization of human evolution and betterment rested in knowledge. Proficiency in the arts and sciences (*adab*)—or, in other words, humanistic endeavors—would allow Iran to strengthen its pillars of society and governance and thus restore its historical grandeur. Moreover, such knowledge would bring about the eventual reduction of illness and the spread of hygiene, not to mention the realization of the ideal man. To demonstrate Iranians' proclivity for the salutary virtues of humanism and scientific learning—as well as Iran's ability to become modern and "civilized"—Zuka' al-Mulk's newspaper, *Tarbiyat*, stressed the "scientific talent of Iranians," claiming that they "were and are the fountain" of scholarship in these disciplines.⁶⁰

In addition to such grandstanding, *Tarbiyat* promoted the sciences by instituting a feature in the form of a discussion with Nayyir al-Mulk, Iran's minister of sciences. The column served to raise public literacy in the sciences and included information on subjects as diverse as electricity, the ozone, and the temperature of the sun. To popularize the study of scientific fields, this publication even advertised the sale of relevant works in French at a local home in Qazvin.⁶¹ The store of scientific knowledge, it was hoped, would help Iran understand its pathology of misrule in its attempt to regain stature among modern, "civilized" nations.⁶²

Along with explanations of fields such as geography and astronomy, this journal regularly published articles on diseases and medicine—a scientific discipline concerned with the human anatomy and the natural world. Medicine gained prominence not just because of its historical relevance but also because of its ability

⁵⁷ *Adab*, no. 185 (11 Rabi' al-Avval 1324/May 6, 1906): 7. *Adab* also reported the use of a book on hygiene, entitled *Sihhat-i Muzaffari*, which it recommended to every family. Moreover, *Adab* decided to distribute several sample copies of this book to the dignitaries of various Iranian cities. This work was also being made available to schools. See *Adab*, no. 178 (5 Muharram 1324/March 1, 1906): 6. This point is reinforced by Foucault, who wrote, "Medicine must no longer be confined to a body of techniques for curing ills and of the knowledge that they require; it will also embrace a knowledge of healthy man, that is, a study of non-sick man and a definition of the model man." *Birth of the Clinic*, 34.

⁵⁸ *Encyclopedia of Islam* (new edition), "al-Insan al-Kamil." The idea of the perfect man also occurs in Islamic mysticism, in particular, the philosophy of Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 1240). As Gerhard Böwering has noted, "The idea of the Perfect Human Being may best be understood in the Sufi paradigm that depicts the human race as taking its origin from God in cosmic descent and returning to God in mystic ascent." *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, "Ensan-e Kamel." For use of the term in Persian constitutionalist literature, see *Iblagh*, no. 2 (23 Dhul-hijja 1324/February 7, 1907): 2.

⁵⁹ *Tarbiyat*, no. 94 (11 Dhul-hijja 1315/May 3, 1898): 376.

⁶⁰ *Tarbiyat* (14 Shavval 1314/March 18, 1897): 55.

⁶¹ *Tarbiyat* (3 Dhul-hijja 1314/May 6, 1897): 84. The newspaper *Ruznamah-i 'Ilmiya-i Iran* also devoted several issues to the sciences.

⁶² The word "pathology" was not unknown to Qajar doctors and intellectuals. There is a manuscript with that title, dated to the thirteenth century AH/nineteenth century CE, at the National Library (Kitabkhanah-i Milli-yi Iran) in Tehran: *Pathologie*—2777/F. There is also an explanation of the term in the journal *Hifz al-Sihhat*, no. 4 (Jumada al-Avval 1324/1906): 2.

to offer treatments for prolonging and improving the quality of human life. The appeal of medicine and physiology, moreover, reinforced the Qajar fascination with humanistic learning. As Zuka' al-Mulk explained, "For human beings the proper and healthy mode of living depends upon knowledge, from stone-cutting, to woodwork . . . to medicine . . . [which is] the axis of well-being" and thus a science indispensable for every individual.⁶³ To raise the public medical literacy level, Zuka' al-Mulk printed numerous essays on diseases. Two such discussions concerned diphtheria and cancer. Contending that diphtheria was a contagion that had existed for a long time under different names, the paper proposed various hypotheses for its dissemination. *Tarbiyat* even published a biography of Louis Pasteur to foster interest in disease control.⁶⁴ As new schools developed during the reign of Muzaffar al-Din Shah (1896–1907), there would be a more marked intellectual distinction between the fields of medicine and hygiene, which, though nuanced and different in many respects, were sometimes lumped together. In 1900, the newly founded Luqmaniyah school, for instance, had two separate classes for hygiene and medicine.⁶⁵

To encourage the proper maintenance and knowledge of the human body, other periodicals carried regular features on public hygiene or related fields such as physiology.⁶⁶ In stressing the need to keep the human physique healthy, *Nawruz*, a journal devoted to culture and science, printed a column on the necessity of exercise for "nurturing and improving the [human] spirit and body." By keeping the body robust, exercise enabled people to take full advantage of their lives.⁶⁷ The institutionalization of exercise as a palliative to physical decline would become a resounding theme of Pahlavi Iran when exercise became a regular activity of youth organizations. Healthy citizens, it was believed, would better promote the well-being of the nation-state as fully productive members of the national community. Thus physiology and hygiene—two distinct branches of scientific knowledge and two subjects intimately connected to the human anatomy—became popular topics of research.

Explanations of the human anatomy often centered on the male physique. There were, however, exceptions. One essay, for instance, focused attention on the female anatomy by commenting on morning sickness in pregnant women. This source even offered a purported cure consisting of cocoa and distilled water.⁶⁸ Another piece, addressed primarily to mothers and children's nurses, cautioned the caretakers against prescribing their own herbal cures for common childhood discomforts or illnesses. Lactating mothers were also encouraged to breastfeed their newborns, as

⁶³ *Tarbiyat*, no. 59 (4 Ramadan 1315/January 27, 1898): 233.

⁶⁴ *Tarbiyat*, no. 88 (4 Dhul-hijja 1315/April 26, 1898): 350. Also see *Tarbiyat* (14 Safar 1315/July 15, 1897): 124; and *Tarbiyat* (4 Ramadan 1315/January 27, 1898): 234.

⁶⁵ *Ma'arif* (Tehran), no. 32 (10 Shavval 1317/February 10, 1900): 2. Other related subjects that would form part of the school curriculum included ophthalmology, surgery, dentistry, physiology, and pharmacology. Other than the term physiology, which was given a Persian transliteration of the equivalent French term, the aforementioned subjects were noted using Persian/Arabic words, which I have rendered into English equivalents.

⁶⁶ For one such example, see *Nawruz* (22 Jumada al-Avval 1321/August 16, 1903): 2–3.

⁶⁷ *Nawruz* (1 Rabi' al-Avval 1322/May 17, 1904): 3–4. The newspaper *Nasiri* also stressed the importance of engaging in moderate physical activity and movement to maintain bodily health. See *Nasiri*, no. 17 (1 Jumada al-Thani 1312/November 30, 1894).

⁶⁸ *Adab* (5 Sha'ban 1321/October 26, 1903): 13–14.

“the best and healthiest milk is the mother’s milk.” In fact, women who decided against breastfeeding were regarded as negligent, not to mention more susceptible to uterine and breast cancers.⁶⁹ It is not surprising that these essays focused on women’s reproductive (that is, mothering) function—the one physiological difference that emphasized the importance of the female anatomy.⁷⁰ Still, the prototypical human body remained the male form in physiological discussions.

The fields of medicine, physiology, and hygiene, as Zuka’ al-Mulk observed, required the acquisition of a specialized vocabulary.⁷¹ The new language slowly found its way into the humanistic discourse of Qajar political life, which was evolving simultaneously in the same intellectual milieu. In rethinking Qajar society, many nineteenth-century Iranian literati looked to science in their search to find solutions for the country’s social and political ailments. Many intellectuals adopted the Enlightenment ethos of Europe and became enthralled with the idea of “natural laws,” whether in discussions of the environment or society.⁷² It was widely believed that progress would ensue because of the identification and application of natural laws to human societies. Just as geography located the natural laws of the environment, medicine identified the natural laws of the human anatomy. In their veneration of modern science, Qajar intellectuals sought to uncover the inherent natural mechanisms of human beings and their environment in order to attain (and assure) societal progress and cultural advancement—a touchstone measured increasingly in national terms.

Humanism, which encouraged understanding of the human body, also influenced the rethinking of political governance in Iran. The pursuit of biological knowledge went hand in hand with the development of ideas of individualism in Qajar political philosophy. In 1879, *Farhang*, a newspaper published in Isfahan under the authority of its governor, Zill al-Sultan, a half-brother and political rival of the future shah, Muzaffar al-Din, had expounded on such themes in a discussion of freedom and “natural rights” (*huquq-i tabi’iyya*). Considered one of the bases of freedom, the article had explained that natural rights “are equal for all human beings, and include the protection of one’s person, property, and peace.”⁷³ Such recognition of a person’s prerogatives in society manifested the increasingly important role individuals would have vis-à-vis the Iranian state. Yet the journal was careful not to endorse boundless individualism, viewing it instead as a political vice and a source of social anarchy and turmoil.⁷⁴ Iranian humanism, though upholding limited personal rights and liberties, eschewed the notion of state subordination to the individual. Rather, the individual existed to support and ensure the well-being of

⁶⁹ *Hifz al-Sihat*, no. 4 (Jumada al-Avval 1324/1906): 18–23.

⁷⁰ Women’s mothering, in particular, their breastfeeding abilities, remained an important theme of public hygiene in Iran. For another reference, see *Khayr al-Kalam*, no. 32 (4 Rabi’ al-Avval 1328/1910): 3. Here, women are told to be careful when supplementing their breast milk with other milk. It is pointed out that a decent alternative to mother’s milk is sterilized cowsmilk. Women are also told to sterilize bottles before putting them in their infant’s mouth. In addition, there was interest in treating diseases with sensitive social implications such as syphilis. For instance, see *Nasiri*, no. 4 (1 Dhul-Qa’da 1313/April 15, 1896): 38–39.

⁷¹ *Tarbiyat* (21 Safar 1315/July 22, 1897): 125.

⁷² See Maryam B. Sanjabi, “Rereading the Enlightenment: Akhundzada and His Voltaire,” *Iranian Studies* 28 (Winter–Spring 1995): 39–60.

⁷³ *Farhang*, nos. 13–14 (9 Ramadan 1296/August 28, 1879): 3.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

society and increasingly of the nation.⁷⁵ Still, the notion of making the government accountable to its citizenry gained currency in the second half of the nineteenth century—another manifestation of the influence of humanism on Qajar political philosophy. This idea would be reflected in other political writings of the Qajar period. In 1870, Mirza Yusuf Khan, Mustashar al-Dawlah wrote his influential work *Yak Kalimah*, meaning “one word,” in which he argued that Iran’s betterment could be realized if only one word—law—prevailed in the country. Mustashar al-Dawlah, who was in contact with Mirza Malkum Khan, further defended the precepts of the French constitution, including the rights of men, by referring to Qur’anic verses and traditions, or *hadith*.⁷⁶ *Yak Kalimah* was published, advertised, and put on sale in 1907, when discussions of humanism and the role of individuals within the state were becoming rampant.⁷⁷

As works such as *Yak Kalimah* were circulated, the need for state recognition and protection of individual rights gained currency in the late Qajar period. This trend was evidenced in the political activity surrounding the creation of the Iranian constitution, which one activist described as a means of promoting the precepts of “culture and humanism” (*adab va insaniyat*).⁷⁸ Because of the faith in—and likelihood of—human progress, the individual became an apt representation for the state. Governments and states needed to emulate human beings in their pursuit of social progress, and humanistic learning could bring societies closer to this ideal of cultural enlightenment. In arguing for the cooperation of the citizenry and the state, for instance, Zuka’ al-Mulk remarked that “a citizenry without a government resembles a body without a soul.”⁷⁹ The body politic thus became a personification of the human body. The perceived ability to heal the human body of hitherto-destructive diseases with the help of medical and biological knowledge offered positive proof of social advancement. Similarly, intellectuals could cure the body politic of its debilitating ills by applying scientific techniques to social problems. Optimism thus pervaded discussions of nineteenth-century science and humanism.⁸⁰ Just as advances in modern medicine seemed to prolong human life, improvements in the political arena could extend the country’s lifespan. It was not entirely surprising that intellectuals isolated social ills and proffered political prescriptions by adopting an empirical (and medical) posture.

THE HIGH RATE OF EPIDEMIC OUTBREAKS as well as the intellectual emphasis on the pursuit of sciences (*‘ulum*) encouraged the use of medical metaphors and disease

⁷⁵ The idea of individual subordination to the state has medieval Islamic precedents. See A. K. S. Lambton, *State and Government in Medieval Islam* (Oxford, 1981), 307–15.

⁷⁶ Mirza Yusuf Khan, Mustashar al-Dawlah, *Yak Kalimah*, Sadiq Sajjadi, ed. (Tehran, 1364/1985). Also see Hamid Algar, *Mirza Malkum Khan: A Study in the History of Iranian Modernism* (Berkeley, Calif., 1973), 139. Although Mustashar al-Dawlah’s works were sold during the constitutional period, he died before the Constitutional Revolution.

⁷⁷ *Anjuman* (Tabriz), no. 108 (26 Jumada al-Avval 1325/1907): 4.

⁷⁸ *Ruznamah-i Milli*, no. 7 (24 Ramadan 1324/November 11, 1906): 2.

⁷⁹ *Tarbiyat* (11 Ramadan 1315/February 3, 1898): 237.

⁸⁰ For background reading, see Ernst Mayr, *The Growth of Biological Thought: Diversity, Evolution, and Inheritance* (Cambridge, 1982); William Coleman, *Biology in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1971, 1977).

analogies in the Qajar political discourse. At the same time that Iran strove to subdue diseases such as smallpox and plague, the country found itself grappling with metaphorical “ills” such as financial insolvency and political disarray. Pestilence became a familiar image in descriptions of Qajar politics and society.⁸¹ The outspoken statesman Mirza Malkum Khan, for instance, frequently discussed the “pains” (*dard*) of Iran when dispensing his social commentaries.⁸²

Hygiene as a political doctrine had already gained prominence in treatises submitted to the Qajar court. One such work, written in two parts, not only commented on the human anatomy but extended the analogy of bodily health and hygiene to argue for the necessity of monarchy as the most healthful form of government for Iran. The first treatise, labeled simply “Hygiene,” discussed various diseases and the use of drugs and herbs in curing those ailments. The introduction to this volume, however, revealed the author’s twofold intentions. In this work, Musa bin ‘Ali Riza Savuji—a scholar with some access to the Qajar elite—emphasized the necessity of hygiene because of its utility in maintaining the monarch’s health. A healthy ruler, in turn, reinforced the image of a strong, prosperous society and citizenry.⁸³ Savuji remarked, “The king is tantamount to the [human] heart, and the heart of the sultan . . . produces the outpouring of bounty to the body, which is tantamount to the country [*mamlakat*] . . . [I]f any calamity befalls the heart, the affairs of the country will descend into destruction.”⁸⁴ Thus, Savuji concluded, “the protection of the heart [that is, the sultan] is more imperative than the rest of the body.” A healthy sultan could avert political calamity and ensure the proper management of his state, and it was therefore incumbent upon the country’s doctors to preserve the health of the king. Such concerns became pronounced because Qajar monarchs—though a rank above the rest of the population—nonetheless suffered like ordinary citizens from common maladies.

In this context, hygiene (*hifz al-sihhat*) consisted of two distinct components: the protection of the ruler’s physical body as well as the protection of the subjects and the body politic. To address the myriad meanings of hygiene, Savuji divided his discussion into two separate treatises, one with a distinctly political agenda, entitled “The Politics of Civilization.”⁸⁵ In this work, hygiene connoted the proper political conduct of the monarch and his ministers—the traditional actors in the circle of justice—for securing the well-being of the state. The specific use of the phrase *hifz-i*

⁸¹ For studies on similar subjects in other fields, see *Epidemics and Ideas: Essays on the Historical Perception of Pestilence*, Terence Ranger and Paul Slack, eds. (Cambridge, 1992); William H. McNeill, *Peoples and Plagues* (Garden City, N.Y., 1976).

⁸² Malkum Khan, *Qanun*, edited by Huma Natiq, no. 24 (n.d.): 1. Moreover, in talking about despotism in Asian societies, Malkum labeled it a calamity and a plague. *Qanun*, no. 36: 3. Malkum Khan’s pronouncements were particularly revealing, for he had served on numerous diplomatic missions, including the delineation of Iran’s eastern boundary in the 1870s, and was Iran’s representative to the International Sanitary Conference of 1866. For notable treatises on the subject of law in Qajar Iran, see Malkum Khan, *Majmu‘ah-i Asar-i Mirza Malkum Khan*, Muhammad Muhiṭ Tabataba‘i, ed. (Tehran, 1359/1980). For a biography of Malkum Khan, see Algar, *Mirza Malkum Khan*.

⁸³ For discussions of Persian kingship, see A. K. S. Lambton, *Theory and Practice in Medieval Persian Government* (London, 1980); and C. Amir-Mokri, “Redefining Iran’s Constitutional Revolution” (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1992), 40–50.

⁸⁴ Musa bin ‘Ali Riza Savuji, “Hifz-i Sihhat,” Manuscript at the National Library, Tehran, no. 132RF/1, 8.

⁸⁵ Savuji, “Siyasat-i Mudun,” Manuscript at the National Library, Tehran, no. 132RF/2.

sihhat to refer not just to medical issues but to political concerns as well showed the explicit connection between hygiene and politics in the Qajar intellectual discourse.

Aside from its political relevance, the idea of hygiene and cleanliness had strong precedents in Islamic literature. The injunctions of *wudu* (ablution) and *qusl* (ritual washing) equate the act of cleansing and of cleanliness with religious purity.⁸⁶ The Qur'an notes: "Truly Allah loveth those who turn unto Him, and loveth those who have a care for cleanness."⁸⁷ Observance of personal cleanliness was obligatory and divine, since "all worldly and otherworldly duties are dependent upon hygiene," and each person maintained an individual responsibility to uphold his bodily health and cleanliness. For practical and religious purposes, then, "the reasonable, cautious human being must work as much as possible to protect his body."⁸⁸

By linking hygiene to people's otherworldly duties, intellectuals also maneuvered around another thorny issue: the purported incompatibility of Islam with modern science. In a famous exchange with Ernest Renan, for instance, the controversial figure Jamal al-Din "Afghani" had remarked that "the Muslim religion has tried to stifle science and stop its progress," but Afghani was also quick to point out that the Arabs had "rekindled the extinguished sciences, developed them and [given] them a brilliance they had never had." This evidence, it was hoped, would again "prove" the Muslims' "taste for science."⁸⁹ Hygiene—a branch of science and humanistic learning—could forge a link between Islam, politics, and modern scholarship with its stress on cleanliness, life, and the human anatomy.

THE DEBATE ON HYGIENE, mingled with the political transformations occurring in Qajar society, brought changes in perceptions and definitions of the country. Increasingly, intellectuals referred to their country as "homeland" (*vatan*) and to their commonwealth as "nation" (*millat*).⁹⁰ A territorial entity, *vatan* was regarded as the progenitor of Iranian society and the mainstay of the emerging nation. One journalist defined the concept of homeland: "*Vatan* is the place where a person is born and lives. Now, Iran is our homeland and our home, and in protecting it, it is our duty that we do not withhold our life, money, inhabitants, or wife and family." For this was the "same Iran whose knowledge, arts, and civilization would dazzle the inhabitants of the West."⁹¹ Although Iran had once been a veritable "rose garden on earth," it no longer boasted its former grandeur. As this patriot asked ruefully, "Why was the Caucasus, which was a large part of Iran, separated [from it]? And why did Herat, which was a greater part of our homeland, fall to the

⁸⁶ *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran*, interpreted by Mohammed M. Pickthall, Sura IV, verse 43, pp. 83–84, Sura V, verse 6, p. 97.

⁸⁷ *Koran*, interpreted by Pickthall, Sura II, verse 222, p. 53.

⁸⁸ *Adab*, no. 179 (19 Muharram 1324/March 15, 1906): 8. Also see *Adab*, no. 185 (11 Rabi' al-Avval 1324/May 6, 1906): 7.

⁸⁹ Nikki Keddie, *An Islamic Response to Imperialism: Political and Religious Writings of Sayyid Jamal ad-Din "al-Afghani"* (Berkeley, Calif., 1968), 183–84. It is worth noting that one of Afghani's works was put on sale and advertised during the constitutional period. See *Khayr al-Kalam*, no. 78 (6 Shavval 1328/October 10, 1910): 4.

⁹⁰ For discussions of the homeland and the nation, see Kashani-Sabet, *Frontier Fictions*. For an analysis of related Qajar political terminologies, see Tavakoli-Targhi, "Refashioning Iran."

⁹¹ *Umid*, no. 9 (12 Dhul-qa'da 1324/December 28, 1906): 3.

Afghanis?"⁹² If this patriot did not have all the answers, he did at least identify the need to promote education and the sciences through the establishment of schools and other humanistic endeavors as a way to restore Iranian civilization and eminence.⁹³

Others pursued hygiene as an expression of patriotism and appropriated medical terminology to cleanse and cure their homeland. One patriotic journalist contended, "Many of our people will suffer throughout the years unless there is hygiene in the country and until we understand its methods. And, of course, as our population declines, so too will our advancements."⁹⁴ On a literal level, hygiene accentuated the need to promote public sanitation and bodily health; on a political level, hygiene underscored the need to keep the homeland flourishing. In seeking remedies, Iran found itself slowly shifting toward a new setting—a modern environment that relied on scientific methods and solutions as well as innovative political structures to relieve the country's various ills, whether social or political.

Motivated in part by territorial anxieties, which played an important role in giving the country its geographic shape, the birth of the Iranian nation also took place because of social and political exigencies. From 1804 until 1905, for instance, Iran lost several outlying provinces through wars, treaties, or boundary delimitation efforts, including territories in the Caucasus and along its eastern boundary.⁹⁵ Faced with military, fiscal, and social troubles, Iranians searched for creative ways to fight their crisis of modernity. Many intellectuals promoted humanism in their discussions of progress and civilization. If modern empires—many of which also considered themselves "civilized" nations—boasted of railroads, steamboats, schools, and public hygiene, then Iran needed to procure similar articles of modernity to alter and refine definitions of itself and be counted among the community of humanists. These acquisitions included innovative institutions as well as the invention of supporting nationalist polemics.⁹⁶ Both of these processes owed much to the humanistic ethos of the late Qajar years.

Iran's transition to nationhood, then, occurred in the midst of these simultaneous transformations and, in part, *because* of these concomitant technological, social, and scientific developments. This is not to suggest that Iranian humanism or nationhood emerged through a process of blind imitation or exclusively in a reactionary guise. On the contrary, the discourse on homeland expressly stressed the significance of the indigenous environment in forging patriotism. Still, there existed a desire to adopt and adapt alternative, non-indigenous structures to propel Iran toward nationhood—a move seen in Iran's struggle to create a parliament and to write a constitution. Though plagued by various afflictions, Iran slowly appro-

⁹² *Umid*, no. 9 (12 Dhul-qa'da 1324/December 28, 1906): 3. For related discussions of *vatan*, see *al-Hadid*, no. 11 (13 Rajab 1324/September 1906): 3–4; and *Nasiri*, no. 13 (1 Safar 1314/July 12, 1896): 146. There are many similar discussions of *vatan* in the newspaper *Habl al-Matin* and other journals published during the constitutional period.

⁹³ For similar expressions of patriotism and nostalgia for "old Iran," see *Umid*, no. 18 (1 Safar 1325/March 16, 1907): 2.

⁹⁴ *Ruh al-Quds*, no. 1 (25 Jumada al-Thani 1325/August 5, 1907): 4. In several issues, this newspaper used medical and anatomical metaphors to discuss the problems of Iran.

⁹⁵ For studies of the geographic boundaries of Iran, see Kashani-Sabet, "Fragile Frontiers"; and Kashani-Sabet, *Frontier Fictions*.

⁹⁶ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983).

priated the lineaments of modernity and nationhood in attempting to eliminate its figurative diseases. The Constitutional Revolution of 1906 became a watershed in Iranian history precisely because Iranians finally succeeded in obtaining some of the tokens of humanism that they had been discussing for decades. Even if the parliament (Majlis)—Iran's political hospital—could not cure all the nation's maladies, it could at least serve as a starting point for launching Iran's revitalization.

Nowhere was the unification of these themes seen as pointedly as during the Constitutional Revolution.⁹⁷ Many newspapers—the latest medium of intellectual debate in Iran—promoted revitalization assiduously.⁹⁸ One publication even labeled newspapers the “prescription pad” (*nuskhih*) of the nation, since they identified the ills harming the homeland.⁹⁹ Why did the issues of hygiene and humanism appear at the forefront of patriotic debate? If Iran strove to project an image of political vigor, particularly at a time of declining fortunes, then the country's material conditions needed to reflect the health of the homeland. The nation's organization of and control over its sanitation methods mirrored its authority over other areas, such as its finances and frontiers. Aside from the material need to eliminate disease, cleanliness and hygiene became symbols of national well-being and civilization. However, in order to understand and spread the rules of hygiene, it was first necessary to pursue humanistic disciplines and to cultivate a belief in the individual. The promotion of sanitation then emerged not just as a necessary social project but as a resounding feature of nationalist polemic, Iranian modernity, and humanism.

The call for humanism and hygiene played nicely into the hands of Iranian patriots, who had been actively advancing nationalist polemics in their writings. For decades, Qajar statesmen had been distressed over the presence of foreigners in Iran and the country's possible territorial obliteration. Their focus on the Iranian homeland inspired an assortment of patriotic works aimed at defending the country. Humanism thus developed alongside another prominent idea among the Qajar literati: love of homeland, or *hubb-i vatan*. Qajar patriots advocated the ideas of humanism and hygiene because adherence to these beliefs, they hoped, would help create the civilized, progressive, and above all healthy homeland that many desired.

The rights of individuals in society became a prominent feature of humanist discussions. In 1907, for instance, Mirza ʿAli Muhammad Khan, who edited the constitutionalist journal *Taraqqi*, wrote: “A human being is the noblest of creatures so long as he realizes the distinction of his existence and possesses the essentials of humanism. A human being is entitled to rights so long as he recognizes his rights and considers the protection of rights his obligation. A person is free so long as he

⁹⁷ For general studies of the Constitutional Revolution, see Janet Afary, *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution of 1906–1911: Grassroots Democracy, Social Democracy and the Origins of Feminism* (New York, 1996); Mangol Bayat, *Iran's First Revolution: Shi'ism and the Constitutional Revolution of 1905–1909* (New York, 1991); Vanessa Martin, *Islam and Modernism: The Iranian Revolution of 1906* (London, 1989); M. Malikzadah, *Tarikh-i Inqilab-i Mashrutiyyat-i Iran* (Tehran, 1984); F. Adamiyat, *Fikr-i Azadi va Muqaddamah-i Nihzat-i Mashrutiyyat-i Iran* (Tehran, 1981); and A. Kasravi, *Tarikh-i Mashrutah-i Iran* (Tehran, 1984). The role of humanism and hygiene has not been discussed in these works.

⁹⁸ For instance, *Umid*, no. 1 (15 Ramadan 1324/November 1906): 3; and *Adamiyat*, no. 3 (28 Jumada al-Avval 1325/July 10, 1907): 4.

⁹⁹ *Awqyanus*, no. 2 (24 Rabiʿ al-Thani 1326/May 25, 1908): 1.

considers himself worthy of freedom.”¹⁰⁰ Such musings about the role and prerogatives of individuals in society became common during the constitutional years (1906–1911) and traced their origins to the burgeoning discussions of humanism that had begun in the late nineteenth century.

Many of the same thinkers who promoted humanism also placed emphasis on hygiene as a hallmark of humanism. Emphasis on hygiene and sanitation prompted debate as well as various administrative measures, pointing to the public interest in promoting cleanliness and sanitation.¹⁰¹ For instance, a “Society for Cleanliness” (Anjuman-i Nizafat), headed by Mirza Abu Talib, was created in Tehran during this period to oversee sanitation of public baths in the capital. Talib was described as an educated person who supported constitutionalism and as someone well-versed in the “praiseworthy qualities of humanism.”¹⁰² The Municipal Council (Shu’ra-yi Baladiyah) also came into existence at this time, and one of its primary tasks was the maintenance of public hygiene.¹⁰³ During the period of the second parliament, from 1909 to 1911, several political parties even instituted public hygiene in their political platforms. The Society of the Seekers of Advancement of Iran (Jam’iyat-i Taraqqi Khahan-i Iran), for instance, identified “the preparation of the items necessary for hygiene and the establishment of hospitals” among its goals. Similarly, the party of Ijtima’iyun-i Ittihadīyun listed improvement in public hygiene as one its objectives.¹⁰⁴ One journalist even reported the creation of a medical commission on “military hygiene” (*hifz al-sihhat-i nizami*), since infirm cavalymen could not effectively protect the homeland. A healthy army, like a robust citizenry, could better ensure the defense of a country faced with chronic frictions in its periphery.¹⁰⁵

Aside from the fact that many constitutional newspapers carried regular features on humanism and hygiene, some used the human anatomy and medical metaphors to describe the body politic, especially the homeland. Journalists thus transformed themselves into healers of the homeland. To instill patriotism, the homeland had first to become intimately tied to the human experience. Anthropomorphism accorded this hitherto-abstract territorial entity—homeland—a corporeal (and therefore familiar) identity.

Like medical doctors, Iran’s political healers, then, had to diagnose this metaphorical national body. If decades earlier, some thinkers such as Malkum Khan had isolated lawlessness as a debilitating contagion weakening Iran, during

¹⁰⁰ *Taraqqi*, no. 8 (17 Rabi’ al-Avval 1325/1907): 1.

¹⁰¹ *Taraqqi*, no. 5 (5 Rabi’ al-Avval 1325/1907): 1.

¹⁰² *Tamaddun*, no. 45 (26 Shavval 1325/1907): 4.

¹⁰³ *Tamaddun*, no. 54 (26 Muharram 1326/1908): 1–2.

¹⁰⁴ *Maramnamah’ha va Nizamnamah’ha-yi Ahzab-i Siyasi-yi Iran dar Duvvumin Dawrah-i Majlis-i Shu’ra-yi Milli*, Mansoureh Ittihadīyeh, ed. (Tehran, 1361/1982), 149, 163. During the constitutional period, efforts to promote institutions that supported public health and hygiene spread more rapidly to the provinces, in part because of the creation of provincial societies. See *Khayr al-Kalam*, no. 59 (22 Sha’ban 1328/August 28, 1910): 3–4, on efforts to revamp the hospital in Rasht, Gilan. Also, *Khayr al-Kalam*, no. 51 (25 Rajab 1328/August 1, 1910): 4, mentions the existence of a medical council (*shu’ra-yi tibbi*) that included some of the well-known doctors of Gilan and convened twice a week. In addition, a hygiene assembly (*majlis-i hifz al-sihhi*) also existed there. For a list of its members and some of its instructions, see *Khayr al-Kalam*, no. 51 (25 Rajab 1328/August 1, 1910): 3. There is also a reference to a hygiene society in Qum (*anjuman-i sihhat-i Qum*) in *Habl al-Matin*, no. 27 (18 Rabi’ al-Thani 1326/May 19, 1908): 5–6.

¹⁰⁵ *Khurshid* (Mashhad) (1328/1910): 2.

the Constitutional Revolution others would identify other viruses invading the country. One writer in April 1907, for example, was Mudabbir al-Mamalik—the editor of the newspaper *Tamaddun*.¹⁰⁶ In an earlier article, Mamalik had used anatomical metaphors to make this diagnosis: “If we examine closely the nerves and muscles of this country, we will see that many types of pains have been inflicted upon this weak body . . . and despite the affliction of many disasters at the same time, it has not collapsed and still has half a life.”¹⁰⁷ He had a point. Although at the time of this article, Iran had managed to found a parliament and draw up a constitution, the country was beset by political, fiscal, and territorial troubles that threatened to reverse the hard-won successes of their nearly bloodless revolution. In the north, Russian troops threatened the Caspian provinces. In the west, Ottoman forces marched into Iranian Kurdistan. In the capital, parliamentary delegates considered various and sundry schemes for raising money in order to avert national bankruptcy. Finally, the new king, Muhammad ‘Ali Shah (r. 1907–1909), showed little sympathy to the constitutionalists, aggravating the distress of a beleaguered nation. These inauspicious happenings naturally cast a pall over the excitement, since the parliament—Iran’s political hospital—lacked the necessary resources to eradicate the homeland’s maladies.

Increasingly, patriots represented pejorative political concepts such as despotism or tyranny (*istibdad*) as diseases. Often labeled an incurable ailment (*dard-i bi darman*) or a “microbe,” despotism was depicted as a disease wearing down the nation’s new institutions—and therefore its vehicles of freedom—just as cancer eroded the human body. As Mirza Muhammad ‘Ali Khan commented in *Taraqqi*, “Previously, the rottenness of despotism had spoiled our brains.” With the parliament in session, however, Iranians could at least pursue their political well-being by attempting to keep the scourge of despotism in check.¹⁰⁸

In 1907, another journalist labeled Iran an invalid (*bimar*). This writer, Sultan al-‘Ulama Khurasani, who edited the newspaper *Ruh al-Quds*, even argued that the nation’s nurses gave it poison instead of medicine, thus speeding up its demise. The country’s emerging political and territorial troubles intensified fears of Iran’s “death,” or in other words, its territorial obliteration. As Khurasani remarked, “the corpse-washer at the funeral home has brought the coffin [for Iran] since the gravedigger had already warned him [of Iran’s impending death].”¹⁰⁹ Death, however, could still be averted, and Khurasani considered the secret societies and the parliament as antidotes to Iran’s political and territorial demise. According to him, the patriotic solution was to remove Iran’s enemies and traitors—or “homeland-sellers” (*vatan-furushan*)—from the political arena.

As nationalists made love of homeland a leitmotif of the revolution, they relied increasingly on medical analogies to express their concerns about the state of affairs in Iran. In one account, patriots even organized a gathering on hygiene (*majlis-i hafiz al-sihhat*) to diagnose the ills of the motherland.¹¹⁰ In its second issue, the

¹⁰⁶ *Tamaddun*, no. 12 (7 Rabi‘ al-Avval 1325/April 20, 1907): 1.

¹⁰⁷ *Tamaddun*, no. 8 (15 Safar 1325/March 30, 1907): 1.

¹⁰⁸ *Taraqqi*, no. 14 (15 Rabi‘ al-Thani 1325/May 28, 1907): 3.

¹⁰⁹ *Ruh al-Quds* (25 Jumada al-Thani 1325/August 5, 1907): 3. Discussions of hygiene are on the same page.

¹¹⁰ *Rahnima*, no. 1 (26 Jumada al-Ukhra/August 6, 1907): 7. A. Najmabadi discusses this feature story

newspaper *Habl al-Matin* carried a title piece on this subject: "Is Iran Sick?"¹¹¹ Not surprisingly, the paper's response to its foreboding question was a resounding "yes." Arguing that whereas Iran had been "the paradise of the world," illness had overtaken its "figure" (*haykal*), sapping its senses and its strength. As this writer, presumably the newspaper's editor, Mu'ayyid al-Islam, remarked: "Each day we would see its body grow thinner . . . its complexion become sallow . . . but we were too intoxicated by pride . . . to pay attention."¹¹² Having thus determined Iran's sickly condition, this writer then considered various outcomes, including submission to national death—an option categorically rejected. Instead, he proposed possible cures (*'alaj*) for the country. "[We should] bring together the . . . doctors and gather them around the bed of the invalid so that each person who knows anything about curing this sickly mother of ours can reveal [his knowledge]."¹¹³ Iran's political healers still had one or two tricks left up their sleeves. Among the first "cures" volunteered by the doctors were the antidotes of freedom, justice, and science. Other solutions concerned the necessity for restoring the health of the homeland by providing security and instilling love of life and living. This attitude would ensure the spiritual health and longevity of the homeland, averting national murder or suicide.

Weeks later, *Habl al-Matin* published another article detailing the responsibility of Iranian patriots to their homeland—also a mother—in filial terms. This essay inspired a running feature in the newspaper *Rahnima* that centered on the "diagnosis" of Iran. Recognizing the "respect to mothers" (*ihitram bi madar*) as a human obligation and the "nursing of the sick" (*parasdari az mariz*) as a holy responsibility, this male writer implored the sons of Iran to rescue this precious invalid—their motherland—by gathering from among them the nation's doctors and surgeons. Infections (*'ufunat*) had eroded this matron's delicate figure, robbing her of any vitality and beauty. The motherland's spirit and figure, however, could be revived with a modicum of filial love. This love had once been given by Iran's elder sons, Cyrus the Great (seventh century BCE) and Shah `Abbas Safavi—sons who had expanded and protected the motherland's sacred territorial physique.¹¹⁴ Today, however, this "old mother," who had fed Iran's progeny for centuries with "the meat on your body," now relied on her younger children to fend off rapacious foreigners from her bosom of chastity.¹¹⁵ The love potion of Iran's male doctors (or sons) seemed the final cure for the motherland—a territorial figure whose contours were being assailed by "thieves" from every direction, whether Arabs in the south

in her work on the medicalization of *vatan*. She also makes reference to the following *Habl al-Matin* and *Sur-i Israfil* articles. However, Najmabadi's analysis of the motherland does not include a discussion of humanism and the humanistic culture of the Qajar years. See Najmabadi, "The Erotic *Vatan* as Beloved and Mother: To Love, to Possess, and to Protect," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (July 1997): 442–67. In correspondence, M. Tavakoli-Targhi has informed me that his current research focuses in part on the medicalization of *vatan*. I have not, however, read his work on the subject.

¹¹¹ *Habl al-Matin* (16 Rabi' al-Avval 1325/April 30, 1907): 1.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹¹⁴ *Habl al-Matin*, no. 24 (13 Rabi' al-Thani 1325/May 26, 1907): 1.

¹¹⁵ *Sur-i Israfil*, no. 18 (21 Shavval 1325/November 27, 1907): 3–4.

or Turkmans in the north.¹¹⁶ The physique of the homeland was thus being transformed into a human form, though explicitly within a territorial context.

Such writings were not restricted to Tehran journals alone. In fact, the journal *Iblagh*, published in Tabriz, made the subject of the homeland's illness—a malady expressed increasingly in territorial terms—a reverberating theme even before some of the Tehran papers did. The location of this journal is significant, as Tabriz was near the other towns along Iran's northwestern boundary, which had been under steady Ottoman attack. Its writer, after lambasting the troops and spies whose travesty had weakened Iran, attacked Iran's "seditious" doctors for giving their sick homeland poison instead of antidotes and thus aggravating its feeble condition.¹¹⁷

Like all hospitals, Iran had employed "good" and "bad" doctors, or, in other words, patriotic healers and unpatriotic traitors, in dealing with the country's maladies. But who had been the historic doctors of Iran? Other than the country's own offspring—who received mild censure at the hands of journalists for the less-than-satisfactory political cures they provided—foreign countries also assumed that persona. At different intervals, for instance, Iran had sought the succor of deceptively well-intentioned Russian and English doctors, who only worsened the country's political and financial illnesses. This fictive reconstruction of historical events served as an obvious criticism of Iran's repeated insistence on foreign, especially Russian and English, advisers in conducting its domestic affairs.¹¹⁸ As this writer, Mahmud Iskandarani, wrote, "From the day that the Russian doctor crossed the threshold of this invalid, sickly conditions have caused pain and grief for this troubled one."¹¹⁹ The Russian doctors, moreover, maintained that if Iran were not given to Russia, it would not be rid of its ills. The issue of Iran's sickness and health, then, had a distinct territorial subtext. Iran's geographical vulnerability to Russian domination resonated strongly in the mind of patriots, particularly since Tabriz remained a region susceptible to Russian intrigues and influence.

One Majlis representative, Mu'tamin al-Mamalik, voiced similar concerns in an article addressed to the parliament. Acknowledging the ailments of his homeland, Mamalik looked to Iran's "true" doctors—the elected members of parliament—to restore Iran's health and to rid the country of its misfortunes by enforcing justice. In other words, the Majlis delegates, in protecting the nation's health (*hifz al-sihhat*) and in neutralizing its diseases, "were students in the hospital of that country," while the state and citizenry, who had to strengthen the nation, represented the soul and body of this "human country" (*insan-i mamlikat*).¹²⁰ The

¹¹⁶ *Habl al-Matin* (8 Rabi' al-Thani 1326/May 9, 1908): 1–2. For an excellent study of the homeland as a mother, see Najmabadi, "Erotic Vatan as Beloved and Mother." For other related discussions, see Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, "The Frontier Phenomenon: Perceptions of the Land in Iranian Nationalism," *Critique: Journal for Critical Studies of the Middle East* 10 (Spring 1997): 19–38.

¹¹⁷ *Iblagh*, no. 1 (n.d.): 3.

¹¹⁸ For an account of two well-known concessions granted to Great Britain and Russia—the Reuter and Falkenhagen concessions—see Firuz Kazemzadeh, *Russia and Britain in Persia, 1864–1914: A Study in Imperialism* (New Haven, Conn., 1968).

¹¹⁹ *Iblagh*, no. 2 (23 Dhul-Hijja 1324/February 7, 1907): 3; *Iblagh*, no. 3 (Muharram 1325/February 1907): 1–2.

¹²⁰ *Subh-i Sadiq*, no. 4 (26 Safar 1325/April 10, 1907): 3.

use of medical language and anatomical metaphors in the political arena thus became a common way to express patriotic loyalty to the homeland.

While the malady of despotism had been partly confronted, the disease of discord (*nifaa*) inflicted other national injuries. Mu'tamin al-Mamalik argued that, "to preserve hygiene in the land of nature, we [should] plant the seeds of unity and solidarity."¹²¹ Eliminating conflict would thus ensure that the cacophony of voices would not cause delirium (*sarsam*) in this invalid and give the nation's doctors a bad reputation. Order and decorum in the parliamentary setting would further ensure that the doctors would not inadvertently prescribe opium (*taryak*) instead of antidotes (*taryaq*) for the homeland—a clever word play suggesting that previous political solutions had only worsened Iran's addiction to misrule.

PHILOSOPHIC REFLECTIONS underpinned the development of Iran's political rhetoric of anthropomorphism and disease. The attribution of human traits to the state had strong Platonic precedents. Iranian patriots referred, often explicitly, to Plato or his ideas of governance in their articles.¹²² In his celebrated opus *The Republic*, Plato had remarked: "Must we not acknowledge . . . that in each of us there are the same principles and habits which there are in the State;—and that from the individual they pass into the State?—how else can they come there?"¹²³ In other words, since individuals helped to construct the state, their transmission of individual (or human) qualities to their creation appeared implicit. States and governments became extensions of individuals, developing corporeal dimensions and mortal souls because human beings had invented these categories. Moreover, societies not only resembled human beings in form and spirit, they acquired the characteristics and stereotypes of their peoples.

Although little, if any, evidence of this particular citation exists in Qajar works, the ideas embodied in it abounded in Qajar political writings. Like Plato, Iranian patriots endowed their political construct—the homeland—with personal features. One writer attributed human faculties to this "countrybody" (*mamlakat-i badan*) to argue for order and cleanliness in Iranian society.¹²⁴ These concerns became especially acute as citizens worried about the tyrannical ways of Muhammad 'Ali Shah—a monarch unfriendly to Iranian constitutionalism.

The rhetoric on homeland lent itself especially well to humanistic analogies precisely because it derived from nature. As Michel Foucault has argued, nature

¹²¹ *Subh-i Sadiq*, no. 4 (26 Safar 1325/April 10, 1907): 3.

¹²² *Tamaddun*, no. 7 (6 Safar 1325/March 21, 1907): 4. Also see *Subh-i Sadiq*, no. 4 (26 Safar 1325/April 10, 1907): 4; *Adab* (27 Shavval 1316/March 10, 1899): 49; and *Hifz al-Sihat*, no. 3 (12 [?] Rabi' al-Thani 1324/1906): 30–32. According to E. G. Browne, there was even a newspaper called *Aflakun* (Plato) during the constitutional period. Browne, *Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*, 44. It should also be pointed out that Platonic thought influenced many medieval Islamic thinkers such as al-Farabi, whose writings continued to affect Iranian and other Islamic scholars. See Muhsin Mahdi, *Al-Farabi's Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1962); Erwin I. J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam* (Cambridge, 1958); and Lambton, *State and Government in Medieval Islam*, 316–25.

¹²³ Plato, *The Republic*, the late Benjamin Jowett, trans. (New York, 1991), 151. Plato viewed the physician's main role as "cur[ing] the body with the mind," for the "mind that has become sick and is sick can cure nothing"; 116. Also see 160.

¹²⁴ *Safinah-i Nijat*, no. 10 (12 Muharram 1326/1908): 1.

and human nature often act upon each other, and such a relationship offered “a means of communication between the space of the body and the time of culture, between the determinations of nature and the weight of history, but only on condition that the body, and, through it, nature, should first be posited in the experience of an irreducible spatiality.”¹²⁵ Thus “the body provide[d] an outline” for the interpretation of a knowledge derived from nature. In the Iranian political discourse, the homeland—a space rooted in nature—furnished both the naturalist setting and the corporeal experience for patriots. The homeland, as described by one writer, was “a location on earth that has a particular soil, water, and air.” In other words, the Iranian *vatan* had a particular natural environment, yet it was also a territory with a body, soul, and intellect. As this same patriot explained, “*Vatan* is body, *vatan* is life, *vatan* is soul.”¹²⁶ In this manner, nature and human nature became united in the ideal of the Iranian homeland.

Aside from acquiring a corporeal form, the homeland developed a soul and a character with which its residents could identify. In part, intellectuals adopted this rhetoric in order to make their appeal to patriotism comprehensible on a popular basis. After all, what could be more familiar to every compatriot than the bodily self? Iranian patriots, however, did not stop here. Their hallowed homeland was not just any human carcass. At times, it embodied the features of a most esteemed human figure: the mother.¹²⁷ By personalizing the motherland and its troubles, patriots interpreted civic duties in filial terms. The defilement of this ideal in the form of territorial and bodily invasion or rape—as in the case of Russia’s encroachment—negated the very impulses of humanism and civilization.

Anthropomorphism in the Qajar political discourse reflected further endorsement of humanistic ideals. Iranian humanism, a mélange of cultural literariness and individualism, entailed the acquisition of knowledge and a belief in progress. Man (though not necessarily woman) often became a locus of this discourse because he symbolized in form and spirit the possibility of evolution and learning. Humanism as a philosophy gained adherents among Qajar intellectuals, especially during the prelude to the Constitutional Revolution. Malkum Khan himself organized an association called the Assembly of Humanism (*Majmaʿ-i Adamiyat*). Influenced by Positivist ideas, Malkum discussed the theme of “humanism” frequently in his works. In one essay, he wrote, “We humanists of Iran, due to human exigencies, seek all worldly advancements and . . . eternal prosperity”—an end that could be achieved through the observance of liberal laws and the acquisition of humanistic learning.¹²⁸ In another passage, he discusses the meanings of the terms “human” and “humanism.” As he explains, “Anyone who seeks justice, who has zeal, who befriends knowledge, who protects the oppressed, who strengthens progress, and

¹²⁵ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York, 1970), 321; also see 303–43.

¹²⁶ *Amuzgar*, no. 14 (Ramadan 1329/1911): 1.

¹²⁷ See Najmabadi, “Erotic *Vatan* as Beloved and Mother.”

¹²⁸ Malkum Khan, *Qanun*, no. 13, pp. 1–2. For Malkum Khan’s other works, see Malkum Khan, *Kulliyat-i Malkum Khan*, Hashim Rabi’zadah, ed. (Tehran, 1325/1907). Hamid Algar, Malkum Khan’s biographer, explains that the term *adam* “has the sense of man not simply as a member of the human race, but rather as a being descended from Adam, the first man and the first prophet, ennobled by God and endowed with spiritual qualities which are a dim and microcosmic reflection of divine attributes.” Algar, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, 229.

who is a well-wisher of the general public, is a human being.”¹²⁹ Though echoing select Positivist notions, Malkum strove to make his philosophy of humanism consonant with Islamic precepts. “Never suppose that the principles of humanism have been sent to you from the outside. All of these principles, from beginning to end, are the tributary to the fountain of truth that we call Islam.”¹³⁰ Islam, as interpreted by Malkum, embraced the ideals of progress and justice that his society sought to disseminate. In a short treatise called *Usul-i Adamiyat* (“Tenets of Humanism”), Malkum laid out the fundamentals of his philosophy. Humanism, as he defined it, imposed seven duties, including the avoidance of evil and the pursuit of beneficence, knowledge, and unity.¹³¹ It aimed, above all, to put each individual in the service of humanity in order to achieve societal progress.¹³² Malkum Khan’s works were published and put on sale during the constitutional period, indicating continued circulation of his ideas.¹³³

In addition to circulating his writings, Malkum had apparently founded a secret society to promote his philosophy of humanism, but it disbanded in 1896.¹³⁴ Some years later, ‘Abbas Quli Khan Qazvini, an admirer of Malkum Khan, showed his support for humanism as well as some of the essential tenets of Iranian constitutionalism, and founded the Society of Humanism (*Anjuman-i Adamiyat*) in the early 1900s. Formed in Tehran, the society strove to promote new visions of governance through the endorsement of law, reason, and social progress.¹³⁵ Its membership included Majlis delegates, officials, and Qajar princes, who, according to historian Janet Afary, “were certainly far from united in their political views,” including at one time the radical activists Yahya and Sulayman Iskandari, as well as Muhammad ‘Ali Shah.¹³⁶

Another group, called the Society of Humanity (*Majma‘-i Insaniyat*), also existed during the constitutional years, further manifesting the prevalence of humanistic ideals in Qajar society. There is, however, little information available on its activities, background, and membership, although it was apparently headed by Mustawfi al-Mamalik.¹³⁷ A brief mention concerning the Society of Humanity appeared in the newspaper *Habl al-Matin*, alerting the residents of Ashtiyan, Tafrish, and Gorgan to attend a meeting of the society to select a new assistant director to replace Mumtahn al-Saltanah.¹³⁸ The creation of political societies or journals that explicitly embraced the theme of humanism showed the popularity of

¹²⁹ Malkum Khan, *Qanun*, no. 4: 3.

¹³⁰ Malkum Khan, *Qanun*, no. 16: 3.

¹³¹ Malkum Khan, *Kulliyat*, 234. This treatise is briefly discussed by Algar, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, 229–32.

¹³² Malkum Khan, *Kulliyat*, 244–46.

¹³³ *Habl al-Matin*, no. 105 (22 Rajab 1325/September 1, 1907): 6.

¹³⁴ Algar, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, 248.

¹³⁵ Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions*, 77. Also see Faridun Adamiyat, *Fikr-i Azadi va Nihzat-i Mashrutiyyat-i Iran* (Tehran, 1961). Although, in this instance, Abrahamian has translated *adamiyat* as humanity, I have defined it as humanism, and I have preferred to use the term “humanity” for the Persian word *insaniyat*.

¹³⁶ Afary, *Iranian Constitutional Revolution*, 77.

¹³⁷ Browne, *Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*, 48. For a study of secret societies in the constitutional period, see Ann Lambton, “Secret Societies and the Persian Revolution of 1905–1906,” in A. K. S. Lambton, ed., *Qajar Persia* (Austin, Tex., 1987), 301–18. Also see Pardis Minuchehr, “Homeland from Afar: Iranian Diaspora and the Quest for Modernity” (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1998).

¹³⁸ *Habl al-Matin*, no. 4 (20 Rabi‘ al-Avval 1326/April 22, 1908): 8.

this concept among a broad range of Iranian activists, not just a handful of high-ranking Qajar statesmen or Tehran intellectuals. Indeed, it should be emphasized that while some humanists such as Malkum Khan were dissidents and used the idea of humanism in a specific and sometimes controversial context, other writers, including many of the journalists cited here, used the theme of humanism more broadly to promote hygiene, education, and the rule of law for the general welfare of the Iranian people and nation.

Positivist philosophy also informed Iranian humanism and was evidenced in the use of the catchphrase “order and progress”—two resounding themes of the Constitutional Revolution.¹³⁹ Scientific laws could be applied to man and society to achieve social betterment. As Auguste Comte explained, “The direct study of the universe suggests and develops the great idea of the *laws* of nature, which is the basis of all positive philosophy, and capable of extension to the whole phenomena, including at last those of Man and Society. The one point of agreement among all schools of theology and metaphysics, which otherwise differ without limit, is that they regard the study of man as primary, and that of the universe as secondary . . . Whereas, the most marked characteristic of the positive school is that it founds the study of man on the prior knowledge of the external world.”¹⁴⁰ The intellectual stress on such secular traditions eventually caused a breach with the religious establishment—a conflict poignantly played out during Iran’s brief interval of civil war from 1908 to 1909. Still, man became a popular subject of study in relation to the natural world precisely because he was capable of being trained and of improvement through the application of universal laws. An Iranian constitutionalist writer remarked, “one of the advantages of human beings over animals is their ability to progress”—or their “progress-ability” (*taraqqi paziri*).¹⁴¹ Man’s capacity to evolve and to improve made him an apt metaphor for society and the state.

Though focused on man, the humanistic ideals of Iranian constitutionalism eventually embraced woman in the adoption of a female persona for the homeland and in urging education for women. In 1907, for instance, one observer labeled Iran’s women “the most unfortunate and the most miserable people of the world.” Because many lacked jobs, they remained dependent on men for their economic

¹³⁹ Comte had reviewed the history of sciences and human societies to show that order and progress “are indispensable conditions in a state of modern civilization; and their combination is at once the grand difficulty and the main resource of every genuine political system.” Auguste Comte, *Positive Philosophy*, Harriet Martineau, trans. (New York, 1855), 401. Several constitutional newspapers stressed the themes of progress (*taraqqi*) and order (*nazm/intizam*) in their pages. One of the slogans for the newspaper *Qanun* was “*taraqqi*,” not to mention the fact that there was also a newspaper by the same name. For one discussion of order, see Malkum Khan, “*Kitabchih Ghaybi, ya Daftar-i Tanzimat*,” in *Majmu’ah-i Asar*, 2–52.

¹⁴⁰ Comte, *Positive Philosophy*, 301. For a discussion of Comte’s philosophy on Young Turk ideology, see M. S. Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York, 1995), 7–32.

¹⁴¹ *Tamaddun*, no. 63 (6 Rabi’ al-Avval 1326/April 8, 1908): 1. Even today, Iran’s president echoes similar notions on human evolution. In his work *Islam, Liberty and Development*, Mohammad Khatami discusses the course of human civilization in the following terms: “The difference between humans and other social animals is that humans learn from their past experience, improve upon it, and leave their achievements for the next generation. And this process has continued uninterrupted for as long [sic] there has been a human race. Thus, there is no limit to human evolution.” Khatami, *Islam, Liberty and Development*, Hossein Kamaly, trans. (Binghamton, N.Y., 1998), 67. For a thoughtful review of Khatami’s works, see Shaul Bakhash, “Iran’s Unlikely President,” *New York Review of Books*, November 5, 1998.

livelihood. "Ignorant, unfair men" refused to grant Iranian women any "rights of humanity" (*huquq-i insaniyat*).¹⁴² This provocative article, though fomenting little institutional change, was nonetheless a significant public recognition of the inherent need to honor the rights of Iranian women in the evolving political climate of early twentieth-century Iran. After all, prior to this time, few public utterances openly addressed the inferior position of Iranian women or acknowledged their basic human rights.

Even though the nation was slow to embrace its female citizens, its adoption of humanistic ideals would eventually give women a role in the polity. Woman—like man—could better herself, especially as mother and patriot, through education.¹⁴³ In 1898, a newspaper called "Learning" or "Education," *Ma'arif*, was founded as the organ of a society bearing the same name. Aside from regularly labeling the promoters of education and progress as "supporters of the world of humanism" (*hava khahan-i 'alam-i insaniyat*), *Ma'arif* also argued for the education of women. Referring to an article published in another Persian journal, *Ittila'*, concerning the establishment of schools for women in the neighboring Ottoman lands, it supported education for Iranian women within the domestic sphere. Stressing that mothers needed to be educated in order to impart rules of hygiene and to improve on the nursing of children, it contended: "If our daughters, like those in other civilized countries, learn about the necessary principles of livelihood and housekeeping, which consist of the refinement of manners and of household management, it will bring comfort to their marriage and children." The writer therefore hoped that the Society of Education would take steps to create schools for the "nation's girls," who were, after all, the "future mothers and tutors of the country's sons."¹⁴⁴

Women's education was deemed important not just because women played a vital role in raising offspring, especially patriotic offspring, but also because they were

¹⁴² *Habl al-Matin*, no. 103 (19 Rajab 1325/August 29, 1907): 1. For an excellent article on women under the Qajars, see Mansourch Ettehadieh, "Zan dar Jami'ah-i Qajar," *Kilk* 55–56 (Fall 1373/1994): 27–50. For studies of women in the constitutional period, see Mangol Bayat-Philipp, "Women and Revolution in Iran, 1905–11," in Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie, eds., *Women in the Muslim World* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978); Janet Afary, "On the Origins of Feminism in Early 20th-Century Iran," *Journal of Women's History* 1 (Fall 1989): 65–87; Eliz Sanasarian, *The Women's Rights Movement in Iran* (New York, 1982); Afsaneh Najmabadi, "Women or Wives of the Nation?" *Iranian Studies* 26 (1993); Huma Natiq, "Nigahi bih barkhi nivishtiha va mubarizat-i zanan dar dawran-i mashrutiyat," *Kitab-i Jum'a* 30 (1979): 45–54; 'Abdul Husayn Nahid, *Zanan-i Iran dar junbish-i mashrutiyat* (Saarbrücken, 1989). (The theme of humanism in relation to women's rights and educational opportunities is not discussed in these works.)

¹⁴³ For a discussion of female education and patriotic womanhood based on textbooks used in women's schools in late Qajar Iran, see Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, "Frontier Fictions: Land, Culture, and Shaping the Iranian Nation, 1804–1946" (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1997); and *Frontier Fictions*, chap. 6. For related discussions using educational texts from an earlier period, see A. Najmabadi, "Crafting an Educated Housewife in Iran," in *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* (Princeton, N.J., 1998), 91–125. Here, Najmabadi erroneously states that *Shikufah* began publication in 1914 (101, 111). The importance of humanism in the education debate or in discussions of the motherland is not explored in her works.

¹⁴⁴ *Ma'arif*, no. 34 (1 Dhul-qa'da 1317/March 3, 1900): 3. I want to stress the very significant public recognition accorded the subject of women's education by the mouthpiece of the Society of Education, an influential group in establishing schools and promoting education in Qajar Iran. In fact, these themes would recur in many newspapers published later during the constitutional period. This is more than an "oblique" reference, as Najmabadi claims in "Crafting an Educated Housewife," 103. For other aspects of education in modern Iran, see Monica Ringer, "Education and Reform in Qajar Iran, 1800–1906" (PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1998).

regarded as the essential lifeline of humanity. One writer argued, "Women are the basic elements of the social fabric of humanity . . . Mothers, no matter how kind they may be, if they are ignorant, they are the enemies of humanity."¹⁴⁵ Moreover, women were the true nurses and caretakers of a hygienic household, and thus a natural conduit for spreading the salutary and patriotic virtues of hygiene and humanism. It behooved them to become educated and learn the principles of hygiene: "Whenever the kind mothers know something about what a microbe is, the innocent children, who are the new generation of the homeland, will not fall prey to hard-to-cure illnesses or the arrow of death."¹⁴⁶ Practical considerations such as fear of the spread of disease in the household, as well as in the nation, made it necessary for women to receive a rudimentary hygienic education, even if they were discouraged from learning abstract subjects such as mathematics or philosophy in their formal training or social indoctrination. As one writer argued, "For women, logic and . . . jurisprudence are not necessary."¹⁴⁷ Rather, practical knowledge about the basics of "patriotic housewifery" became popular.¹⁴⁸

Even journals published a few years later for and by women echoed these themes and promoted hygiene and humanism for women.¹⁴⁹ Several essays, for instance, dealt with hygiene and pregnancy, once again highlighting the valuable role of women as progenitors of Iranian society. Pregnant women were cautioned to protect themselves against catching colds and encouraged to eat well, while being discouraged from wearing tight clothing.¹⁵⁰ In an interesting public announcement, the journal *Danish* even thanked a female American doctor for administering care to Iranian women, since previously, because of the paucity of female physicians, people necessarily would turn to "women without knowledge" and seek their assistance, particularly in the delivery of children, even though such women did not practice hygienic medicine, dispensing care with "impure hands filled with microbes."¹⁵¹

Journals geared specifically to women also discussed the themes of humanism and hygiene in other contexts. The newspaper *Shikufah*, meaning "blossom," which began publication in 1912, stressed the need for women to maintain a hygienic home as well as an active lifestyle.¹⁵² In addition, women were encouraged to take

¹⁴⁵ *Hadid*, no. 13 (25 Rajab 1323/September 25, 1905): 4.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 6. On the same page, this article notes further that knowing that lack of sanitation causes diseases is important, since such ignorance breeds epidemics: "In India there is always plague, [whereas] the English, who maintain sanitary habits, do not become victims [of this disease]."

¹⁴⁷ *Hadid*, no. 13 (25 Rajab 1323/September 25, 1905): 4.

¹⁴⁸ These ideas would be institutionalized through the textbooks published and used in the late Qajar period. See Kashani-Sabet, *Frontier Fictions*, chap. 6, for more on this issue and for detailed discussions of the textbooks.

¹⁴⁹ The two main journals published for women in the early twentieth century were *Danish* and *Shikufah*, and parts of these journals have recently been reprinted in Iran. See *Shikufah bih Inzham-i Danish* (Tehran) (Fall 1377/1998). *Danish* began publication in 1910 under the editorship of Banu Kahhal, and *Shikufah* in 1912, under the editorship of Maryam Muzayyin al-Saltanah. For more on women and the Iranian press, see Camron Michael Amin, "The Attentions of the Great Father: Reza Shah, 'The Woman Question,' and the Iranian Press, 1890–1946" (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1996).

¹⁵⁰ *Shikufah*, no. 6 (8 Rabi^c al-Thani 1333/February 23, 1915): 4.

¹⁵¹ *Danish*, no. 14 (17 Muharram 1329/January 18, 1911): 2.

¹⁵² *Shikufah*, no. 21 (6 Muharram 1334/November 14, 1915): 1–2; and *Shikufah*, no. 1 (6 Muharram 1333/November 24, 1914): 2–3.

on the role of nurses, both literally and figuratively, thus highlighting the further incorporation of hygiene into female education and social indoctrination.¹⁵³ The theme of humanism as it pertained to women was explicitly addressed in an essay that regarded culture and education as hallmarks of humanism. But for women, culture and humanism had distinct social parameters. For instance, “a woman who in the street or the bazaar jokes with a foreign man and removes the veil between him and herself cannot be called a cultured and educated woman.”¹⁵⁴ Nonetheless, women were encouraged to pursue the humanistic virtues of education, hygiene, and cleanliness.

Humanism also offered female patriots a visible social role in the national drama.¹⁵⁵ Women were not just symbols of the nation but custodians of civilization and practitioners of health. In a telling cartoon dating back to the constitutional period, the daughters of Iran are called upon to restore the health of the nation. Depicted as an invalid, the “mother of the homeland” (*madar-i vatan*) is surrounded by attentive daughters ministering to her needs.¹⁵⁶ The caption reads: “Oh, oh, kind mother, why have you fallen into such affliction, resting on your sick bed?”¹⁵⁷ Distressing over the hardships of the motherland, the daughters promise to nurse their ailing mother back to health: “Our dear mother, as long as your daughters are alive, we will not allow you to become so abject. We will not stop curing you.” The depiction of Iran as a feeble woman, though reinforcing stereotypes of female weakness and inferiority, made room for female political participation in the polity—a point illustrated in the determination and political will of Iran’s young daughters in this cartoon to rescue the homeland. By contrast, the nation’s son, shown in the opposite corner of the picture, sleeps indifferently, as his female compatriots beseech him to awaken from his slumber and tend to his motherland.¹⁵⁸ The humanistic portrayal of women as sympathetic healers, or nurses, and as embodiments of the homeland gave women a vital political presence and paved the way for their political involvement in the national community.

The significance of the human anatomy in Iran’s political discourse became intimately linked to the institutionalization of hygiene, nationalism, and humanistic learning. The dissemination of anatomical knowledge enabled individuals to adopt a biological gaze when discussing the social sciences and the body politic. This development was necessarily modern because, as David Armstrong argues, “it was only since the end of the eighteenth century that disease had been localised to specific organs and tissues, and that bodies had been subjected to the rigours of clinical examination.”¹⁵⁹ In Iran, too, interest in the body and hygiene as categories of understanding regained currency in the modern era. Newspapers and other literature projected and popularized this biological gaze by drawing an analogy

¹⁵³ My current research focuses in part on the history of nursing in modern Iran.

¹⁵⁴ *Shikufah*, no. 8 (13 Jumada al-Avval 1333/March 29, 1915): 2.

¹⁵⁵ *Shikufah*, no. 15 (2 Shavval 1333/August 13, 1915): 1–4.

¹⁵⁶ For other examples, see Najmabadi, “Erotic *Vatan* as Beloved and Mother.”

¹⁵⁷ *Shikufah*, no. 10 (14 Jumada al-Thani 1333/April 29, 1915): 4.

¹⁵⁸ For an analysis of erotic love and the motherland, see Najmabadi, “Erotic *Vatan* as Beloved and Mother.”

¹⁵⁹ For an interesting study on these themes using Foucauldian analysis, see David Armstrong, *Political Anatomy of the Body: Medical Knowledge in Britain in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 1983), xi, 1–18.



From the *Shikufah* newspaper, no. 10 (14 Jumada al-Thani 1333/April 29, 1915): 4. The original is held in Princeton University's Near East Collection.

between bodily health and political prosperity. The desire to promote humanism was thus translated into (and institutionalized alongside) another modern rhetoric: the language of Iranian nationalism.

HUMANISM EMERGED AS A PROMINENT THEME in Qajar writings, as many considered the reasons for Iran's troubles and offered solutions for its upturn. Qajar humanists stressed the themes of civilization and human progress—ideals best attained through the mastery of humanistic learning and scientific endeavors—while they strove to transform their homeland into a politically viable participant in the commonwealth of humanity. The conjunction between hygiene and patriotism became an important polemic of Iranian humanism because it simultaneously allowed for human betterment and national advancement. As the idea of patriotism (*hubb-i vatan*) took hold, many thinkers promoted hygiene and cleanliness in their humanistic pursuits and their attempt to forge an ideal national society. Hygiene—a division of science and “social” science—promised the evolution of a sanitary

society, a wholesome citizenry, and a healthy national body—concepts encapsulated in the philosophy of Iranian humanism.

Iranian humanists expressed their love for the homeland by serving as intellectual “doctors” of their country and emphasized the dual connotations of hygiene to secure the material prosperity of Iranian citizens and the health of the nation’s territorial physique. The instability of the homeland in the postwar years ensured the continuity of medical metaphors in political discussions of Iran. Yet the belief in progress persisted, and humanistic learning continued to stress hygiene as a social necessity as well as a patriotic duty. Implemented through national institutions, humanism thus prevailed as a progressive and patriotic ideology that endorsed hygiene, education, and life, though not necessarily as an ideology of individual liberty, as many Iranian constitutionalists had once hoped.¹⁶⁰

¹⁶⁰ The legacy of humanism has endured in the modern Iranian intellectual tradition, affecting even the contemporary religious dogma of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In *Islam, Liberty and Development*, President Mohammad Khatami, not unlike his Qajar predecessors, draws on eighteenth-century Western Enlightenment thought and Islamic precepts to discuss the themes of science and civilization within a humanistic framework: “Of the many factors that spur the emergence, rise, and demise of civilizations, two are fundamental: the dynamism of the human mind and the concomitant surfacing of new needs and necessities in human life” (p. 50). While science has fulfilled many practical human exigencies, yet it “is impotent in addressing the metaphysical, philosophical, and mystical yearnings of humans” (p. 128). In grappling with the relationship between science and religion as well as the role of the individual in society, and admiring at once the seemingly contradictory traditions of European Enlightenment and Islamic ideology, Khatami has revived age-old questions about liberty, rationality, and social progress—fundamental tenets of Iranian humanism with which Qajar intellectuals struggled nearly a century earlier.

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Review Essays
Orientalism Twenty Years On

*Periodically, we have been asking three different scholars to respond to a book that raises issues of interest to a broad range of historians. This is the first time that we have done this with a work that was published some time ago, and we have asked reviewers to pay as much attention to the impact that the study has had on historical practice as they pay to the intrinsic value of it as a piece of scholarship. **Edward W. Said**'s provocative and controversial book *Orientalism* was a natural candidate for this kind of consideration, and we took the twentieth anniversary of its publication in the late 1970s as an occasion to invite three historians with very different areas of expertise to reflect on its influence—or lack thereof—within their fields. **Andrew J. Rotter** frames his comments on “Orientalism” and diplomatic history around an ironic development: Said is still only rarely cited by historians of American foreign relations, and yet a concern with the issues highlighted by that critic is now widespread. **K. E. Fleming**, by contrast, argues that, in studies of southeastern Europe, engagement with Said's ideas has become routine, and the question now is how exactly “Balkanism” and “Orientalism” resemble and differ from one another. Medievalist **Kathleen Biddick**, finally, explores the possibilities for applying Said's view of spatial difference to temporal distance. Each of the contributors also conveys a great deal in his or her writing about the strengths and weaknesses of a book that is now so much a part of so many interdisciplinary landscapes that its arguments—while open to many different sorts of criticisms and calls for modification—are difficult (and perhaps costly) for any historian to ignore.*

Review Essays
Saidism without Said:
Orientalism and U.S. Diplomatic History

ANDREW J. ROTTER

AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORIANS may not be interested in Edward Said, but he is interested in them. While *Orientalism* was primarily a study of British and French representations of Middle Eastern Others in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Said nevertheless devoted a good deal of space to the period after 1945, when American power supplanted that of Great Britain and France, and Americans, he argued, inherited the Western Orientalist apparatus. American Orientalism went well beyond vaguely populist stereotypes that Arabs or Muslims were prone to violence, incapable of rational thought, untrustworthy, devious, and unclean. Instead, “the Middle East experts who advise [U.S.] policymakers are imbued with Orientalism, almost to a person.” Since 1978, as Said has refined his thinking about imperialism and paid increasing attention to its American version, he has read broadly in the field of U.S. foreign relations. Footnotes in his *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) include works by William Appleman Williams, Richard Van Alstyne, Walter LaFeber, Michael Hunt, and Paul Kennedy, all of them scholars of American foreign relations.¹

Said’s interest in the history of U.S. foreign policy has apparently not been reciprocated. Articles published over the past twenty years in the journal *Diplomatic History*, house organ for the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAFR), contain only a few references to *Orientalism*, most of them charitable but cursory. Akira Iriye, who has studied the influence of culture on United States–Japan relations in the twentieth century, made a glancing reference to *Orientalism* in his 1979 SHAFR presidential address. *Diplomatic History* frequently publishes pleas by senior historians for greater conceptual scope in the field. In one of these essays, John Lewis Gaddis managed to invoke Stephen Jay Gould, Freeman Dyson, and Douglas Adams—author of *The Hitchhiker’s Guide to the Galaxy*—but not Said. Michael Hunt called for “Internationalizing U.S. Diplomatic History” in 1991—without Said. In a 1994 essay, Emily S. Rosenberg used cultural analysis, in a manner reminiscent of Said, to connect two post–World War II films to interna-

For suggestions and helpful criticism, I am grateful to Nathan Citino, Michael Grossberg, Carl Guarneri, Padma Kaimal, Douglas Little, David Robinson, Jeffrey Wasserstrom, and the anonymous reviewers for the *AHR*.

¹ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978), 321; Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, 1993).

tional relations. Responding, Bruce Kuklick referred to a passage in Rosenberg's article as "intellectual junk, the mental equivalent to eating at McDonald's." "Cultural studies," he concluded, "needs to do serious research to be more than a trick." In the spring of 1998, the published version of Rosenberg's SHAFR presidential address included the single most useful footnote (n. 2) in the brief history of "culturalist" U.S. foreign relations. But it did not mention Said.²

Extend the boundaries a bit, and the story is much the same. Of roughly thirty recent books on U.S.–Middle East relations since 1945, only three refer to *Orientalism*, and two of these concern U.S. relations with Iran, hardly the centerpiece of Said's analysis. Over the past six years, the *Journal of American History* has published several articles on diplomacy; only one referred to *Orientalism*. Nor are diplomatic historians alone in the profession in their apparent neglect of Said. Outside of professional journals, few historians reviewed *Orientalism*. Said has been highly influential on the Subaltern Studies group, and Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman have credited *Orientalism* with inaugurating "colonial discourse theory," or postcolonial studies. While some practitioners in this field are trained in history, most mainstream historians would regard the definition of the postcolonial—"a specifically anti- or *post-colonial discursive* purchase in culture, one which begins in the moment that the colonising power inscribes itself onto the body and space of its Others and which continues as an often occluded tradition into the modern theatre of neo-colonialist international relations"—with a bafflement they normally reserve for descriptions of highway engineering or *haute couture*. Said's influence on cultural studies and anthropology has not seemingly been matched by any obvious comparable impact on history.³

Here, I must make a confession: the *JAH* article referred to above was mine. I am a diplomatic historian who is ambivalent about Said. On the one hand, I am often troubled by Said's approach to history, which violates several tenets of my training.

² Akira Iriye, "Culture and Power: International Relations as Intercultural Relations," *Diplomatic History* (DH) 3 (Spring 1979): 117; John Lewis Gaddis, "New Conceptual Approaches to the Study of American Foreign Relations: Interdisciplinary Perspectives," *DH* 14 (Summer 1990): 405–23; Michael H. Hunt, "Internationalizing U.S. Diplomatic History," *DH* 15 (Winter 1991): 1–11; Emily S. Rosenberg, "'Foreign Affairs' after World War II: Connecting Sexual and International Politics," and commentary by Bruce Kuklick, *DH* 18 (Winter 1994): 59–70, 121–24; Rosenberg, "Revisiting Dollar Diplomacy," *DH* 22 (Spring 1998): 156–57; see also Melvyn P. Leffler, "The Cold War: What Do 'We Now Know'?" *AHR* 104 (April 1999): 501–24. *Diplomatic History* did not review books when *Orientalism* came out. In 1995, Juan R. I. Cole reviewed *Culture and Imperialism*, along with Bernard Lewis's *Islam and the West*. Cole retrospectively praised *Orientalism* as "a powerful and theoretically sophisticated piece of writing that has had a profound and in many ways salutary impact in cultural studies and anthropology and on the study of the Middle East itself"—note Cole's silence on the book's impact on history. Cole, "Power, Knowledge, and Orientalism," review of *Culture and Imperialism* and *Islam and the West*, *DH* 19 (Summer 1995): 510.

³ The three books that take note of *Orientalism* are Robert D. Kaplan, *The Arabists: The Romance of an American Elite* (New York, 1993); Mary Ann Heiss, *Empire and Nationhood: The United States, Great Britain, and Iranian Oil, 1950–1954* (New York, 1997); and James F. Goode, *The United States and Iran: In the Shadow of Mussadiq* (New York, 1997). See also Andrew J. Rotter, "Gender Relations, Foreign Relations: The United States and South Asia, 1947–1964," *Journal of American History* 81 (September 1994): 518–42; Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, "An Introduction," in Williams and Chrisman, eds., *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader* (New York, 1994), 5. The definition of "the postcolonial" is Stephen Slemon's: quoted in Williams and Chrisman, 12. It is perhaps worth noting that Kaplan's *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey through History*, also published in 1993, includes the section titles "Saints, Terrorists, Blood, and Holy Water," and "Greece: Western Mistress, Eastern Bride." To acknowledge *Orientalism* is not, evidently, to avoid it.

On the other hand, I find myself attracted to Said's arguments—by political inclination, by admiration for a powerful and interesting mind, and by a sense that Said is speaking for people whose voices foreign relations specialists have never fully articulated. Let my organization here reflect both my doubts and my sympathies: I will begin by summarizing several objections to Said's method, first by historians generally, then more specifically by diplomatic historians. I will then shift and indicate some ways in which Said, whether he is acknowledged or not, has influenced the writing of diplomatic history over the past twenty years, and conclude by suggesting that opportunities remain for diplomatic historians to do more with Said's paradigm.

The criticism first. *Orientalism* is a sprawling book. It treats the development of an elaborate system of thought, an "imaginative geography," over two centuries and three nations. Actually, the book ranges even further than that, discovering antecedents of Orientalism in classical Greece, describing Orientalist features of philosophy, history, literature, and travelers' accounts, taking note of the politics of European imperialism, and quoting, sometimes in English, an assortment of luminaries including Aeschylus, Dante, Gustave Flaubert, Antonio Gramsci, and Henry Kissinger. Reviewing *Orientalism* for the *Journal of Asian Studies*, David Kopf accused Said of "distorting historical reality," perhaps because he "tried to include too long a span of years in such a brief book." "Telescoping historical periods with hasty descriptions is always misleading," Kopf wrote. Said also conflated the European and American experiences of Orientalism and imperialism. Orientalism was, Said wrote, a "system of ideas that . . . remain[ed] unchanged as teachable wisdom" from 1840s Europe to the United States in the 1970s. Said's "starting point" was the "British, French, and American experience of the Orient taken as a unit," for "the American Oriental position has fit—I think quite self-consciously—in the places excavated by the two earlier European powers." Since 1945, the "American imperium has displaced" the French and British, not altered it. And so on. It is one thing to point out that Americans are naïve or deluded to think that they do not have an empire. To allege that the American empire is little more than an inheritance from Europeans is to commit Occidentalism, a monolithic approach to "the West" that some Western historians, at least, find simplistic.⁴

A second problem some historians have had with *Orientalism*, and one related to its broad scope, is the book's lack of basis in sustained historical research. *Orientalism* is not an archives book, nor is it based chiefly on historical sources. Said does not just juxtapose fiction with works of history, he equates the two; it's as if a quotation from Joseph Conrad has precisely the same historical validity as one from Lord Curzon—and a good deal more, it might be added, than one from Bernard

⁴ David Kopf, "Hermeneutics versus History," *Journal of Asian Studies* 39 (May 1980): 499; Said, *Orientalism*, 6, 16–18, 285; *Culture and Imperialism*, 55; Edward W. Said, *The Pen and the Sword: Conversations with David Barsamian* (Monroe, Me., 1994), 80–82. See James Clifford's review of *Orientalism* in *History and Theory* 19, no. 2 (1980): 219. Others have pointed out that Orientalist attitudes were not necessarily confined to areas of Asia under Western domination; see, for example, Edward D. Graham, "The 'Imaginative Geography' of China," in Warren I. Cohen, ed., *Reflections on Orientalism* (East Lansing, Mich., 1983), esp. 31, 35; and Richard H. Minnear, "Orientalism and the Study of Japan," *Journal of Asian Studies* 39 (May 1980), esp. 515.

Lewis. Even friendly reviewers found fault with *Orientalism* on this score. Juan Cole complained that Said “jumbled together in his book professional scholars of the region who possessed a mastery of its languages and culture and who had often lived there for some time with mere travelers, novelists, and diplomats who . . . seldom had the sort of mastery of philology characteristic of the academics.” Talal Asad, while offering a sturdy defense of *Orientalism*, nevertheless regretted that Said had not “rooted his analysis more firmly in the particular conditions within which this authoritative discourse was historically produced.” Said offered “tantalizing observations” of *Orientalism*’s historical context, but they were “barely developed.” Writing in this journal, C. Ernest Dawn was dismissive: “Unfortunately, apart from the demonstration of the relationship of Orientalist beliefs to European science and scholarship, reiterated vague references to ‘imperialism’ constitute the totality of historical analysis.” “Historians know,” wrote David Kopf, “that there is no substitute for the hard work of discovering and ordering the data of past human experience.” What some praised as erudition Kopf attacked as “Said’s procedure of dropping names, dates, and anecdotes” in a way that was “diametrically opposed to history.”⁵

A third and yet more troubling problem for historians reading *Orientalism* is Said’s dubious epistemological relationship to matters of cause and effect. Discourse theory and postmodernism generally have shaken old certainties about history as a kind of science, a divining rod, which, properly wielded, will indicate the truth. In the postmodern universe, there is no truth, just self-serving “realities” promoted by regimes of power. “Reality is the creature of language,” and “Western Man a modern-day Gulliver, tied down with ideological ropes and incapable of transcendence because he can never get beyond the veil of language to the reality ‘out there,’” as three historians have summarized it. Following Nietzsche and Heidegger, postmodernists like Michel Foucault deny the linearity of the historical process; thus “causation should be pitched out.” For better or worse, most historians still believe that they are engaged in a search for reasons why things happened as they did. An event occurs, like the American Revolution. It is not, they say, a construct or a representation but a revolution, properly named. There are reasons why the revolution occurred, and even though historians might assign different weights to these reasons or argue over whether some of them mattered at all, they still believe that the causes of the revolution are knowable, that they preceded the act of revolution itself, and that they are important to understand.⁶

One of the contributions of discourse theory has been to complicate—a virtue, in its own terms—comfortable assumptions about historical causation. But do the difficulties of ascribing cause make the effort itself a fool’s errand? Said seems unsure. At times, James Clifford has pointed out, Said “suggests that ‘authenticity,’ ‘experience,’ ‘reality,’ ‘presence,’ are mere rhetorical contrivances.” Elsewhere in *Orientalism*, he posits “an old-fashioned existential realism.” Sometimes, *Orientalism* “distorts, dominates, or ignores some real or authentic feature of the Orient”;

⁵ Cole, “Power, Knowledge, and Orientalism,” 509; review of *Orientalism* by Talal Asad, *English Historical Review* 95 (July 1980): 648–49; review of *Orientalism* by C. Ernest Dawn, *AHR* 84 (December 1979): 1334; Kopf, “Hermeneutics versus History,” 499.

⁶ Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret C. Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History* (New York, 1994), 198–237.

sometimes, Said “denies the existence of any ‘real’ Orient.” There is, he asserts, a relationship between the discourse of Orientalism and the exercise of power by the West over the Mideast. The discourse, Said wrote, “is by no means in direct, corresponding relationship with political power in the raw, but rather is produced and exists in uneven exchange with various kinds of power,” including political, intellectual, cultural, and moral. Making allowances for lifting this quotation out of a longer passage, it is nevertheless reasonable to wonder about the agency of that word “produced.” Does Said mean to say, as his grammar suggests, that the discourse is “produced . . . *with* various kinds of power” rather than *by* power, or that the discourse has an independent source? Is discourse a dependent variable where power is concerned, providing a reservoir of culturally shaped images from which the powerful can draw to justify decisions made for reasons of perceived strategic or economic interest?⁷

Said’s efforts to illuminate these connections are not always successful. Responding to Bernard Lewis’s attack on *Orientalism*, Said insisted that “there is a remarkable (but nonetheless intelligible) coincidence between the rise of modern Orientalist scholarship and the acquisition of vast Eastern empires by Britain and France.” “Coincidence” is far from cause and effect. In *Culture and Imperialism*, where the relationship between discourse and power is the heart of the matter, Said admitted: “It is difficult to connect these different realms, to show the involvements of culture with expanding empires, to make observations about art that preserve its unique endowments and at the same time map its affiliations.” Said’s subsequent use of language indicates the difficulty. His definition of imperialism includes not just the “practice” and “theory” of domination but also the “attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory”—a statement that calls to mind Mark Lilla’s comment that “postmodernism is long on attitude and short on argument.” Said struggles to decide whether culture and politics are separate spheres in some ways connected or finally the same thing. Novels never “‘caused’” imperialism, but reading Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* “was part of the European effort to hold on to, think about, plan for Africa”; and, while no one would construe *Moby Dick* as “a mere literary decoration of events in the real world . . . the fact is that during the nineteenth century the United States *did* expand territorially, most often at the expense of native peoples, and in time came to gain hegemony over the North American continent and the territories and seas adjacent to it.” That is a fact; what it has to do with *Moby Dick* is less clear.⁸

I am picking here at the most provocative and vulnerable part of Said’s argument. Said’s notion of power is more refined than the foregoing decontextualized summary admits. He defines Orientalism as “a style of thought,” a way of thinking about the East in such a way as to dominate it. Orientalism gave the West “the power to say what was significant about [the Other], classify him among others of his breed, put him in his place,” as Michael Dalby has summarized it. For Said, as for Foucault, knowledge is power. This equation, however arresting, may not say

⁷ Clifford review, 206–08.

⁸ Said, *Orientalism*, 12; Edward W. Said, “Orientalism: An Exchange,” *New York Review of Books* 29 (August 12, 1982): 44; Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xii–xiii, 7–9, 20, 57, 68, 70–73, 81, 288–89; Mark Lilla, “The Politics of Jacques Derrida,” *New York Review of Books* 45 (June 25, 1998): 36.

enough to historians of the state. It certainly does not say enough to historians of U.S. foreign relations, on which more shortly.⁹

Finally, Said most emphatically subverts what historians try to do by confounding the idea of the subject. In *Orientalism*, the “Oriental” exists only as a useful creation of the West, a projection of Western desire and fear, a subject without its own identity. There is no who there. Lewis imputes to Said the belief “that by learning Arabic, Englishmen and Frenchmen were committing some kind of offense.” That is perhaps exaggerated. But it does seem that Said’s subalterns—human beings, that is, who are subordinated by more powerful human beings—resist any sort of genuine depiction by the West, favorable or otherwise. Doris Sommer recalled a seminar colleague asking Said how Westerners could “achieve a better understanding of the Arab world.” Said interrupted the question “to ask why Westerners suppose that the ‘Orient’ wants to be understood correctly. Why did we assume that our interest in the ‘Orient’ was reciprocated?” Western historians do suppose that their mission is to understand what happened and why, and they assume that their understanding can be deepened by studying others as well as themselves, however those categories are defined. Good historians bring to their subjects a measure of humility, aware that their grasp of reality is never as sure as they would wish. Yet to abandon this effort by conceding to the ultimate unknowability of the subject is to lapse into nihilism. “One can, perhaps, only go on protesting against the tyranny of the document or of language itself for so long,” writes Robert A. Kapp. “Then one either has to reach some sort of agreement with oneself and get on with the scholarly work at hand, . . . or else one must face up to the fact of ultimate inexpressibility and depart from the scene of the struggle—into silence or into some other walk of life.” Said, Kapp adds, has not departed the scene. Yet in his unwillingness to provide an alternative to Orientalism, Said leaves readers with the impression that enlightenment is impossible, at least for the benighted likes of them.¹⁰

ALL OF THESE REASONS why historians have seemed to ignore Said or have struggled to apply *Orientalism* to their work have particular resonance for diplomatic historians. Begin with Said’s contention that Orientalism was a system of ideas largely unbound by time or space, describing British and French thought in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and American thought in the twentieth. Historians of American foreign relations who study U.S. imperialism generally deny that it emerged mimetically from the European version. Some would call it an “aberration” in American history, a temporary departure from a tradition of

⁹ Said, *Orientalism*, 2–3; Michael Dalby, “Nocturnal Labors in the Light of Day,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 39 (May 1980): 489.

¹⁰ Dalby, “Nocturnal Labors,” 488; Bernard Lewis, “The Question of Orientalism,” *New York Review of Books* 29 (June 24, 1982): 51; Doris Sommer, “Resisting the Heat: Menchu, Morison, and Incompetent Readers,” in Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds., *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham, N.C., 1993), 412–13; Robert A. Kapp, “Introduction” to Review Symposium on *Orientalism*, *Journal of Asian Studies* 39 (May 1980): 483–84. Bryan D. Palmer, who calls Said one of Foucault’s “cautious advocates,” provides inspiration here; see Palmer, *Descent into Discourse: The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History* (Philadelphia, 1990), 28.

isolationism. The more commonly accepted argument is that the United States was congenitally imperialistic, starting with the determination of white settlers to move across the North American continent, displacing and dominating the Indians as they went. The decision for imperialism after 1898 was an outward projection of expansionist values peculiar to Americans, and the empire formed thereafter, in Latin America and Asia, was an “informal” one, in which remote nations were bound to the United States not so much by political institutions as by economic (and later cultural) attachments. Diplomatic historians who hold this view, including most of those cited by Said in *Culture and Imperialism*, are no less critical of empire than is he. But having studied the record, they have concluded that the American empire was in important respects different from its European counterparts. Creating an empire is more complicated than borrowing a garden hose from a neighbor. European Orientalism was diluted in the United States: as Nathan Citino notes, U.S. “encounters with Islamic societies have been slight, its tradition of ‘Orientalist’ literature meager, and, with certain twentieth-century exceptions . . . Islamic studies have not been strong at American universities.”¹¹

The lack of historical research underpinning *Orientalism* is a special problem for diplomatic historians. They are trained to plumb deeply in archives, rather like the modern Orientalists Said deplores. They take pride in being paleographers of diplomatese, and can only feel chagrin at the prospect that language might beguile, or signify virtually anything. In its epigrammatic style, its intermingling of historical and literary sources, *Orientalism* is simply not the kind of book with which most diplomatic historians feel secure. And, while diplomatic historians are not as a group politically conservative, they tend to be temperamentally buttoned down. Said approvingly quotes Hugo of St. Victor, a twelfth-century Saxon monk: “The man who finds his homeland sweet is still a tender beginner; he to whom every soil is as his native one is already strong; but he is perfect to whom the entire world is as a foreign land.” Such sentiment seems appropriate for Said, whose family became refugees when he was very young. It might make diplomatic historians queasy. They willingly visit archives all over the world, but to dissolve their national identity, as Hugo implies, is to deprive their perspective on the past of a center, or of multiple centers.¹²

For diplomatic historians, the link between cause and effect is crucial, and this constitutes another area of disagreement with Said. In a perceptive 1995 *Diplomatic History* essay, Melvyn P. Leffler complained that “the post-modernist emphasis on culture, language, and rhetoric often diverts attention from questions of causation and agency.” The problem with discourse theory specifically “is that although we might learn that seemingly unconnected phenomena are related in some diffuse ways, we do not necessarily get much insight into how relatively important these relationships are to one another.” And Leffler quotes Patrick O’Brien: “‘Foucault’s study of culture is a history with beginnings but no causes.’” Leffler does not

¹¹ Roger J. Bresnahan, “Islands in Our Minds: The Pacific Ocean in the American Literary Imagination,” in Cohen, *Reflections on Orientalism*, 5; Nathan Citino, letter to author, July 21, 1998.

¹² Said, *Orientalism*, 259.

mention Said, but insofar as Said employs Foucauldian analysis in his work, the criticism could apply to him as well.¹³

If most historians continue to believe that establishing the cause of things is a meaningful part of their enterprise, even more insistently do diplomatic historians hold to this principle. That is because so much is at stake: most scholars of U.S. foreign policy are interested in expansionism, imperialism, and ultimately war. Given the field of analysis, the dismissal of cause seems irresponsible, for people should try to understand what causes imperialism and war, and where power has such solemn consequences it seems trivial to equate it with knowledge. Power, say diplomatic historians, is economic and military superiority, not narrative authority. Imperialism is not just an attitude. War is not preeminently a discourse.

Then there is Said's implication that alien subjects resist analysis by Westerners. As unsettling as this possibility must be to historians generally, it is particularly galling to diplomatic historians. For years, they have been scolded for ignoring other countries in their relations with the United States. Most notorious was Charles S. Maier's charge: "Narrowly cast inquiries, parochial perspectives, and unfamiliarity with foreign languages have limited . . . too many works" in the field. Now twenty years old, Maier's criticism still stings. Underlying it seems to lurk an accusation that diplomatic historians are lazy, infatuated with American power, and racially insensitive. Thus aroused, diplomatic historians dusted off their language primers, flew to France, Guatemala, or the Philippines to labor in government archives, and began listening more closely to the voices of subalterns so as to give their accounts dimension and depth. Could it have been for naught? Is it really true that no matter how hard U.S. foreign relations specialists work to understand others, their efforts will be rebuffed, either because others do not wish to be known or because the task is culturally untenable? Most diplomatic historians will resist this conclusion, and if it is associated with Said they are likely to resist him, too.¹⁴

There is one more reason why diplomatic historians in particular might reject Said: they may be uncomfortable with his politics. Said has always stated candidly his belief that intellectuals should have public, political commitments that inform their scholarship. He believes that Zionism systematically oppresses Arabs. Zionism is modern Orientalism, embodied in Israel and backed by the U.S. government. Said joined the Palestine National Council in 1977; he resigned in 1991 because he felt that the Palestine Liberation Organization "had, by entering the Madrid [negotiation] process, in fact subordinated itself to the U.S. and Israel." Said does not endorse violence against Israel. He has long called the state by its name—the term "Zionist entity," he said, was "silly"—has urged a political solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and has met frequently, starting long before it was fashionable, with Israelis and American Jews. Yet he sees no real difference between the Israeli Labor and Likud parties, and he deplored the Washington

¹³ Melvyn P. Leffler, "New Approaches, Old Interpretations, and Prospective Reconfigurations," *Diplomatic History* 19 (Spring 1995): 180–81.

¹⁴ Charles S. Maier, "Marking Time: The Historiography of International Relations," in Michael Kammen, ed., *The Past before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1980), 355–56. See the responses to Maier's essay by Michael H. Hunt, Iriye, Walter LaFeber, Leffler, Robert D. Schulzinger, and Joan Hoff Wilson, in *Diplomatic History* 5 (Fall 1981): 353–82.

signing of the Middle East "Declaration of Principles" in 1993 as "tawdry," with Yasir Arafat exhibiting "a kind of 'nigger mentality.'" ¹⁵

American diplomatic historians probably know what Said thinks about Middle Eastern politics. Perhaps they read Bernard Lewis's attack on *Orientalism* in the *New York Review of Books*, or Leon Wieseltier's in the *New Republic*, which referred to Palestinians as "feral" and the PLO as "Arafat and his pack." Said himself has published articles in the *Nation* and *Harper's* and op-ed pieces in the *New York Times*. Foreign relations historians have a particular interest in current events, and I suspect follow closely news from the Middle East. Still, it would be difficult to prove that the neglect of *Orientalism* by diplomatic historians is politically motivated. My guess is that the other reasons I have adduced are sufficient to explain the apparent inattention to Said's work, and that a poll of the SHAFR membership would in fact reveal a certain amount of sympathy for Said's views on the Middle East. ¹⁶

AND YET, HAVING SHOWN THE ABSENCE OF SAID from diplomatic historians' footnotes, and having explained why he is not cited more often, I would nevertheless emphasize that Said, cited or not, has had some influence on the field, and suggest that there exist opportunities to employ his insights further. There has been, in other words, Saidism without Said, and there may yet be a good deal more.

First, there are signs that diplomatic historians are reflecting (at least) on the utility of critical theory to explain U.S. policy decisions and, more pointedly, to challenge on a theoretical basis periodic calls within the field for a new "synthesis." Emily Rosenberg has written that "critical theory sees claims to universality and to total visions as deceptive"—language reminiscent of Said's critique of Orientalist discourse as "essentializing" and "totalizing." Anders Stephanson and Frank Ninkovich have also used critical theory, in different ways, in their work on George F. Kennan (Stephanson) and President Woodrow Wilson's foreign policy and its legatees (Ninkovich). Like Said, Frank Costigliola argues that language is powerful and must be carefully examined; he makes his point by analyzing the prose used by Kennan in his famous "Long Telegram," sent to the State Department from Moscow in 1946. What one says or writes, and how one says or writes it, makes a difference. ¹⁷

The infrequency with which diplomatic historians cite Said makes his paternity of their ideas difficult to establish. It may be that foreign relations specialists get their postmodern ideas from others: Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, or even Ni-

¹⁵ Nubar Hovsepian, "Connections with Palestine," in Michael Sprinker, ed., *Edward Said: A Critical Reader* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 8–9; Said, *Pen and the Sword*, 27–28, 95–96, 102–03, 164–65.

¹⁶ Review of *Orientalism* by Leon Wieseltier, *New Republic* 180 (April 7, 1979): 29; Michael Sprinker, "Introduction" to Sprinker, *Edward Said*, 1.

¹⁷ Rosenberg, "Revisiting Dollar Diplomacy," 156; Anders Stephanson, *Kennan and the Art of Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989); Frank Ninkovich, "Interests and Discourse in Diplomatic History," *Diplomatic History* 13 (Spring 1989): 135–61; Ninkovich, *Modernity and Power: A History of the Domino Theory in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago, 1994); Frank Costigliola, "'Unceasing Pressure for Penetration': Gender, Pathology, and Emotion in George Kennan's Formation of the Cold War," *Journal of American History* 83 (March 1997): 1309–39; Costigliola, "The Nuclear Family: Tropes of Gender and Pathology in the Western Alliance," *Diplomatic History* 21 (Spring 1997): 163–83.

etzsche, and their American interpreters. But implicit in their interest in Said's methodology are studies that employ sources such as novels, films, plays, and travelers' accounts to describe the ideas that shaped or inflected U.S. foreign policy. Diplomatic historians are neither naïve nor reactionary. They increasingly recognize that realms of culture and politics, attitudes and behaviors, are related in important ways and are at least mutually constitutive. The "Foreign Affairs" essay by Rosenberg cited earlier, Walter L. Hixson's "'Red Storm Rising': Tom Clancy Novels and the Cult of National Security" (in which Hixson quotes former Vice-President Dan Quayle saying of the thrillers, "They're not just novels. They're read as the real thing"), and an article by Robert Dean showing how the discourse of American manhood affected President John F. Kennedy's creation of foreign policy—all take seriously the idea that makers of U.S. diplomacy are subjects of culture, not just policy wonks who shed their images of others like raincoats at the office door. Rather than equating literary and more traditional diplomatic sources, foreign relations historians analyze popular culture in order to examine the society out of which diplomats emerge. John Dower has shown that American and Japanese racial stereotypes of each other exacerbated the brutality of the Pacific War. Harold Isaacs's classic study of American images of China and India suggests, for example, that Americans failed to anticipate a Chinese attack in Korea in 1950 in part because they underestimated Chinese military capabilities—a high-ranking Eisenhower administration official said: "I was brought up to think the Chinese couldn't handle a machine . . . [S]uddenly, the Chinese are flying jets!"—and that American diplomats leaned away from India and toward Pakistan during the 1950s because they viewed Hinduism as effeminate, passive, and indecisive and Islam as manly, energetic, and tough-minded in the face of the Communist threat.¹⁸

A second indication of Saidism in diplomatic history is the growing interest in U.S.–Mideast relations as a research field. It is not an empirical judgment, but my impression is that foreign relations historians who are interested in the so-called Third World have shifted their attention from Southeast Asia to the Middle East. As they arrive in the region, they encounter Said. Some dismiss him, content to concentrate on the Cold War and the politics of oil, subjects they think are insusceptible to cultural analysis. Others take him cautiously into account. In a historiographical essay concerning U.S. relations with the Middle East since 1945, Douglas Little noted that it was "possible to explain . . . U.S. policies in terms of oil, containment, the hard calculus of national interest. Yet something more intangible seems to have been at work as well, something that might be called 'American orientalism.'" Mary Ann Heiss mentions Orientalism in her book on U.S.–Iran relations in the early 1950s, writing that Anglo-American policymakers "used" it in their dealings with Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadeq. Michelle Mart embraces Said more fully when she traces American images of Israel from 1948 to 1960,

¹⁸ Rosenberg, "'Foreign Affairs' after World War II"; Walter L. Hixson, "'Red Storm Rising': Tom Clancy Novels and the Cult of National Security," *Diplomatic History* 17 (Fall 1993): 599–613; Robert D. Dean, "Masculinity as Ideology: John F. Kennedy and the Domestic Politics of Foreign Policy," *Diplomatic History* 22 (Winter 1998): 21–62; John W. Dower, *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York, 1986); Harold R. Isaacs, *Scratches on Our Minds: American Views of China and India* (New York, 1958); and my retrospective review of *Scratches* in *Reviews in American History* 24 (March 1996): 177–88.

although it is *Culture and Imperialism* she endorses for revealing “the relevance of cultural analysis for the study of foreign policy.” I am tempted to say that Said’s impact on the subfield can be described not as cause and effect but as discursive formation; Saidism is an attitude that has prepared historians to write about U.S.–Mideast relations.¹⁹

Recall that many diplomatic historians, while critical of the American empire, make claims for its uniqueness. There is something to these claims; no two empires are exactly alike. Yet it seems to me that Said’s association of the American empire with its European progenitors, though too mechanistic, has advantages over the exceptionalist thesis. There is a morphology of imperialism. Scholars as ideologically diverse as Thomas J. McCormick, John Lewis Gaddis, and Paul Kennedy have usefully compared the American empire with earlier, failed examples of the genre. Said compels us to think through time about the experience of Western empires in Asia. For instance: following the advent of independence in India and Pakistan in 1947, the British sought American help to stabilize South Asia. Americans were educated about the region by British scholars and diplomats. As the United States became the chief economic supporter of India and the leading supplier of arms to Pakistan, it acted in some ways as Great Britain had—favoring Muslims over Hindus, for example. In some ways, however, the Americans behaved as the British had not, avoiding direct political control of India and discouraging state-run enterprise in its competition with the private sector. A mutant strain of Orientalist thinking flourished within the American empire, but it was an Orientalism nonetheless.²⁰

I noted earlier that Said tends to mystify subjects, condemning Orientalism while nevertheless refusing to say what might take its place. Yet the churlishness of Said’s response to the earnest student who wished to understand the “Orient” cannot overwhelm the more forceful vector of Said’s work, which is both optimistic and humane. The single most important thing *Orientalism* did for U.S. diplomatic historians, whether they acknowledge it or not, was to demand that they—that all scholars—heed the voices of subalterns when they talked back to power. By 1978, this was old hat for social historians, but for foreign relations specialists, it was something of a revelation. Said, who knows a good deal about classical music, urges us (in *Culture and Imperialism*) to read the “cultural archive . . . not univocally but *contrapuntally*, with a simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan history that is narrated and of those other histories against which (and together with which) the dominating discourse acts.”²¹ How to read or listen remains a bit obscure, given the resistance of subjects to analysis, the limitations of language, and the perils of Orientalist misrepresentation. In the end, however, suitably warned, we are invited to try, to render

¹⁹ Douglas Little, “Gideon’s Band: America and the Middle East since 1945,” *Diplomatic History* 18 (Fall 1994): 538; Heiss, *Empire and Nationhood*, 4; Michelle Mart, “Tough Guys and American Cold War Policy: Images of Israel, 1948–1960,” *Diplomatic History* 20 (Summer 1996): 358. Little does not cite Said in “His Finest Hour? Eisenhower, Lebanon, and the 1958 Middle East Crisis,” *Diplomatic History* 20 (Winter 1996): 27–54.

²⁰ Thomas J. McCormick, *America’s Half-Century: United States Foreign Policy in the Cold War* (Baltimore, Md., 1989); Gaddis, “New Conceptual Approaches,” 415–17; Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* (New York, 1987).

²¹ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 51. Said is classical music critic for the *Nation*.

relations between nations as duets—or choruses—rather than solos. Diplomatic historians have accepted this invitation with increasing enthusiasm and self-confidence. Listening with what I think is a keen sensitivity to the voices of others, historians have generated a significant body of contrapuntal work. A long list of such scholarship would be out of place here, but one thinks of writing by Michael Hunt and Chen Jian on China; Nancy Bernkopf Tucker on Taiwan and Hong Kong; Vladislav Zubok, Constantine Pleshakov, and David Engerman on the Soviet Union; Iriye and Dower on Japan; Bruce Cumings and William Stueck on Korea; Mark Bradley and Robert Brigham on Vietnam; Little, Heiss, and Mart on the Middle East—and that's just the former Soviet Union and Asia.²²

There is a counterpoint to the counterpoint. Even as Said insists that Western scholars take others seriously, his analysis in *Orientalism* reminds us that our others are to a large extent reflections of ourselves. We project onto others our hopes and fears; others become repositories of characteristics we cannot abide in ourselves because they are shameful or revolting. This suggests, ironically, that the new internationalism in diplomatic history must be predicated on a closer examination of who we are, as Westerners and Americans. There is an honored tradition in the field of exploring the domestic sources of American foreign relations. Samuel Flagg Bemis, one of the founders of the field, stressed the exceptionalism of the American experience, distinguished as it was by the luxury of physical isolation and “the fundamental principles and virtues of American liberty and freedom that come from our Anglo-Saxon background.” Fred Harvey Harrington, William Appleman Williams, and the revisionist historians they helped train focused on the felt need of American elites to secure overseas markets, driven by the maddening propensity of the American economy to fall into depression. Said, of course, rejects the exceptionalist thesis; and, while his reading of the American empire is consistent with that of the revisionists, that is not his primary contribution. The creation of the self, out of which comes the representation of the other, can be seen as a psychological and cultural phenomenon firmly rooted in American historical development. It is the basis for a dialogue about national identity, which ought to be conjoined to similar dialogues going on in other nations. To its understanding, U.S. historians of all affiliations have a great deal to contribute.²³

²² Michael H. Hunt, *The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914* (New York, 1983); Chen Jian, *China's Road to the Korean War: The Making of the Sino-American Confrontation* (New York, 1994); Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, *Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the United States, 1945–1992: Uncertain Friendships* (New York, 1994); Vladislav Zubok and Constantine Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996); David C. Engerman, “America, Russia, and the Romance of Economic Development” (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1998); Akira Iriye, *Power and Culture: The Japanese-American War, 1941–1945* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981); Dower, *War without Mercy*; Bruce Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1981, 1990); William Stueck, *The Korean War: An International History* (Princeton, 1995); Mark Bradley and Robert K. Brigham, *Vietnamese Archives and Scholarship on the Cold War Period: Two Reports* (Washington, D.C., 1993); and Brigham, *Guerrilla Diplomacy: The NLF's Foreign Relations and the Vietnam War* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998).

²³ Gaddis Smith, “The Two Worlds of Samuel Flagg Bemis,” *Diplomatic History* 9 (Fall 1985): 299.

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Review Essays
Orientalism, the Balkans, and Balkan Historiography

K. E. FLEMING

TINTIN, the comic strip Belgian boy detective, has many exciting international adventures. He busts up an opium ring in Egypt, he frees a gorilla from a Scottish castle, he discovers the Yeti in Tibet, he flies to the moon. But even with so fantastic an agenda, only once does he manage to travel to a thoroughly imaginary place. In *King Ottokar's Sceptre*, Tintin finds himself in southeastern Europe in the fictive "Syldavia," next to the similarly invented "Borduria," at war with anarchists, corrupt military police, mustachioed fez-wearing bandits, and all manner of narghile-smoking Balkan buffoons.

The apparent absurd confusion of Balkan history is lampooned in Hergé's faux chronicle of Syldavia, which Tintin eagerly reads as he flies in over the mountains: "In 1275 the people of Syldavia rose against the Bordurians, and in 1277 the revolutionary leader, Baron Almaszout, was proclaimed King. He adopted the title of Ottokar the First, but should not be confused with Premysl Ottokar the First, the duke who became King of Bohemia in the XII century."¹ Even in being introduced to the material, one is intimidated and perplexed. If all of these people have the same name, one might wonder, what's the point in trying to figure out what's going on? Politics, too, is inscrutable. In its contemporary political unrest, Syldavia bears a striking resemblance to another fictional land, "Herzoslovakia," the Balkan homeland of Agatha Christie's villainous Boris Anchoukoff in *The Secret of Chimneys*, a land, by Christie's account, of violence, brigandry, and mystery, a country where the national "hobby" is "assassinating kings and having revolutions."²

Syldavia and Herzoslovakia, then, are sort of Balkan "everycountries," composites (both in name and character) based on several assumptions: that Balkan countries are more or less interchangeable with and indistinguishable from one another, that there is a readily identifiable typology of politics and history common throughout the Balkans, that there is such a thing as a Balkan ethnic or racial "type."³ Yet even as Hergé and Christie assume that they know something fundamental about the Balkans—indeed, that they know the Balkans so well that

¹ Hergé [Georges Remi], *King Ottokar's Sceptre*, Leslie Lonsdale-Cooper and Michael Turner, trans. (Boston, 1976), 7.

² Agatha Christie, *The Secret of Chimneys* (1925; New York, 1975), 105.

³ A similar observation has recently been made in the case of Eastern Europe. Of Bulgaria, Wallachia, and Hungary, Larry Wolff points out that in many chronicles "the issue of adjacency, by which the neighboring lands of Eastern Europe were associated, was dramatized to suggest a sort of

they can effortlessly construct fictional Balkan worlds—both Herzoslovakia and Syldavia point to an even more pervasive, and apparently contradictory, assumption about southeastern Europe. This is the belief that the Balkans are so hopelessly and intrinsically confused and impenetrable that there is scarcely any point in trying to distinguish between them; a novelistic or cartoon substitute is, in fact, eminently more manageable and presents less of an authorial problem than does the real thing. Anything vaguely East or South-East Europeanish will do. Syldavia, Moravia, Czechoslovakia, Herzoslovakia, Herzegovina, Bosnia, Borduria, Bohemia—what's the difference, after all? Hermann Keyserling's wry observation, "If the Balkans did not exist, it would be necessary to invent them," was perhaps understated.⁴ Even though the Balkans *do* exist, they must be invented anyway. Simultaneously and tautologically, then, the Balkans are both fully known and wholly unknowable. This is the first paradox of the way in which the Balkans are represented, perceived, and studied.

The second is this: if, according to outside observers, it is difficult to distinguish between the Balkan states and peoples, it is still more difficult (say those same observers) for Balkan peoples themselves to *stop* making distinctions between themselves, and to stop killing one another senselessly over those distinctions. "Killing one another" is not just a sort of "national hobby" but an intention or imperative that must be obeyed, and that can only be exhausted, not avoided. Former Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger's caution against foreign intervention in the former Yugoslavia in the early 1990s was clearly based in part on such reasoning: "If people are intent on killing each other under conditions in which it is almost impossible for the outside world to do anything without losing itself many lives, then my answer is: 'I'm sorry, but they are going to have to kill each other until they wear themselves out and have enough sense to stop.'"⁵

One readily identifiable dimension to West European and North American discussions of the Balkans, then, is the tendency to lump them all together, to overlook any differences that might exist between countries, regimes, peoples, or even names of countries. But a second, no less prevalent, is the direct opposite: one of the primary characteristics attributed to Balkan lands and peoples is the paranoia, to paraphrase Sigmund Freud, of small differences. To "Balkanize," after all, means to divide, or fragment, along absurdly minute and definitionally obscure grounds. What makes the Balkans the Balkans, to the outside observer, is that they can neither be told apart nor put together. By this argument, one of the things that makes the Balkans all so very much the same is the fact that they are all concerned with demonstrating how it is that they are different from one another. Simultaneously, then, discourse on the Balkans is one both of sameness and of difference.

To these paradoxes can be added others: the relationship between various Balkan states (similar yet different) is, to an extent, replicated in the perceived correlation between the Balkans as a whole and the rest of Europe, which again is one

geographical destiny." Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, Calif., 1994), 185.

⁴ Quoted in Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York, 1997), 116.

⁵ Quoted in *The South Slav Conflict: History, Religion, Ethnicity, and Nationalism*, Raju G. C. Thomas and H. Richard Friman, eds. (New York, 1996), 253.

characterized by familiarity overlaid with distance. The simultaneous proximity and distance of the Balkans (the point of reference, geographical and cultural, being Western Europe), the sense that they somehow constitute the “outsider within”—these are among an array of factors that seem, on the surface, to add up to the paradoxical “intimate estrangement” that by Edward Said’s argument is the hallmark of the West’s relationship to the Orient.⁶

Add to this the fact that such essentializing as that of Hergé or Christie—or P. G. Wodehouse, Alfred Lord Tennyson, George Bernard Shaw, Lawrence Durrell (whose own fictional Balkan land was dubbed “Vulgaria”), or any one of a number of others—clearly bears no small resemblance to what Said has described as the “Orientalist attitude,” and it is tempting to declare the Balkans tailor-made for Saidian analysis. To what extent, though, is this really the case? While the impact of *Orientalism* has been felt in the field of Balkan history (particularly among those writers who are either themselves located in the Balkans or who have some personal connection to them), it is unclear what the ultimate utility of a Saidian approach to the Balkans might be. Its greatest value, in the final analysis, may not lie in any interpretive contribution to Balkan study per se, but rather in the possibility that through testing (and perhaps ultimately rejecting) Said’s model, Balkan historiography will be brought into dialogue with other, more established and dominant fields. In the process, the case of the Balkans may prove uniquely equipped to interrogate, expand, and elucidate the theoretical categories of inquiry first developed by those fields.

A HANDFUL OF RECENT WORKS of Balkan historiography have addressed, head on, the Saidian Orientalist critique and its potential utility to the study of southeastern Europe. Some of these have adopted *in toto* the premises of *Orientalism* (or, more accurately, a simplified version of them) and have grafted them onto the history of writing about the Balkans. The more fruitful but also less common approach is one that has attempted to understand the ways in which “Orientalism” and “Balkanism” are not the same thing, to assess the utility of a Saidian critique in general, and to take Said’s work as an occasion to, on the one hand, historicize certain stock assumptions about the Balkans and, on the other, to theorize what has traditionally been an undertheorized field of study. The very best, perhaps, are histories of the Balkans that show a familiarity and agility with the theoretical vocabulary of Said and his successors but that find it unnecessary or even counterproductive to make explicit use of the Saidian critique.

In the first category is Vesna Goldsworthy’s *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination*. As the subtitle suggests, the work is concerned with expanding the parameters of imperialism and colonialism, and suggests that, as categories of interpretation, they are, despite the absence of a literal European colonial presence in the Balkans, applicable to that region nevertheless. If “conventional” imperialists

⁶ Said writes, “All Arab Orientals must be accommodated to a vision of an Oriental type as constructed by the Western scholar, as well as to a specific encounter with the Orient in which the Westerner regrips the Orient’s essence as a consequence of his intimate estrangement from it.” Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (1978; New York, 1994), 248.

are concerned with natural resources and economic exploitation, the Balkan colonizer, by Goldsworthy's argument, has typically sought other, but no less lucrative, foreign sources of revenue—cultural and economic—through the “imperialism of the imagination.” Of her work, Goldsworthy writes that it “seeks to explore the way in which one of the world's most powerful nations [Britain] exploited the resources of the Balkans to supply its literary and entertainment industries.”⁷ What exactly those “resources” are is unclear (plot lines? stage settings?), but to Goldsworthy's mind they have brought as much lucre as minerals or oil. The production of fictional literatures set in the Balkans, featuring Balkan protagonists, or otherwise concerned with southeastern Europe, according to Goldsworthy, was a means whereby the British “secure[d] their stakes as surely as European colonists secured newly surveyed parcels of land in America, Australia, or New Zealand.”⁸ The premise is valid, but the claim is ultimately a bit overblown.

To view the relationship between Western Europe and the Balkans as homologous to colonialism is an approach that, if used with reason (and if historicized), has validity and can be fruitful. In the case of eighteenth and nineteenth-century Greece, the argument for the link between European philhellenism and some sort of metaphoric or pseudo-imperialism has been voiced by a number of scholars. Olga Augustinos has demonstrated that Greek travel literature of the period is directly tied to Europe's claim on the ancient Greek past and shows that this claim “made [Greece] seem closer to the West” and somehow under its control.⁹ Artemis Leontis notes that, while the “Greeks, former subjects of a powerful Eastern Empire, may be said to have gained the status of modern independent nation-state without having passed through administrative colonialization by the West,” it nevertheless “could be argued that modern Greece endured a ‘colonialization of the mind,’ given that its system of education was imported directly from Germany.”¹⁰ I myself have argued elsewhere that in the case of Greece the mechanisms of romantic philhellenism and the cultivation of the belief in Greece as the fount of Western civilization functioned as the underpinnings for a sort of “surrogate” colonialism, whereby Greece was brought into the intellectual and cultural penumbra of the West, particularly Britain and France.¹¹

The concept of metaphoric colonialism as a tool for interpretation is useful to an extent, but its very development points immediately to the manifest difficulty of loosing the Saidian critique from its explicitly Western imperialist moorings. The frequency with which arguments for a “metaphoric” colonialism have been made may demonstrate the rich symbolic possibilities of one specific political/economic system, but it also is symptomatic of the fundamentally problematic task of grafting Said onto settings that do not share the particular colonial circumstances of, say, Napoleonic Egypt. In this regard, the Balkan instance throws some significant

⁷ Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination* (New Haven, Conn., 1998), 2.

⁸ Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania*, 2–3.

⁹ Olga Augustinos, *French Odysseys: Greece in French Travel Literature from the Renaissance to the Romantic Era* (Baltimore, Md., 1994), ix.

¹⁰ Artemis Leontis, *Topographies of Hellenism: Mapping the Homeland* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995), 68, 68 n. 2.

¹¹ K. E. Fleming, *The Muslim Bonaparte: Diplomacy and Orientalism in Ali Pasha's Greece* (Princeton, N.J., 1999), 151–52.

roadblocks in the path of those who would import wholesale a Saidian critique. Quite simply, the territories of the Balkans have had a very different history from those with which Said's *Orientalism* is concerned. The political development of the Balkans, especially as it has been influenced by external powers, has been shaped by factors unlike those at play in the Orient of *Orientalism*.

That Said wedded his interdisciplinarity to a specific group of historical taxons (which include but cannot be reduced to colonialism, imperialism, and the interplay of political and academic power) has made it easier for certain fields to flourish in the post-*Orientalism* climate than for others. The premises on which *Orientalism* is based are grafted far more easily onto the terrain of Southeast Asia than of southeastern Europe. Where is one to place Serbia, for instance, in the Saidian formulation? Greece, with its peculiar cultural relationship to the West, provides a still more categorically perplexing example.

The Balkans make up a part of the "old" model of empire, the late medieval, precolonial empires of the Ottomans and the Habsburgs, both of which followed, more or less explicitly, the imperial model of Rome. They are not part of Said's imperialism, an imperialism that, whatever his intentions, appears basically to be one of East versus West, European versus Oriental, an imperialism fairly bereft of syncretism.¹² Certainly, this interpretation is the one that has dominated the academic reception of *Orientalism*,¹³ and thus the question of Said's original meaning or intentionality, as Said himself admits, is no longer necessarily central to what is meant when people invoke "Orientalism."¹⁴ The imperial mechanisms at work in the encounter between, for example, the Ottoman Turks and the Greeks of the South Balkans are dramatically different from those at play in the Napoleonic encounter of the French and the Egyptians. The Ottoman conquest of the Balkans—which involved policies of repopulation, a high degree of imperial collusion with local elites (many of whom were left fully in place), the gradual (but largely unforced) conversion over the course of generations of entire districts to Islam, and near constant military campaigns during the late medieval and early modern periods—shaped the Balkans in such a way that their political and historical development was markedly different from that of other Ottoman provincial regions, let alone from the colonies of eighteenth and nineteenth-century Europe. Four centuries of direct Ottoman rule are not comparable to the historical circumstances that provide the backbone for Said's argument. Finally, the peculiar circumstances of imperial rule in the Balkans—its division between the Catholiciz-

¹² In the 1994 afterword to *Orientalism*, for instance, Said denigrates those who "[slide] back into stereotypes like 'the conflict of East and West'" and laments the fact that the enthusiastic welcome given the Arabic edition of the work was based largely on emotionality and misinterpretation. "The sense of fraught confrontation between an often emotionally defined Arab world and an even more emotionally experienced Western world drowned out the fact that *Orientalism* was meant to be a study in critique, not an affirmation of warring and hopelessly antithetical identities." But clearly these two things are not mutually exclusive, and the fact that Said's "study in critique" claimed as its territory the interplay between these "antithetical identities" would make his protestations of utter innocence a bit disingenuous. Said, *Orientalism*, 334, 338.

¹³ See, for example, Mohammed Sharafuddin, *Islam and Romantic Orientalism: Literary Encounters with the Orient* (London, 1994), xvi–xvii.

¹⁴ Said writes that "*Orientalism*, almost in a Borgesian way, has become several different books" and is now characterized by a "strange, often disquieting . . . polymorphousness." Said, *Orientalism*, 330.

ing Habsburgs and the laissez-faire Ottomans—shaped different Balkan territories in different ways.

None of this should come as a surprise, but in the rush to apply Said, much of it gets occluded. The distinct, particular, and myriad geographical, cultural, and historical factors (pre- and post-imperial) that are the precise cause of the ambiguous relationship between the Balkans and Western Europe are too easily glossed over by the mere substitution of an “imaginary” colonialism for the real thing. Such factors constitute precisely the terrain that is most rich with theoretical possibility, and, through careful study of them, Balkan historiography holds the potential to make a major contribution to the ways in which some of history’s most basic categories of inquiry are theorized. It seems counterproductive, then, to obscure them by the imposition in entirety of a critique that is predicated on factors absent in the Balkans and then to compensate for that absence by positing that a metaphoric or “imaginary” version of them functions in the same way as the literal or real one.

There is a big difference between “metaphoric colonialism,” “surrogate colonialism,” “colonialism of the mind,” and colonialism of the sort with which Said is concerned. *Orientalism* may invite us to explore the ways in which colonialism was as much a frame of mind as a system of West European political and economic domination, but for Said the former always presupposes the latter. Said’s critique is concerned not with a wholly “imagined” Orient or merely “invented” *topoi*: “none of this Orient is merely imaginative. The Orient is an integral part of European *material* civilization and culture,” and Orientalism, as a “mode of discourse,” is undergirded by, among other things, “scholarship” and “colonial bureaucracies.”¹⁵ In Goldsworthy’s formulation, however, it is the very lack of such things as real (or “conventional,” to use her term) imperialism that makes it so easy to see the Orientalism at play in British depictions of the Balkans. “The concept of imaginative, textual colonisation,” writes Goldsworthy, “. . . shows the way in which an area can be exploited as an object of the dominant culture’s need for a dialogue with itself.” She suggests that “the same methodology could be readily applied to other parts of the world, but the process can be observed with particular clarity in south-east Europe in view of the virtual absence of fully-fledged conventional imperialism.”¹⁶ Sympathetic as I am to Goldsworthy’s basic aim—to document an “imperialism of the imagination” in the Balkans—her project is ultimately subverted rather than aided by her heavy (if implicit) reliance on Said. The “system of representation” with which Said is concerned is one that is in constant and dialogic conversation with imperial structures, while for Goldsworthy, the system of representation *is itself tantamount to an imperial structure*. Clearly, one component—and a giant one at that—must drop out of Said if Said is to be used to discuss the Balkans.

Those who are prepared to acknowledge this fact have fared better with their application of a Saidian model to Balkan historiography. Milica Bakić-Hayden and Robert M. Hayden deal straightforwardly with the different, non-imperial circumstances of the Balkans. They argue that while Said “associates [Orientalism as a]

¹⁵ Said, *Orientalism*, 2.

¹⁶ Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania*, 211.

“rhetorical structure with a political and economic relationship of domination and submission,” the “language of orientalism still retains its force” in noncolonial settings, pointing out that now, in the postcolonial world, it has not as a discourse of power disappeared along with the institutions of colonialism. Bakić-Hayden and Hayden thus rehistoricize Said through their explicit interest in comparing a colonial world to a postcolonial one. In addition to suggesting some of the ways in which Orientalist discourse has outlived the very structures that first gave it life, Bakić-Hayden and Hayden’s work is particularly illuminating in showing how, when divorced from those structures, Orientalism loses much of its unidirectionality (as a discourse imposed by the West on the East) and becomes instead embedded and internalized in East and West alike. Or, better put (and more germane to the Balkan instance), they show how, through the adoption of “orientalist” rhetoric by both East and West, the boundaries between the two categories begin to blur. Thus, as they argue, Orientalist rhetoric (“Balkan mentality, Balkan primitivism, Balkanization, Byzantine, Orthodoxy”) is now deployed not just by outsiders but by the very people whom they are meant to describe. “These terms, and the orientalist framework in general, are often used even by those who are disparaged by them, a point . . . which indicates the hegemonic nature of the concepts involved.”¹⁷ While Goldsworthy’s work assumes a model of Western imposition on or exploitation of a non-Western “other” (despite the absence of literal colonial control of that other), that of Bakić-Hayden and Hayden situates Orientalist discourse within the supposed “Orient” itself, thus interrogating the nature both of that discourse and of the “Orient” as a geographical and cultural category.

WESTERN COLONIALISM, a central component in Said’s model, is not the only thing that must be let go if the model is to be fruitfully applied to the Balkans. Academic power and the tradition of West European academic literary production about the Orient also comprise an essential feature of Said’s Orientalism. As he explains, “Orientalism is not only a positive doctrine about the Orient that exists at any one time in the West; it is also an influential academic tradition (when one refers to an academic specialist who is called an Orientalist), as well as an area of concern defined by travelers, commercial enterprises, governments, military expeditions, readers of novels and accounts of exotic adventure, natural historians, and pilgrims to whom the Orient is a specific kind of knowledge about specific places, peoples, and civilizations.”¹⁸

There is no history or tradition of West European academic interest in the Balkans that is remotely comparable to the history of Western academic study of the colonized Orient. Greece, alone among the Balkan territories, has as a region of study long been a mainstay of the Western academy, a fact that, incidentally, makes the “metaphoric colonialism” thesis more applicable to Greece than to the rest of the Balkans. The West’s fondness for Greece is intimately connected to the common tendency to consider Greece not truly “Balkan,” at least not in the full

¹⁷ Milica Bakić-Hayden and Robert M. Hayden, “Orientalist Variations on the Theme ‘Balkans’: Symbolic Geography in Recent Yugoslav Cultural Politics,” *Slavic Review* 51 (Spring 1992): 3.

¹⁸ Said, *Orientalism*, 203.

connotative sense of the term (a difference of status once underscored by Greece's lack of ties to the Eastern Bloc during the Cold War era and now by its membership in the European Union, among other geopolitical and cultural factors). That Greece has received so much attention only highlights the academic neglect of the Balkans in general within the Western academy. Broadly speaking, there is no academic tradition of "Balkanism," let alone an "influential" one; the term itself is scarcely established as an academic field today, much less two hundred years ago.

Western literatures such as those produced by Rebecca West, Christie, Durrell, *et al.* have led scholars to suggest the need for a category parallel to Orientalism (in its Saidian, discursive sense) that is applicable to the Balkan context. Maria Todorova, the real groundbreaker in this regard, explores the comparative possibilities of "Balkanism" and "Orientalism," but she concludes, quite rightly, that they are not the same thing. This is a conclusion based on many factors (differences in the perception of the geopolitical importance of the Balkans relative to the Orient, the lack of a colonial legacy in the case of the Balkans, the largely Christian makeup of the Balkans versus the overwhelmingly Muslim Orient), among them a recognition that the history of the West's intellectual engagement with the Balkans is not reminiscent of the history of the West's intellectual engagement with the Orient. "The Balkans per se, that is, as a distinct geographic, social, and cultural entity, were 'discovered' by European travelers only from the late eighteenth century."¹⁹ While Said identifies the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as the moment of birth of "modern Orientalism," he defines this "modern Orientalism" as the product of a renaissance—a rebirth, rather than an original one. Modern Orientalism rests on "a vast literature about the Orient inherited from the European past."²⁰ Orientalism is thus a discourse characterized by a dialogic interplay between past and present, a product of the modernization of Orientalism as a body of knowledge, a modernization catalyzed and effected by the experience of colonial rule of the Orient.²¹ Thus the late eighteenth-century "discovery" of the Balkans by the West coincides with the moment of the West's rediscovery of the Orient.

Literary and academic output on the Balkans, moreover, does not differ from that on the Orient just in chronology and longevity. The vast array of Orientalist literatures documented by Said are different in style, aim, and quantity from those produced by Western Europe about the Balkans. As the work of Todorova, Goldsworthy, Stephen Arata,²² Augustinos, and numerous others demonstrates, the literary output of Western Europe on the Balkans (what might or might not as a discourse be termed "Balkanism") has fallen for the most part into one of two categories: adventure fiction and travelogue. Todorova observes that the "Balkans, together with the distant North American prairies . . . tickle[d] the popular imagination as fanciful sites for the setting of morality plays, romantic or antiromantic."²³ Travel literature, which may or may not have been based on actual

¹⁹ Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 62.

²⁰ Said, *Orientalism*, 42.

²¹ Said, *Orientalism*, 43.

²² See, for example, Stephen D. Arata, "The Occidental Tourist: *Dracula* and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonization," *Victorian Studies* 33 (Summer 1990): 621–45.

²³ Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 73.

travel, largely served a similar role as didactic entertainment. While a large portion of the Orientalist literatures documented by Said fall into these same categories, it rests in the Saidian instance on the shoulders of a long and respected Orientalist academic tradition, one concerned with philology, textual analysis, history, and the study of religion. The West European academic study of Sanskrit, Arabic, Aramaic, and other Oriental languages and literatures is the single most important precursor to modern Orientalism as Said defines it.²⁴ In the case of the Balkans, the relationship between “Balkanism” as a field of study and “Balkanism” as a category roughly equivalent to Said’s “Orientalism” is, if anything, the reverse. The West European and North American academy, perhaps in response to a century’s worth of depictions of the Balkans as wild, exciting, and filled with mystery and danger, is only now beginning to hire specialists in Balkan history, language, and culture in any number. “Balkanism” as a discourse does not rest on an earlier academic tradition of “Balkanism” for the simple reason that there isn’t one.

It is during moments of “crisis” (as in the disintegration of Yugoslavia or during the conflict in Kosovo) that most scholarly, or semi-scholarly, work on the Balkans has been written. This has historically been the case, as well. A book on the Balkans published in 1911 is called *The Danger Zone of Europe: Changes and Problems in the Near East*. From its introduction, we learn that “history has proved that the Near East [the Balkans] has been both the scene of and the reason for war after war. For a variety of reasons this quarter of the universe is still a continual source of danger to the peace of the world. The Balkan peninsula and Asia Minor may always be the scene of insurrection or massacre.”²⁵ There is nothing of inherent intellectual interest in the region; it is simply prudent to learn about it because its messes might become ours. The book’s author, H. Charles Woods, is, like most writing on the Balkans today, interested in his subject matter because contemporary conflict has rendered it “timely.” While this is a pragmatic and reasonable approach, it is also one that has shaped the academic study of the Balkans in a way that makes it distinct from most other fields.

In both the colonial and the postcolonial periods, then, Western academic scholarly production on the Balkan countries has been most consistently linked to the perception of them as dangerous, unstable, a war zone. But here, we must view the term “academic” with caution, for the vast majority of such writing is in actuality produced not by academicians in the strictest sense of the term but rather by Balkan “experts” whose expertise derives from their experience as journalists, travelers, or political strategists. This has produced a major bifurcation within the ranks of those concerned with Balkan history. One group consists of Balkan “specialists” (largely, if not exclusively, North American and West European), whose work is targeted in the main at a nonspecialist, non-academic audience and purports to explain and unravel the intricacies of Balkan history and politics for lay readers. Robert D. Kaplan’s *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey through History* (1993) is perhaps the most commercially successful of this genre, but a slew of other recently published books about the Balkans fit the bill as well. These works vary wildly in quality and utility

²⁴ See, for example, Said, *Orientalism*, 136–37.

²⁵ H. Charles Woods, *The Danger Zone of Europe: Changes and Problems in the Near East* (Boston, 1911), 5.

(I hasten to say that some are quite good), but all are drawn together by their shared interest in addressing newcomers, or at least nonspecialists, whose interest in the Balkans has been sparked solely by contemporary political events. Within Western Europe and certainly North America, such extra-academic specialists outnumber “academic” ones, by which latter I mean those historians, scholars of literature, political scientists, and the like who hold doctorates in the topic, who are housed in universities, whose entire careers have been devoted to the field, and whose interest in it was first sparked by the usual eccentric panoply of factors, contemporary geopolitics usually not among them. This academic group is small, not usually focused on current events and, incidentally, for the most part, made up of individuals who are in many instances of Balkan origin—with the interesting result that the strictly “academic” study of the Balkans is emerging as a sort of subaltern, hybrid field, as has also happened in the case of the academic study of postcolonial South Asia (a topic that deserves further exploration in its own right but which in this context I can refer to only in passing).

There is thus a two-tier professional study of the Balkans, in which the more dominant tier consists of those working specifically on the contemporary Balkans and outside the academy. The less visible tier consists of a tiny group of academics, who may or may not be interested in contemporary events. There is little contact between the two, for obvious reasons—they are interested in different questions and problems, and write for very different audiences. This bifurcation, along with an array of preexisting factors, has made the field of Balkan studies even smaller and less visible. For working above, or at least parallel to, academic Balkanists is a freelance, pseudo-academic (the term is not necessarily pejorative) cottage industry of “specialists” on the Balkans, whose work gives the impression that Balkanists as a whole are basically political wonks who are not interested in the broader theoretical questions that inform other fields of history.

Within the Balkan nations themselves, where there obviously is no great lay or public demand for Balkan “specialists,” the study of Balkan history, literature, and culture is emerging much more clearly as a field in its own right, one that is in close touch with, informed by, and in dialogue with theoretical shifts and trends across a wide spectrum of fields. Not surprisingly, then, coming out of the Balkans are a number of studies that (like those of Todorova, Bakić-Hayden and Hayden, Goldsworthy, and a handful of others in this country) strive to bring the study of southeastern Europe into direct conversation with the theoretical and conceptual concerns of other fields. In Serbia, for instance, a number of scholars (Ivan Colović, for example, or Marko Živković) have devoted considerable time to Said’s model. In Romania, the *Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes* has devoted two issues to theoretical debates stemming from *Orientalism*. In Greece, the case with which I am most familiar, a number of scholars are currently directly engaged with post-Saidian theoretical questions, among them Loukia Droulia, Stathis Gourgouris, Paschalis Kitromilides, Yiorgos Kokkinos, Ioanna Laliotou, Antonis Liakos, and Elli Skopetea, to give only a few specific names. Some (Skopetea, for instance) have directed their attention specifically to the relevance of Said’s model to the Balkans, while others (like Kitromilides) use paradigms that are clearly influenced by Said and his successors.

This being the state of affairs, it should be manifestly clear that Said's model, once again, needs some significant modification if it is to be applied to the Balkans. Said's understanding of Orientalism as a discourse is predicated on the relationship between Orientalism as an established and "influential" academic field on the one hand and colonial power on the other. Thus far, as we have seen, there is no such relationship in the case of the Balkans. In fact, there is neither a history of "Balkanism" as an established academic field nor of colonialism except of an "imaginary" or metaphoric sort. Balkanism as an academic field of study has emerged most potently within the Balkans themselves or as a largely subalternesque, hybrid discipline within North America and Western Europe. As such, it is a new field and is characterized by its familiarity with Western theoretical paradigms for study of the "other," as well as by a remarkable agility in using the instance of the Balkans to challenge, rework, and expand those paradigms. Clearly, then, "Balkanism" as a discourse must be something quite different from Orientalism. Left without an influential and longstanding Western academic tradition of studying the Balkans and bereft of a framework of literal colonial domination, in what ways might it still be said that *Orientalism* can, or should, be used to study southeastern Europe?

HAVING THROWN OUT THE BATHWATER, as it were, we might look now to see if we should just throw out the baby, as well. If *Orientalism* is rendered of dubious use in the Balkan instance because of the absence both of West European colonial control over the Balkans and of a longstanding Western academic tradition of studying the Balkans, it becomes more beleaguered still when faced with the fact that it is unclear whether or not the Balkans are in any sense (geographical, cultural, or discursive) "Oriental" at all. Where the "Orient" begins and where it ends is, of course, a topic of no small debate, and its resolution has been determined differently at different historical moments. A map of the "Near East" published in 1911 has as its westernmost point Banjaluka, in Bosnia, and as its easternmost Konya, in Turkey.²⁶ The Near East now has disappeared, or become a chronological (as in "the ancient Near East") rather than locational marker. We have a West and a Middle East, even a Far East, but the Near East—or what it used to be—has become so near that it is no longer the East but the West.

The confusion over what is East and what is West, particularly as it attaches itself to the Balkans, is nothing new. In an epistle of the thirteenth century, St. Sava, the founder of the Serbian Orthodox Church, famously wrote: "At first we were confused. The East thought we were West, while the West considered us to be East. Some of us misunderstood our place in this clash of currents, so they cried that we belong to neither side, and others that we belong exclusively to one side or the other. But I tell you . . . , we are doomed by fate to be the East on the West, and the West on the East, to acknowledge only heavenly Jerusalem beyond us, and here on earth—no one."²⁷ Sava's felicitous turn of phrase is echoed in the title of one of

²⁶ Woods, *Danger Zone of Europe*, appendix.

²⁷ Quoted in Bakić-Hayden and Hayden, "Orientalist Variations," 1.

the best recent works of Balkan historiography to grapple with Said's model, Elli Skopetea's *I Dysi tis Anatolis*, which can be translated as "The West of the East" or "The East's West."²⁸

As Skopetea and others suggest, of the various features of Balkan history and circumstance that invite (and problematize) Saidian modes of investigation, perhaps most salient is the matter of the location of the Balkans vis-à-vis Western Europe, and the changing way in which that location has been represented at different historical moments. Central, of course, is the relativity of geographical spaces; the sense of simultaneous Balkan distance and proximity, while a constant feature of Western depictions of the Balkans over at least two centuries, is not a static frame for investigation. The concepts of "distance" and "proximity" can, varyingly, be understood to refer to physical, intellectual, cultural, chronological, political, and moral states. The "intimate estrangement," which by Said's formulation characterizes the West's relationship to the Orient is, in the case of the Balkans, both heightened and literalized. Even as Europe, through the discursive mechanisms he so trenchantly and disturbingly identifies, defined and thus mastered the "Orient," so, too, did it define itself. And in the process, the Balkans, which in the seventeenth century were regarded as decidedly "Oriental," morphed first into "European Turkey" and, finally, into part of "Europe," albeit a hazy and ill-defined part. The supposedly "alien" nature of the Balkans—an alienness and estrangement most famously and vividly dramatized (and romanticized) in the works of Lord Byron—derives not from their distance *from* Western Europe but rather their proximity *to* it. This, yet again, is a departure from the Orient with which Said is concerned, where the intimacy of its estrangement from the West derives from Western academic and political knowledge of and mastery over an alien other, not from any perceived sense of deep similarity to it. In the Balkan instance, intimacy derives precisely from such a perception of similarity, while estrangement stems from the awkwardness and ill ease with which that similarity is greeted.

The Balkans stand as Europe's resident alien, an internal other that is an affront and challenge by virtue of its claim to be part of the West, as well as by its apparent ability to dramatically affect Western history. So it is, for instance, that commentators have long been flummoxed by the fact that such a seemingly "wretched" and irrelevant part of the world can have been the cause of a major global conflict: "It is an unhappy affront to human and political nature that these wretched and unhappy little countries in the Balkan peninsula can, and do, have quarrels that cause world wars. Some hundred and fifty thousand young Americans died because of an event in 1914 in a mud-caked primitive village, Sarajevo."²⁹ Would so many deaths have seemed less senseless, one wonders, had the chain of events that led to them been set in motion in Paris or in London? John Gunther, the author of these words, was writing on the eve of World War II—at a time when the Balkans were being blamed for other conflicts, as well, and a time also when the Habsburgs and the Ottomans had already begun to fade from memory—and thus when one could

²⁸ Elli Skopetea, *I Dysi tis Anatolis: Eikones apo to telos tis Othomanikis Autokratorias* (Athens, 1992).

²⁹ John Gunther, *Inside Europe*, rev. edn. (New York, 1937), 437.

no longer imagine a time when the Balkans might have seemed somehow central.³⁰ The present political environment has given rise to a new version of the same sort of rhetoric; Egelburger's attitude (see above) is not far removed from that of Gunther.

It is unclear whether the Balkans are the East or the West, but unclear, too, is just what counts as Balkan. On the eve of World War I, Turkey was decidedly "Balkan" (it no longer is), as was Greece (it is now trying hard not to be); Hungary sometimes was (now it never is). "Balkan," clearly, is as much a conceptual designator as a geographic one, and just as its contours have changed over history, so, too, has the entire category shifted between East and West. The Balkans now are, albeit grudgingly, unanimously agreed to be in the West (that is, in Europe), whereas they used to be relegated to the East (the "Orient"). The eastern and southeastern reaches of Europe, in fact, were Western Europe's first Orient, and seventeenth and eighteenth-century continental attitudes toward them provided a template for how Western Europe would ultimately perceive the entire non-Western world. In *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Larry Wolff explains Eastern Europe's role as an internal "other": "It was Eastern Europe's ambiguous location, within Europe but not fully European, that called for such notions as backwardness and development to mediate between the poles of civilization and barbarism. In fact, Eastern Europe in the eighteenth century provided Western Europe with its first model of underdevelopment, a concept that we now apply all over the globe."³¹ Traian Stoianovich's *Balkan Worlds: The First and Last Europe* takes us back to a still earlier paradigm for Europe, reminding us that the current, Northern definition (which regards the Balkans with ambivalence), is relatively new, dating from the founding of modern history as a field some 500 years ago. Before that, "Europe," by the Southern, Greek definition, was first equivalent to mainland Greece, then later to the "entire northern land mass of which Greece was a part."³² Anything northwest of the Balkan peninsula was thus *outside* of Europe. By Wolff's argument, then, the Balkans provided Europe's first experience of the other (and thus concretized the Western category of "Europe"), while by Stoianovich's the Balkans *were* the first Europe. Both make effective use of the distinctive geographic and cognitive liminality of the Balkans as the point of departure for their work.

Said has alerted us to the fact that the "Orient" is less an actual place than a frame of mind, and he defines it in fact not as a territory but as a mode of thought. But this does *not* mean that more or less any place can be de facto Oriental. Said writes, "The Orient that appears in Orientalism, then, is a system of representations."³³ It is precisely this dimension of his work that has led to such widespread use (and abuse) of his interpretive model across a wide array of disciplines and fields, among them those concerned with the Balkans.³⁴ The "Balkans" that appear

³⁰ Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 119.

³¹ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 9.

³² Traian Stoianovich, *Balkan Worlds: The First and Last Europe* (Armonk, N.Y., 1994), 2–3.

³³ Said, *Orientalism*, 202–03.

³⁴ On Said's own multiple definitions of "Orientalism," see Aijaz Ahmad, "Orientalism and After: Ambivalence and Cosmopolitan Location in the Work of Edward Said," *Economic and Political Weekly* (July 25, 1992): 98–116.

in “Balkanism” (as a discursive category parallel to “Orientalism”) can similarly be defined as “a system of representations,” but this system is based on different referents—historical, geographical, and conceptual.

“Orientalist” cannot simply be a catchall category that denotes something along the lines of “making gross and vaguely deprecating generalizations about other (especially non-Western) cultures and peoples.” This, however, is what many seem to have understood the “Orientalist attitude” to mean. “The Orientalist attitude,” writes Said, “shares with magic and with mythology the self-containing, self-reinforcing character of a closed system, in which objects are what they are *because* they are what they are, for once, for all time, for ontological reasons that no empirical material can either dislodge or alter.”³⁵ But this is not *all* that the “Orientalist attitude” is. If it is, then far too much seems suddenly to “count” as Orientalist. Said’s *Orientalism* presupposes, along with a history of colonialism and an established history of academic study of the Orient, a clear supposition (on the part of Western Europe) as to what the Orient is—first and foremost, an understanding that the Orient is distinct from Europe itself. (Said’s work, of course, challenges precisely that supposition and blurs the distinction between categories Europe has traditionally held separate.) Here, the Balkans once again elude Said’s criteria. Their liminality, their status as an “inside other,” their own claims to European primacy, their geographical location (on the borders of but nevertheless within Europe), Western Europe’s uncertainty as to where to place them—all make the Balkans ripe with theoretical possibility. These factors also challenge some of the most fundamental premises of Said’s model and urge us to expand it or develop new ones that might better address the circumstances of the Balkans. The concept of liminality—both physical and “imagined”—is the single most provocative and promising theoretical terrain for the Southeast Europeanist, and the one through which scholars of the Balkans can contribute most to the theoretical frameworks of inquiry used by a broad array of fields and disciplines.³⁶

HISTORIANS WORK NOW within an intellectual environment that is unself-consciously—indeed, at times unconsciously—interdisciplinary, an environment adumbrated perhaps by Clifford Geertz but enabled (and typified) most decisively by Said. Indeed, the boundary-crossing, if not boundaryless, quality of Said’s work has been identified as the ur-source of its power to move, annoy, influence, and enrage, as well as to elude concrete analysis. Gyan Prakash remarks, “More than anything else, what accounts for the extraordinary impact of *Orientalism* is its repeated dissolution of boundaries drawn by colonial and neocolonial Western hegemony. The book ignited an intellectual and ideological conflagration by its insistent undoing of oppositions between the Orient and the Occident, Western knowledge and Western power, scholarly objectivity and worldly motives, discursive regimes and authorial

³⁵ Said, *Orientalism*, 70.

³⁶ In the instance of the Balkans, one cannot help but suspect that a geographical fact has been replicated and instantiated in the world of scholarship. On the physical margins of Europe, the Balkans have also been relegated to the margins of the academy. Balkan historians can be found housed in many different fields, including European History, Middle Eastern History, Islamic Studies, and Hellenic Studies.

intentions, discipline and desire, representation and reality, and so on. Violating disciplinary borders and transgressing authoritative historical frontiers, *Orientalism* unsettled received categories and modes of understanding.”³⁷

It is in this broad regard—its call to interdisciplinarity—that Said’s work has the most to offer to the study of southeastern Europe. In fact, the particularities of Balkan history and geography make interdisciplinarity indispensable. Kitromilides, for instance, is explicit in his views regarding the virtues of an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the Balkans. He argues that not only is such a method desirable, but the specifics of the Balkan case render it imperative as well. “In [the] task [of historicizing the origins of Balkan nationalism] the method has to be genuinely interdisciplinary . . . As a matter of fact, nationalism constitutes one of those fields of social science research whose fluidity and invertebrateness make interdisciplinarity imperative.”³⁸ Kitromilides’s work, much of which is concerned with challenging various theories of nationalism, particularly as they are applied to the Balkans, thus identifies the field of Balkan history as singularly well-suited to interdisciplinary investigation (even as he laments the fact that most Anglophone historians seem ignorant not just regarding Balkan history but Balkan historiography of the Balkans, as well). The work of Gourgouris, too, to provide but one more example among many, illustrates the use of interdisciplinarity to the study of the Balkans. Gourgouris’s apt observation, “Much like anthropological and ethnographic subjects interrogated since the invasion of these disciplines, the inhabitants of modern Greece were subjected to so much discursive bombardment about the nature of their being as to learn to respond in accordance with the expectations of the questioners,” is clearly part of a broader inquiry, catalyzed largely by Said, concerned with the business of documenting the so-called other, and highly dependent on an interdisciplinary approach.³⁹ Prakash’s assessment of the source of *Orientalism*’s potency might well be read also as a description of the Balkans; themselves “boundary-crossing,” “boundaryless,” challenging to the categories of Oriental and Occidental, and “transgress[ive of] authoritative historical frontiers.”

The Balkans’ liminal status—at the interstices between worlds, histories, and continents—is tantamount not so much to marginality as to a sort of centrality. To be “liminal,” after all, is to be *between* (and overlapping) two (or more) domains, while to be marginal is merely to be at the edges of one. The Poles have claimed Warsaw as “the heart of Europe.” Ioannis Kolettis, the first prime minister of Greece, declared in 1844 that Greece was “in the center of Europe.” Other East European and Balkan lands have made similar claims of European centrality. Clearly, much work remains to be done in explaining the vast chasm between such self-perceptions and the ways in which Eastern and southeastern Europe have been discursively described by Western Europe. Can it all (or any of it) simply be explained away as the product of Orientalism? No. “Orientalism” and “Balkanism” are definitely not the same thing, though they certainly are mutually illuminating categories. While it is Said who has made it possible for us to even consider such

³⁷ Gyan Prakash, “Orientalism Now,” *History and Theory* 34 (October 1995): 200–01.

³⁸ Paschalis Kitromilides, *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy: Studies in the Culture and Political Thought of South-eastern Europe* (Aldershot, 1994), 150.

³⁹ Stathis Gourgouris, *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization, and the Institution of Modern Greece* (Stanford, Calif., 1996), 150.

a discourse as "Balkanism," Said's model alone cannot show us what it is. In the absence of engagement with post-Saidian cultural-historical concerns, the Balkans, and their study, will, like Tintin's Syldavia, remain "remote," "inaccessible," and largely based on fantasy. With such engagement, however, the Balkans may emerge as more central than we ever had imagined.

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Review Essays
Coming Out of Exile:
Dante on the Orient(alism) Express

KATHLEEN BIDDICK

For Europe, Islam was a lasting trauma.

Edward W. Said¹

THE INVITATION TO COMMENT AS A MEDIEVALIST on the impact of Edward Said's *Orientalism* twenty years after its publication reminded me of my exhilarating first encounter, when a colleague in eighteenth-century French history chose Said's book for our reading group. *Orientalism* introduced me to the different cultural and institutional ways in which Europeans constructed the Occident by assigning and hierarchizing boundaries between "East" and "West." *Orientalism* unmasked the process whereby "Europe" fabricated itself on a "theatrical stage whose audience, manager, and actors are for Europe."² Its critique of imaginary racialized geographies hooked me.

Said's attention to the cultural politics of representation helped me, as a budding medieval economic historian, make sense of what I perceived to be sharp contradictions between archaeology and economic history during the early 1980s. Medieval archaeologists were then busy inverting the famous "Pirenne Thesis," which credited the Islamic takeover of the Western Mediterranean in the seventh century with producing the conditions of "isolation" that guaranteed the emergence of Charlemagne and, indeed, "Europe." Archaeologists, meanwhile, were uncov-

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¹ I have used the 1994 edition of Edward W. Said's *Orientalism* (New York, 1994), which prints his afterword. I take my epigraph from p. 59. Appreciation of *Orientalism* abounds at this anniversary. Said is celebrated as both the modern Goethe and the father of postcolonial studies. A critical review of these retrospectives would be a study in itself. The following references offer a guide to debate: Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (New York, 1990); Gyan Prakash, "Orientalism Now," *History and Theory* 34 (1995): 119–212; Bart Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics* (New York, 1997), 34–73; also the special issue of *boundary 2* (Summer 1998) on Said, Paul A. Bové, ed.

² Said, *Orientalism* (1994), 71.

ering evidence for the scale and extent of the rich Abbasid trading diaspora. They argued that early medieval Europe was a mere periphery to Damascus and subsequently Baghdad. Charlemagne's capacity to control some of the peripheral nodes of this medieval world economy ensured his success. Rephrasing Henri Pirenne, these archaeologists wrote: "Without Mohammed, Charlemagne would indeed have been inconceivable."³

Resistance from medieval European economic history to this exciting remapping increasingly became the subject of my research. The representation of economic categories and their affective links with untold medieval and modern colonial histories sparked my intellectual curiosity.⁴ I became so accustomed to thinking and writing about such contradictions that the spirited reaction to my raising the question of Orientalism at a conference on "The Past and Future of Medieval Studies," sponsored by the University of Notre Dame in 1992, took me by surprise.⁵ Some participants contended that consideration of *Orientalism* was anachronistic and divisive to Medieval Studies. I cautioned that it was premature to "throw out" Orientalism, for that would close medievalists off from dynamic debates in history, literature, and postcolonial theories.

The desire of some conference participants to "throw out" *Orientalism* served as the starting point to this essay. I decided to revisit their anxiety and to think through the temporalities of *Orientalism*, since medieval historians, in particular, seemed threatened by Said's work.⁶ As I began rereading *Orientalism*, it struck me that in this capacious book, which crosses the borders of many genres (poetry, travel writing, novels, anthropology, lexicography, to name a few), Said leaves the question of history writing virtually untouched. The opening words of Chapter 1, "On June 13, 1910," reduce temporality to the empty, homogeneous time of chronology. Said then seems to confuse representation (in the Orient) with history (for the Orient) when he claims that "instability suggests that history, with its disruptive detail, its currents of change, its tendency towards growth, decline, or dramatic movement, is possible in the Orient and for the Orient."⁷ Such confusion only suggests that Said did not think through *Orientalism* with history.

Instead, Said simply invented a past tense for *Orientalism* in the poetry of Dante (1265–1321), which epitomized for him the stronger "articulation," the more

³ At this time, I was trying to join my reading of Said with recent archaeological literature and traditional paradigms of medieval "European" economic history: Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, Vol. 1: *Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1974); Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne, and the Origins of Europe: Archaeology and the Pirenne Thesis* (New York, 1983); Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (New York, 1989). Hodges and Whitehouse, 19.

⁴ See Kathleen Biddick, *The Shock of Medievalism* (Durham, N.C., 1998), chap. 2.

⁵ The proceedings were edited by John Van Engen, *The Past and Future of Medieval Studies* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1994), see 39 n. 23 regarding the debate at the conference over Orientalism.

⁶ Early criticism of *Orientalism* remarked on the absence of a critique of temporal forms of power. I now appreciate more acutely the relevance of this critique to Medieval Studies. Homi Bhabha has concentrated on problems of temporality in postcolonial studies, and in an early essay he commented on Said's hesitations to interrogate temporality as a form of power in *Orientalism*: "The Other Question," *Screen* 24 (1983): 18–36 (rpt. in Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* [London, 1994], 66–84); Bhabha has joined his concept of ambivalence with the notion of the borderline proximity, the one-in-the-other in a recent essay, "Front Lines/Border Posts," *Critical Inquiry* 23 (1997): 431–59.

⁷ Said, *Orientalism*, 31, 240.

careful “schematization,” and the more dramatically “effective” moment of placing the Orient in Western imaginative geographies.⁸ The *Inferno*’s notorious image of the riven “Maömetto” (Muhammad) poetically domesticated the violence of a riven Orientalist spatial binary of East/West: “no barrel staved-in, and missing its end-piece ever gaped as wide as the man I saw split open from chin down to the farting-place.”⁹ Said memorialized Dante as an originary placeholder for an Orientalism perfectable in the “secularizing elements in eighteenth-century European culture.”¹⁰

What are the implications of Said’s emplotting the Middle Ages temporally as the “adolescent” stage preparatory to a fully mature, “modern,” imperialist Orientalism? He is not alone in the grip of this fiction. Consider, for example, Benedict Anderson’s acclaimed book *Imagined Communities*, which directly addresses the question of temporality as a form of knowledge. Anderson imagines a sharp break between medieval (read religious) “apprehensions of time” and Enlightenment (read technological) temporalities capable of thinking of the progress of the nation.¹¹ Medieval time, as described by Anderson, is synchronous, meaning that all events are organized around the same eschatological vanishing point; it is always, therefore, the same time in the Middle Ages until the end-time (eschaton). Anderson thus reduces the Middle Ages to a space from which the progressive, technological history of the Enlightenment nation may supersede it. Enlightenment temporality, according to Anderson, imagines time as metrological coincidence defined by calendar and clock. Said and Anderson share a concept of temporality as a spatial binary of supersession: one epoch replaces another. Supersession guarantees the tenaciously enduring and normative division of historical temporality into periods: Classical, Medieval, Early Modern, Modern, Postmodern. Said, his brilliant grasp of spatial forms of power notwithstanding, reproduced in *Orientalism* what Jacques Rancière has called “historiality”: “The space of historiality is first a symbolic space, a surface of inscription of time as productive of meaning.”¹² It is precisely this enduring way of organizing historical thought that *Orientalism* needed to question and failed to. Said thus renders *Orientalism* orientalized, caught within its historiality.

How, then, to rethink the conventional temporality of *Orientalism* in order not to memorialize either *Orientalism* or the “European” Middle Ages?¹³ Put another way,

⁸ Said, *Orientalism*, 68–70.

⁹ *The Inferno of Dante: A New Verse Translation* by Robert Pinsky (New York, 1994), Canto 28, p. 294. Illustrator Michael Mazur’s “map” to this canto is a haunting reminder of the violence of dividing East from West. As for Dante’s redemption of “good” Muslims in Limbo (Avicenna, Averröes, Saladin), Said identified this “tolerance” as evidence of the “discriminations and refinements” of Orientalist vision, in which Islam is the “creature of the West’s moral apprehension” (*Orientalism*, 69). On the “tolerance” of Dante’s depiction of Muhammad in viewing him only as a schismatic, see James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton, N.J., 1964), 144. Such a diagnosis neglects to see how Christianity is normalized in such a view, as hegemony from which everything “not Christian” is viewed as schism.

¹⁰ Said, *Orientalism*, 120.

¹¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn. (London, 1991), 22–25.

¹² Jacques Rancière, *The Names of History: On the Poetics of Knowledge*, Hassan Melehy, trans. (Minneapolis, Minn., 1994), 82.

¹³ For a questioning of the hegemony of the European Middle Ages, see the announcement (September 2000) for the new journal from Sage entitled *The Medieval History Journal*. It reads: “The

how can one historicize *Orientalism* in order to rehistoricize medieval Europe? This essay takes the temporal form of *Orientalism* as its central problem and considers Said's melancholic attachment to the European Middle Ages as a form of his own Orientalism. Melancholy memorializes, and *Orientalism* never lets go. Europe (and Said in *Orientalism*) continues to imagine Islam as its (his) trauma.¹⁴

MEDIEVALISTS HAVE RARELY QUESTIONED the temporal representation intrinsic to *Orientalism*, and recent work has thus tended to reproduce and even aggravate its historicity. Some medievalists have disavowed the question of medieval Orientalisms altogether by memorializing the earlier Middle Ages as pre-Orientalist, that is, a golden age, free of the representational violence inventoried by Said.¹⁵

Take, for example, recent studies lauding Petrus Alfonsi, Raymond Lull, and Gerald of Wales as border figures. Petrus Alfonsi (a Jew educated in Islamic culture who converted to Christianity in the early twelfth century), when taken as the tolerant sign of a golden age and a border figure for Islamic, Christian, and Jewish worlds, receives praise for his fabulous *Disciplina clericalis*. This book of wisdom disseminated to a Christian audience moral fables culled from Arabic and Hebrew sources. Such a celebratory reading leaves unmentioned Alfonsi's vicious but learned attack on Judaism and Islam—contained in his *Dialogi contra Judaeos*, a treatise that outcirculated his book of wisdom.¹⁶ In this treatise, Alfonsi has to eject the intimacy of difference he embodied by using “rational” science to make fun of Talmudic interpretation. Raymond Lull, glorified as a border figure between Arabic and Provençal lyrical worlds, also exhibits contradictions upon closer scrutiny. In his admired courtly satire *Blanquerna* (c. 1283–1285), he advocates peaceful conversion

historical periodization of a given society's past is being redefined the world over. Timeframes that have been frozen for many decades have been questioned in recent years and the boundaries of the ‘medieval’ have been expanded. *The Medieval History Journal* is designed as a forum for these trends and for accommodating questions, critiques and debates. It will express spatial and temporal flexibility in defining the ‘medieval’ in order to capture its expansive thematic domain.” On the World Wide Web at www.sagepub.co.uk/, under “Journals,” choose “Complete Journal Listing,” and then *The Medieval History Journal*.

¹⁴ For a fuller discussion of the links between institutional history and trauma and the need to rethink historicism, see Biddick, *Shock of Medievalism*. Geraldine Heng reminds us of the historical trauma of Orientalism in her discussion of the Crusader cannibalism of massacred Muslims at the siege of Ma'arra, December 1098: Heng, “Cannibalism, the First Crusade, and the Genesis of Medieval Romance,” *differences* 10 (Spring 1998): 98–174. Talal Asad shows the abiding trauma of Islam for Europe in his brilliant readings of the Salman Rushdie affair in *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore, Md., 1993), 239–306; and his analysis of European anxieties over Turkish application to join the European Community: “Representing Islam in Europe,” in *Cultural Encounters: Representing Otherness*, Brian V. Street and Elizabeth Hallam, eds. (New York, 2000). I am grateful to my colleague Donald Carter for sharing this last reference with me.

¹⁵ These golden age histories are a version of postcolonial Orientalism, the subject of compelling commentary in Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991), 136–89.

¹⁶ For different approaches to cross-cultural exchanges in the world of Petrus Alfonsi, compare Maria Rosa Menocal, *Shards of Love: Exile and the Origins of the Lyric* (Durham, N.C., 1994); John Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi and His Medieval Readers* (Gainesville, Fla., 1993); and Kathleen Biddick, “The ABC of Ptolemy: Mapping the World with the Alphabet,” in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles, eds. (Philadelphia, 1998), 268–94.

of Muslims. By 1292, Lull had become and would remain a major advocate and tactician for armed crusades against the Muslims. His various crusading tracts are often overlooked in the desire to praise his courtly vision of missionary activity.¹⁷ Histories of tolerance (*convivencia*) among Christians, Muslims, and Jews are thus achieved by excluding the ambivalence and hostilities inherent between and across texts and communities.¹⁸

The aggressive constructions of intra-Christian conflict are rarely viewed as problems of Orientalism, although they drew on the vocabulary fabricated for Muslims, who marked an imaginary external limit, and Jews, who marked an imaginary internal limit, to medieval Christendom. Gerald of Wales, for example, was a cleric who accompanied Henry II on his expedition to Ireland and the author of the *Topographia Hibernica* (1180s). Interpreting his writings confronts medievalists with the ambivalent politics of fabricating hierarchies of Christian identities (Welsh, English, Norman, Irish) within Christendom. Medievalists yearning to imagine the Middle Ages redemptively as a golden age of non-appropriative representation appreciate as respectful his expressions of wonder at the Irish. Other medievalists have analyzed his text as a critical ethnographic turning point in the fabrication of hierarchical differences *within* medieval Christendom.¹⁹ His hierarchies, which ranked Christian polities according to an index of clerical reform, legitimated the Anglo-Norman conquest of the Irish and their oppression as fellow Christians. The concept of wonder takes on an ambivalent and menacing tinge. These interpretative contrasts cannot be dismissed simply as a question of the glass half-empty or half-full. Rather, these intersections of wonder with the clerical work of constructing the Irish as Christian barbarians within Christendom cleave wonder with the intimate disturbance of writing colonial representation.²⁰

Medieval economic histories have also memorialized the Mediterranean trading diaspora up to the twelfth century as a pre-Orientalist golden age of tolerant exchange. These histories concentrate on “peoples of the book” (Christians, Jews, Muslims) and reduce history to their interactions. They ignore the reliance of lucrative trade on the discursive fabrication of peoples *not* of the book as pagans, and therefore a safe target for the lively medieval slave trade—which was a shared economic undertaking among peoples of the book.²¹

¹⁷ It is useful to read the representations of Lull in Menocal, *Shards of Love*, alongside Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1274–1314* (Oxford, 1991).

¹⁸ I am relying on Bhabha, *Location and Culture*, and Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago, 1992), for their thoughts about ambivalence. By ambivalence, I mean anxieties about the intimacy of difference and the porosity of the border purportedly defining “almost the same, but not quite.”

¹⁹ The following studies can be read together for ways in which the ambivalence of Gerald is either ignored or elaborated: Caroline Walker Bynum, “Wonder,” *AHR* 102 (February 1997): 1–27, 16; John Gillingham, “The Beginnings of English Imperialism,” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 5 (1992): 392–409; Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales, 1146–1223* (Oxford, 1982). The unanalyzed problems with this history of wonder appear again in amazing ways in Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York, 1998).

²⁰ It is in the space in between this escalating violence within Christendom and between Christians and Jews, Muslims, and pagans that the provocative images analyzed by Jacqueline de Weever can be even more complexly read; see *Sheba's Daughters: Whitening and Demonizing the Saracen Woman in Medieval French Epic* (New York, 1998).

²¹ For a brilliant introduction to new ways of thinking about medieval slavery, see Benjamin Braude, “The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and

A second response to *Orientalism* among medievalists concerns the modern institutionalization of Orientalism in Medieval Studies in the nineteenth-century university. Medievalists (although I have noted the virtual absence of medieval historians from these collections)²² have tended to use these studies of the “fathers of Medieval Studies” as an excuse to say, “we are not them” (our scholarship is not that of nineteenth-century imperialists). By anxiously claiming that Orientalism is, after all, a thing of the past, not of the present academy, these essay collections and conference proceedings have not fulfilled their promise of disciplinary transformation. Recent and important disciplinary syntheses such as *The Making of Europe* or *Writing East*, in fact, avoid consideration of *Orientalism* altogether.²³

The boom in Iberian medieval studies over the past two decades can be read as a third response to *Orientalism*. Based on rich archival evidence for Christian-Jewish-Muslim relations, medievalists offer detailed histories of these religious interactions as an antidote to fabricated Orientalist representations of them. Such studies are delineating the minoritarian and majoritarian questions at stake in what David Nirenberg has called “[Iberian] communities of violence.”²⁴ Their chief metahistorical claim (not always announced) relies on their devotion to local context as a way of exiting from the discursive problems of representation posed by *Orientalism*. These studies implicitly assume that the “local” is “real” and not a discursive fabrication. They mistake knowledge about the local for local knowledge. A refusal to comprehend the discursive definitions of authorized space at work in these histories entails another reduction: the collapse of the notion of agent with subject. This metahistorical frame thus produces religious identity as a historicity, that is, an atemporal surface.²⁵

The silence around Said in these Iberian medieval histories is intriguing. Take, for example, Nirenberg’s book, *Communities of Violence*, arguably the most ambitiously conceptualized of the recent Iberian studies. Nirenberg situates his work critically in terms of Jewish historiography; he wants to disrupt “a now almost orthodox view of the steady march of European intolerance across the centuries” through comparative study of religious identity in local context.²⁶ By defining what

Early Modern Periods.” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 54 (1997): 103–42; see also Kathleen Biddick, “Translating the Foreskin,” in *Queering the Middle Ages/Historicizing Post-Modernity*, Glenn Burger and Steven Kruger, eds. (Minneapolis, forthcoming).

²² For a discussion of these recent anthologies, see the introduction to Biddick, *Shock of Medievalism*; also Peter Monaghan, “Medievalists, Romantics No Longer, Take Stock of Their Changing Field,” *Chronicle of Higher Education* 45 (October 30, 1998): A15–17.

²³ Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (Princeton, N.J., 1993); Iain Macleod Higgins, *Writing East: The “Travels” of Sir John Mandeville* (Philadelphia, 1997).

²⁴ The following citations are intended only as a cursory guide to current work: Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, c. 1050–1200* (New York, 1994); Olivia Remie Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula 900–1500* (Cambridge, 1994); Mark D. Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: Between Coexistence and Crusade* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991); David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J., 1996). For a thoughtful meditation on colonial linguistic interactions, see Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937* (Stanford, Calif., 1995).

²⁵ A succinct and cogent criticism of such historical and anthropological moves can be found in the introduction of Asad’s *Genealogies of Religion*.

²⁶ Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 7.

counts as “local,” Nirenberg gains control over his historiographic object. As a counter-move to Norman Cohn, Carlo Ginzburg, and Robert Moore, Nirenberg uses the “local” as the vehicle with which to transpose the study of inter- and intra-religious violence from the irrational to the rational register. His move, however, cannot reconceptualize the problem of anti-Semitism *and* Orientalism, since their fabrications from the twelfth century have relied precisely on who got to draw and redraw the line between what counts as rational and what counts as irrational.²⁷

Nirenberg contrasts differences in local outcomes by reference to the state, that is, the kingdoms of France and the kingdom of Aragon. The space of the state is therefore allowed discursivity in order to authorize the local as the “real.” Such a static alignment of an imagined local real on an authorized space of the state leaves unaddressed the competition among medieval institutions (notably clerical institutions) over the discursive production of the local. The nomadic tactics of inquisition, crusade (ceaselessly planned for even if unrealized in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries), mission, and mendicant preaching striated the “local” and rendered it discursive.²⁸ Dynamic medieval nationalist projects also fabricated their territorial imaginary on the discursive dissolution of local “ethnic” and hereditary ties. For instance, technological practices of inscription, such as the books of genealogies tracing and certifying purity of blood in Iberian realms, helped homogenize the territorial imaginary.

Most striking, for the purposes of this analysis, are the ways in which a linear reliance on the local causes complex questions of temporality to drop out. Take, for example, Nirenberg’s treatment of Catalan Holy Week riots of 1302, which he reads atemporally as paraliturgical ritual. Such a reading suppresses consideration of how these riots border temporally on the specific historical development and dissemination of the host desecration narrative in Paris around 1290. Miri Rubin has shown how the story of host desecration plotted and chained together Jews, the Eucharist, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, persecution, and pilgrimage. The narrative, which was disseminated in textual and visual modalities (manuscript illumination, stained glass, painted panels, sculpture), is as historically specific and contextual as reported riots in Catalan towns.²⁹ The “local” is never given in advance. In other words, the local is discursive (then and now). Medieval Iberian histories seem too exclusively invested in a positivist use of the local and agency to provide a

²⁷ Nirenberg reads against Norman Cohn, *Europe’s Inner Demons* (London, 1975); Carlo Ginzburg, *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches’ Sabbath*, Raymond Rosenthal, trans. (New York, 1991); Robert I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (London, 1987). See Asad, *Genealogies of Religion*, for an important discussion, and inspired by this, Biddick, “ABC of Ptolemy.” Also Anna Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (New York, 1995); Gavin I. Langmuir, *History, Religion, and Antisemitism* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990).

²⁸ Here, it is useful to read Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari as a way of reimagining the nomadic space of crusade and inquisition: *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Brian Massumi, trans. (Minneapolis, Minn., 1987). For a discussion of graphic technologies of the Inquisition, see Kathleen Biddick, “Paper Jews: Inscription/Ethnicity/Ethnography,” *Art Bulletin* 78 (1996): 594–99.

²⁹ Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 200–30. See Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven, Conn., 1999).

theoretical alternative to the Orientalist representations.³⁰ They fail to show the gaps between their apparatus and an Orientalist apparatus of representation.

IS THERE A WAY of rethinking *Orientalism* so that medievalists stop simply reproducing its temporal problems of memorialization and periodization? The question needs to be asked not just for medievalists but also for others who take Said's arguments to heart: Why did Said foreclose critique of temporal practices in *Orientalism*? Let us return to *Orientalism* to consider these questions more closely.

There is a *covert* figure of temporality to be found in *Orientalism*. It is the exile. Said's three exemplary figures of exile—Hugh of St. Victor (d. 1140), a German cleric from Saxony who emigrated to Paris, Dante, who became a philosopher and political thinker in addition to being a writer in exile from his native city, and Erich Auerbach, a renowned German-Jewish philologist and medievalist who died in 1957—are especially salient to medievalists.³¹ Said's use of the figure of exile erases the interesting corporate history of medieval exiles.³² It is through an understanding of their memorial status in *Orientalism* (and throughout Said's works) that medievalists could unlink the "adolescence" of the Middle Ages inherent in Said's periodization of *Orientalism* from the most central and powerful metaphor of his life and oeuvre, that of *exile*.³³

From the earliest publications of Said's academic career onward, Hugh, Dante, and Auerbach occur together.³⁴ In 1969, he and his wife, Maire, translated Auerbach's essay "Philology and Weltliteratur." Auerbach closed this essay, in which he argued that his "philological home is the earth: it can no longer be the nation," with the following famous words of Hugh of St. Victor:

It is, therefore, a great source of virtue for the practiced mind to learn, bit by bit, first to change about in visible and transitory things, so that afterwards it may be able to leave them behind altogether. The man who finds his homeland sweet is still a tender beginner; he to whom every soil is as his native one is already strong; but he is perfect to whom the entire world is a foreign land (*exsilium*).³⁵

³⁰ For a different strategy of collaboration between Iberian studies and modern critical theory, see *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, Josiah Blackmore and Gregory S. Hutcheson, eds. (Durham, N.C., 1999).

³¹ Erich Auerbach, "Philology and Weltliteratur," Maire Said and Edward Said, trans., *Centennial Review* 13 (1969): 1–17. The essays in *Literary History and the Challenge of Philology: The Legacy of Erich Auerbach*, Seth Lerer, ed. (Stanford, Calif., 1996), provide an excellent starting point for the extensive bibliography on Auerbach.

³² The legal and visual history of the universitas of exiles is brought out by Randolph Starn, *Contrary Commonwealth: The Theme of Exile in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982). He reproduces a copy (fig. 7) of the death sentence issued against Dante and fourteen others on March 10, 1302. Dante was not alone, although the manuscript illustrations of the *Divine Comedy* exemplify him as the solitary exile.

³³ Sara Suleri has drawn our attention to the importance of such a connection: "[T]he connection between the idioms of exile and adolescence has long haunted the literature of empire—the classic text in this mode is *Lord Jim*—but perhaps it is time for critical discourse to examine more rigorously the idiom of exile." Suleri, *Rhetoric of English India*, 184.

³⁴ Said, *Orientalism*, 258–60.

³⁵ The epigraph comes from Hugh of St. Victor's treatise, *Didascalicon*, Book 3, chap. 19. For the translation, see Jerome Taylor, *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor* (New York, 1991), 101. Hugh composed his treatise in the late 1120s, at the abbey of St. Victor in Paris. For an important historical

A decade later in *Orientalism*, Said cites Auerbach when he attempts to distinguish the estrangement of European Orientalists during their field work from that of the humanistic estrangement of the exile, so valued by him. He argues that the former's sense of alienation came from the researcher's inherent sense of superiority, and he contrasts such haughtiness to the humanistic detachment exemplified by Auerbach. Why is Said so intent on making these distinctions? As an ardent believer in humanism, and also a critic of its Orientalist practices, Said faced the following dilemma in *Orientalism*: "yes, I know from my study of Orientalism that humanism helped to construct Orientalism, but even so humanism is innocent." Said tries to resolve such incommensurability by using exemplary exiles to *purify* humanism and to *exempt* it from a historic taint of collaboration. Said's notion of exile assures a vantage point on Orientalism outside the circuits of its responsibility.

Throughout subsequent publications, Said continues invocations of these exemplary exiles. At the close of *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), his elaboration of *Orientalism*, Said again emphasizes exile as the motivation for his work. He returns to Hugh of St. Victor and repeats his tribute to Auerbach's exile at the University of Istanbul from 1936 to 1947. Hugh's words, Said writes, are a model "for anyone—man and woman—wishing to transcend the restraints of imperial, national or provincial limits." In his recent interview with *boundary 2*, Said also invoked Hugh: "I find myself, in a funny way, sort of living the way that passage describes—you know the passage I've quoted it many times—from Hugh of Saint-Victor, where the person who is a stranger everywhere is somehow at home but not loving the world too much—you know—you're moving on."³⁶ The repetition of these citations suggests that Said strongly identifies the atemporal and purified place of exile with the medieval and with mimesis. As the last citation suggests, Said "performs" Hugh of St. Victor.

In his important "Reflections on Exile," Said yet again couples these two exemplary figures. Here, Said articulates exile as a deeply painful spatial problem: "much of the exile's life is taken up with compensating for disorienting loss by creating a new world to rule."³⁷ He strongly prefers the metaphor of exile to the concept of diaspora, which for Said includes the temporal dimension of a return,

introduction to this Christian tradition of exile, see Gerhart B. Ladner, "Homo Viator: Medieval Ideas on Alienation and Order," *Speculum* 42 (1967): 233–59; for the links with Hugh's scholarly interests in cosmology as representation and his moral views on attachments to the world, see Richard Bultot, "Cosmologie et 'contemptus mundi,'" in *Sapientiae Doctrina: Mélanges de théologie et de littérature médiévales; Offerts à Dom Hildebrand Bascour* (Leuven, 1980), 1–23.

³⁶ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, 1993), 335; interview, *boundary 2* (Summer 1998): 23.

³⁷ Said's most sustained commentary on exile can be found in "Reflections on Exile," *Granta* 13 (1984): 159–72, quotation at 167. He links diaspora to the idea of a redemptive homeland in "On Palestinian Identity: A Conversation with Salman Rushdie," rpt. in Edward W. Said, *Politics of Dispossession: The Struggle for Palestinian Self-Determination, 1969–1993* (New York, 1994), 114. For an important discussion of temporality and diaspora and an emergent critique of exile, see James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 244–78; for a recent critical survey of the postcolonial use of diaspora, see Jacqueline Nassy Brown, "Black Liverpool, Black America, and the Gendering of Diasporic Space," *Cultural Anthropology* 13 (1998): 291–325 (I am grateful to my colleague Lisa Rofel for this reference); Daniel and Jonathan Boyarin offer important insights into the problems of temporality within diaspora and exile in "Diaspora: Generation and the Grounds of Jewish Identity," *Critical Inquiry* 19 (1993): 693–725.

and he associates that with a history of both British Protestant Zionism and Jewish Zionism. To cut exile off from temporality, however, comes at a price. It freezes the past as lost (and therefore melancholically timeless) and denies the possibilities of the making of the past now, in the present. Exile forecloses those complex acts of mourning that move back to the future, out of *Orientalism*, beyond the Occidentalism of the European Middle Ages.

MEDIEVALISTS CANNOT AFFORD TO “throw out” *Orientalism*, since, as I have shown, its temporal problems are deeply entwined with medievalisms of exile. Instead, medievalists urgently need to relink the chain of exile (Hugh, Dante, Auerbach, Said) in order to undo the Orientalism of Said’s *Orientalism*. Such relinking has already begun at Said’s memorial site of Istanbul. It is to Istanbul that European medievalists now need to turn, not to sack it, as in 1204, but rather to consider translingual practices “that do not take metropolitan European tongues as a point of departure.”³⁸

A novel by Orhan Pamuk, *The New Life*, not only returns to the Istanbul of the 1930s encountered by Auerbach, who fled from the Nazi-controlled University of Marburg, where he as a Jew could no longer teach, it also rereads Dante, on whom Auerbach showered his critical attention. This crisscrossing of Auerbach’s and Pamuk’s Dante in Istanbul (then and now) sets in motion Said’s atemporal notion of exile and in so doing also renders intimately contiguous “Islam-within-Europe and Europe-within-Islam,” bridged by this city that straddles two continents.³⁹ At such a crossroads, the medievalist can learn to translate Dante outside of the memorializing Orientalist canon.

When Auerbach arrived in Istanbul in 1936, the modernization instigated by Kemal Atatürk, who proclaimed the beginning of the secular Turkish republic in 1923, was in full swing. (October 29, 1998, marked the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Republic of Turkey.)⁴⁰ Indeed, Auerbach’s invitation to teach at the University of Istanbul is of a piece with this program. Auerbach lamented such modernization, which he viewed as destructive of traditional “Arabic” culture and as undertaken only to “beat an admired and hated Europe with its own weapons.” In this crossfire of German fascism and Turkish modernization, between 1942 and 1945, Auerbach wrote his renowned book *Mimesis*. Auerbach’s hero is Dante, whose artistry he regarded as “a well-nigh incomprehensible miracle.”⁴¹

³⁸ Liu, *Translingual Practice*, 27.

³⁹ For an important discussion of how the Turkish bid to enter the European Community has resulted in anxious reassertions of “Europeanness,” see Talal Asad, “Representing Islam in Europe,” in Street and Hallam, *Cultural Encounters*.

⁴⁰ See Stephen Kinzer, “Safranbolu Journal,” *New York Times* (October 29, 1998): A4. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938) became the first president of the Turkish Republic in 1923.

⁴¹ Erich Auerbach to Walter Benjamin, December 12, 1936, Karlheinz Barck, ed., “Neue Materialien,” *Zeitschrift für Germanistik* 6 (1988): 692. In the same letter to Benjamin, Auerbach also noted the “disturbing” intimacies of Istanbul: he describes the Pera, a new suburb, as “a caricature, a mimicry of a European settlement of the nineteenth century, now in decay. There are the ghastly remains of luxury stores, Jews, Greeks, Armenians, all tongues, a grotesque society.” Said’s views on modernization in Cairo are interesting to compare with Auerbach. See Edward W. Said, “Cairo Recalled: Growing Up in the Cultural Crosscurrents of 1940s Egypt,” *House and Garden* 159 (1987): 20–32. In describing the Cairo of his adolescence, Said reports he only had a rare chance to have “contact with

Pamuk's novel *The New Life*, with its meditation on Dante's *Vita Nuova* (1292–1294), forms a double lens that renders visible the Orientalisms of technology, temporality, and exile, which go unacknowledged in the medievalisms of *Orientalism*.⁴² Pamuk takes up the legacy of Turkish modernization commented on by Auerbach by tracing the afterlife of a mysterious book written by the protagonist's uncle Rifki. The latter was a railroad engineer of the cohort growing up under Atatürk's rule, a generation that now faces old age and death.⁴³ The policy to "modernize" literature haunts the library collection on which Rifki drew to write his book: "translated works of Dante, Ib'n Arabi, and Rilke from the world classic series published by the Turkish Ministry of Education and sometimes distributed free of charge to directorates, and ministries."⁴⁴

Pamuk frames the exile of the "new life" as a technological catastrophe. Rifki's mysterious book transforms its readers; they leave their families, old friends, and familiar neighborhoods and go into exile. His characters have "slipped off the tracks" upon reading the book. For several months, the protagonist, Osman, with his sometime girlfriend Janan, pass the time on interminable bus trips by watching the films played on the video monitors. Lest the reader miss the point about the importance of these technologies, Osman kills Janan's old boyfriend in a movie theater, and he himself dies in a final bus accident that ends the novel.⁴⁵

The modern mechanical and visual technologies foregrounded by Pamuk have unsettling temporal anxieties. Pamuk uses the conceit of the "still," the image frozen and photographed off moving-picture film, to map the problems of Orientalist temporality. He unfolds this temporal critique in a story of Osman's efforts to track down the source of the image of an angel printed on the wrapper of New Life Caramels. These candies, a favorite sweet of his childhood, evoke memories of his Uncle Rifki. When he finally locates their octogenarian confec-

the Cairo that was neither pharaonic, nor European." When he was able to make such contact, it was like "contact with nature." Said believes that such contact with the "latent promiscuity of this underground Cairo" is being lost by "Nasser's Arabization, Sadat's Americanization, and Mubarek's reluctant Islamization" (32). Such sentiments are close to those of the belated travelers to Egypt described by Ali Behdad, *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in an Age of Colonial Dissolution* (Durham, N.C., 1994). Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis* (Bern, 1946), 175; Eng. trans., *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, Willard R. Trask, trans. (New York, 1953), 159.

⁴² Orhan Pamuk, *The New Life* [Yeni Hayat], Güneli Gün, trans. (New York, 1998); Ronald Wright, review, *Times Literary Supplement* (October 10, 1997): 23.

⁴³ Pamuk's own grandfather was a wealthy engineer who ran a factory and made a fortune on building the railway; see an interview with Pamuk in *Publishers' Weekly* 252 (December 19, 1994): 36–37.

⁴⁴ Pamuk, *New Life*, 256. Please note that the English translation renders Ibn'Arabi as Ib'n Arabi. Auerbach's pedagogical manual, *Introduction aux études de philologie romane*, written in 1943 in Istanbul and published in French (1949), serves as a partial guide to this translation project mapped out by Uncle Rifki's library. Auerbach published his famous essay on "Figura" in Istanbul in 1944 in the *Neue Dantestudien*: 11–71; trans. by Ralph Manheim and published in Erich Auerbach, *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1984), 11–78.

⁴⁵ Pamuk, *New Life*, 285. After shooting his friend and rival Mehmet, Osman asks himself: "why, in our language the same French loanword, *makînist*, designates both the person who runs films and the person who runs railway engines." Pamuk, *New Life*, 230. Gilles Deleuze shows the importance of the hybrid linking of these two modern technologies and the problem of the closeup and faciality in cinema in *Cinema*, Vol. 1: *The Movement-Image* (London, 1986), 101. The intersection of Pamuk and Dante helps us to problematize the historical question of appropriation of "living images" (icons) from Byzantine ateliers by Tuscan artists and the facialization of the body in thirteenth-century Tuscany; see also Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus*, 167–91.

tioner, he learns that a special face, that of Marlene Dietrich, fondly remembered from the film *The Blue Angel*, inspired the candy manufacturer to print a blue angel on the wrapper. *The Blue Angel*, produced in both English and German versions by the Jewish-German émigré Josef von Sternberg, premiered in 1930. Auerbach might have seen the film in Germany; the fictional caramel maker saw the film in Turkey and translated the face of Dietrich into the angel adorning the wrapper. This paper angel thus becomes a kind of still of the film, a “second encounter” between modern European film technologies and modernizing under Atatürk.⁴⁶

The “still” of the blue angel returns us to the compelling problems of Orientalist temporality at stake in this essay. The still throws off the material constraints of filmic time (that is, the constraint that reels cannot go faster or slower than the motor of the projecting mechanism without losing perceptibility). It materializes a different temporal order: “the still by instituting a reading that is at once instantaneous and vertical, scorns logical time (which is only an operational time); it teaches us how to disassociate the technical constraint from what is the specific filmic and which is the ‘indescribable’ meaning.”⁴⁷ With the blue angel, Pamuk conjures a brilliant map for rereading Dante’s *Vita Nuova* as a technological and temporal study of exile.⁴⁸ He insists that we read Dante at the crossroads of Atatürk’s Istanbul. He asks what Teodolinda Barolini asks: “How we can read Dante without undergoing conversion, becoming his disciples, his narrative believers, and his companions in exile?”⁴⁹

PAMUK’S NOVEL WRITES THE STAKES of the medievalisms of *Orientalism*. His *New Life* opposes itself to the Orientalisms of Dante and Said. Pamuk insists on the analysis of technology, temporality, and representation. Medievalists can join in bringing the European Middle Ages out of exile, out of its *Orientalism*, with such a rereading of the destructive aspects of technologies of exile. Exile, as a guiding concept for Said, and for Dante, becomes a way of ensuring the original and of eschewing ineradicable, ambiguous contact of original with copy. Pamuk reminds us that, in its memorializing purity, exile can run the risk of becoming a dangerous way of keeping out of touch, out of time, out of history. Time, then, to turn to Dante and his technologies of exile.

Dante, who wrote his *Vita Nuova* between the ages of twenty-seven and thirty

⁴⁶ I am using “second encounter” following Michael T. Taussig, who emphasizes the technologized colonial chain of mimesis and its crucialness to material construction of the shifting borders between “original” and “copy”: *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York, 1993), 246.

⁴⁷ Roland Barthes, “The Third Meaning,” in *Image, Music, Text*, Stephen Heath, trans. (New York, 1977), 68. I am grateful to my colleague Alexander Nemerov for remarking on the relevance of another essay by Barthes, “The Face of Garbo,” in *Mythologies* (New York, 1972). Barthes makes interesting links between her face, exile, and temporality: “the Essence [of her face] became gradually obscured, progressively veiled with dark glasses, broad hats and exiles: but it never deteriorated” (p. 57).

⁴⁸ Dante Alighieri, *Vita Nuova*, Dino S. Cervigni and Edward Vasta, eds. (Notre Dame, Ind., 1995); see also Robert Pogue Harrison, *The Body of Beatrice* (Baltimore, Md., 1988). Pamuk’s reading accords with the following critical sentiments among medievalists: “medievalists need to develop a stance that will allow us to attend to Dante’s narrative strategies as well as to ponder the repercussions of our blinkered praise.” Sylvia Tomasch, “Judecca, Dante’s Satan, and the Dis-placed Jew,” in Tomasch and Gilles, *Text and Territory*, 264.

⁴⁹ Teodolinda Barolini, *The Undivine Comedy: Detheologizing Dante* (Princeton, N.J., 1992), 16.

(1292–1295), lived in a visual world, in which the media of the cultic was undergoing radical transformation.⁵⁰ A palpable and corporeally referential world of relics (bone, tooth, hair) and their complementary reliquaries, richly fabricated into shapes mimicking the body part, was transformed into the painted surface of devotional panels. Such panels had become increasingly popular in Tuscany since the Crusader sack of Constantinople in 1204, which disseminated Byzantine icons and Greek artists more widely in Italy.

The impact of this deterritorialization of the cultic body to the iconic painted surface can be gauged in the new Franciscan cult of St. Francis of Assisi, which developed rapidly after his canonization in 1228. The cult did not rely on relics poached from his corpse but rather on the fabrication of official icons that represented both this sainthood and its material proof in the paint itself, representing the blood of the stigmata.

From around the mid-thirteenth century, Tuscan confraternities vied with each other to commission ever-larger icon panels for their religious festivals. Before Dante sat down to write his *Vita Nuova*, he would have seen Duccio di Buoninsegna's *Madonna Rucellai* (1285), commissioned by the *Laudesi*, a confraternity located in Santa Maria Novella. This panel (450 by 290 centimeters—larger than any young Beatrice) depicts the Madonna and Child flanked by six angels. They are garbed in richly textured fabrics floating against the fabric fields of curtains and gold leaf. Such luminous representations, based on deterritorializing the corporeal palpability of bodily relics to a painted surface, acquired the tactile powers once possessed by relics.⁵¹

I have taken the space to outline the translation of the cultic body part onto painted surfaces in order to propose that, when Dante beheld Beatrice (whom he always describes as both a face and fabric in the *Vita Nuova*), he perceived a “still” of the icons that increasingly surrounded him as authoritative images in his visual world. He tells the reader that when he was nine years old (1274), he witnessed an apparition. Beatrice appeared “humbly and properly dressed in a most noble color, crimson, girded and adorned in the manner that befitted her so youthful age.”⁵² This vision initiates Dante into obeying the rubric “The new life begins” (*incipit vita nuova*) of his imagined book of memory.

His famous vision in the opening pages of the *Vita Nuova* marks the violence of the translation at stake in these new representational technologies. Love (*Amor*), who appears to Dante holding in his arms a naked Beatrice loosely wrapped in red cloth, takes Dante's glowing heart and feeds it to Beatrice. At this moment of cannibalism, Beatrice performs the deterritorialization of corporeality (Dante's heart in this example). At this juncture, Dante produces for the reader his first lyric of the *Vita Nuova*. Dante thus writes the lyric just as a body part is in the process

⁵⁰ My summary is based on the work of Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, Edmund Jephcott, trans. (Chicago, 1994), esp. chaps. 17–18; also Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (New York, 1996).

⁵¹ For instance, the images of the Virgin painted on the walls of the civic loggia of Or San Michele, in Florence, became famous in 1292 for healing the sick.

⁵² Dante, *Vita Nuova*, 2.3, 46–47.

of becoming a representational surface.⁵³ Technology and exile come together at the close of the *Vita Nuova*. There he invokes the Veronica Veil, or Holy Face. This is the veil on which Christ wiped his bloody visage, only to leave a perfect impression of his face. This image is the original of the original—not made by human hands: “that blessed image that Jesus Christ left to us as an exemplum of his most beautiful countenance.”⁵⁴ Dante identifies with this image, and uses it, in an important moment in the *Vita Nuova*, to mark *exile*, a “peregrini” in the broadest sense, that is, as “anyone outside one’s country.”⁵⁵ And so Dante fashions exile, *before* his political banishment from Florence became a reality. In this complex moment of the *Vita Nuova*, Dante chains to his vernacular lyric the notion of pilgrimage, understood as a form of exile, along with the concept of the “original,” the Veronica Veil, the authorizing image for new painted surfaces, translations of corporeality into paint.

The surface of the new visual technologies of thirteenth-century Tuscany thus gives birth to the artist in exile, Dante, in whose miraculous birth Western criticism has believed so long and fervently. Dante is always already in exile in the *Vita Nuova*. He uses exile to suspend his “contract with the future.” (Consider Dante’s obsessions with time, in this text in which there is no future.)⁵⁶ Just as the painted panels of the icon reterritorialized the relic onto the painted surface, Dante used exile to reterritorialize the lyric of the *Vita Nuova* into the epic enterprise of empire and the demise of memory in the *Divine Comedy*.

A suspicion of murder haunts Dante’s fashioning of exile in the *Vita Nuova*. Critics have wondered what becomes of Guido Cavalcanti, Dante’s best friend and fellow poet from Chapter 30 (just after Beatrice’s death) onward.⁵⁷ Guido, whom Dante as a member of the City Council of Florence and signer of the proclamation of his banishment sent into exile in 1302, is thus textually disappeared by Dante well before 1300. Why must Dante drop Guido from the *Vita Nuova*? The question is not irrelevant to our concerns about Orientalist temporality.

Pamuk provides a compelling clue for medievalists in his *New Life*. Just before Osman is about to kill his rival Mehmet in the movie theater, he hesitates. He remembers that in the adventure comics he loved in his youth (and drawn by his many-talented Uncle Rifki), the protagonists, Pertev and Peter, after going through many battles, realize they have fallen in love with the same girl, yet they do not

⁵³ Dante, *Vita Nuova*, 3.5–3.7, 50–51. Just as relics are translated onto painted panels, Dante “translates” his relics into prose in the *Vita Nuova*. As Barolini remarks, “the lyrics thus chosen undergo not only a passive revision in the process of being selected for inclusion, but also an active revision at the hands of the prose narrative, which bends them into a new significance consonant with the poet’s ‘new life’ . . . The prose is the chief witness to the author’s revised intentions, since through its agency poems composed as isolated love lyrics are forced into temporal sequence that places them in a predetermined and significant relation to each other.” Teodolinda Barolini, *Dante’s Poets: Textuality and Truth in the Comedy* (Princeton, N.J., 1984), 15.

⁵⁴ Dante, *Vita Nuova*, 40.1, 138–39. For the Holy Face and the Veronica Veil, see Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 208–25; and Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago, 1993), 80–126.

⁵⁵ Dante, *Vita Nuova*, 40.6, 140–41.

⁵⁶ The topical index of the Cervigni and Vasta edition of the *Vita Nuova* conveniently indexes Dante’s references to temporality under the entry “time.” The image of Dante’s suspension of his contract with the future comes from Harrison, *Body of Beatrice*, 166.

⁵⁷ The brilliant essay on the ghost of Guido Cavalcanti in Harrison, *Body of Beatrice*, has guided my thoughts about these intersections between *Vita Nuova* and *New Life*.

harm each other: “they sit down and solve the problem amicably.” As Osman fondly recalls these negotiated endings, he wonders why he needs to kill Mehmet. For one moment of intense identification, he actually imagines Mehmet as Perteve: “Perteve had them weigh for me a kilo of the famous large white grapes grown in Viran Bag.” But pace Uncle Rifki’s comics, that moment of identification cannot be sustained “amicably,” and Osman shoots Mehmet.⁵⁸ Likewise, Dante cannot sustain his “amicable” relation with Guido. Their linked versions of the same lyric voice (Dante and Guido), just like Perteve and Peter’s linked versions of adventure, retain an ineradicable ambiguity, an intimacy, that has to die. Better exile and elision than ambivalent intimacies!

An exile that shoots Mehmet in a cinema, an exile that disappears Guido in a new world of iconic representation—Osman and Dante remind us that Orientalist temporalities have to do with representational technologies whose mechanical regularities result in the “swallowing-up of contact . . . by the copy,” which is “what ensures the animation of the latter, its power to straddle us.”⁵⁹

FOURTEEN YEARS after the publication of *Orientalism*, Edward Said chose to come out of exile. Faced with a possibly terminal medical diagnosis, Said decided in 1992 to return to the city that he remembered fleeing as a young boy.⁶⁰ Much of his visit to Jerusalem reminded him of the “eerie finality of history.” As his memoir of the visit begins, it offers little evidence of a sense of other histories open to the future. His apocalyptic tone changes, however, when he enthusiastically relates his last anecdote, a story about an invited lecture given at the Palestinian University of Bir Zeit on the West Bank. For the first time, Said accomplishes what he tells his reader he has imagined for years: “translating my type of cultural criticism into the language and concerns of Palestinian students. And that, more even than the fact of residence, could become my contribution to a Palestine that would be neither insular nor ruled by orthodoxy.” After his talk, two campus Islamic leaders asked to speak to Said. Said agreed, “expecting the worst.” He was “thunderstruck” when the leaders acknowledged their differences, thanked him, and invited him back to campus.⁶¹ It is at this moment that the possibility for a second encounter for *Orientalism* takes place, one that disrupts Said’s own melancholic identifications with Hugh of St. Victor, Dante, and Auerbach. Not only has he come out of exile in this encounter with Palestinian students, he has agreed to speak to Islamic “fundamentalists” for whom he, as a “secular critic,” has borne militant scorn.⁶² Said’s coming out of exile in this encounter with so-called Islamic fundamentalists creates other temporal potentials and new complex spaces that belie Orientalist binaries of East/West and temporal supersession. Said’s own complicated and changing relations to Orientalist critique and exile, which I have attempted to delineate in this essay, offer an invitation to medievalists to bring the European

⁵⁸ Pamuk, *New Life*, 229.

⁵⁹ Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity*, 22.

⁶⁰ Edward W. Said, “Palestine, Then and Now,” *Harper’s Magazine* 285 (December 1992): 47–55.

⁶¹ Said, “Palestine, Then and Now,” 50, 55.

⁶² Asad, *Genealogies of Religion*, 239–306.

Middle Ages out of disciplinary exile and to engage complex temporalities of postcolonial histories.

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Review Essay

Active/Passive, Acts/Passions: Greek and Roman Sexualities

RUTH MAZO KARRAS

GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITY once impinged on the consciousness of modern historians for the models they provided of democracy and empire, political theory and military strategy. Today, if modern historians think about ancient Greece and Rome, they are quite likely to do so in the context of the history of sexuality. One reason for the relatively high visibility of the ancient world in this subdiscipline is the apparent Greek acceptance of (some) male same-sex relations, which makes such an apparent contrast with the contemporary situation. Since 1978, when Kenneth Dover broke the taboo on discussion of ancient same-sex relations in polite scholarly circles with *Greek Homosexuality*, scholarly works have followed one another fast and furiously.¹ The level of discourse in this discussion has been both extremely scholarly—whole theories often turning on the interpretation of certain words or individual passages in fairly arcane documents—and extremely vehement, revealing that these are issues about which scholars care even more than most historians usually care about their subjects.² The reasons are not far to seek: scholars' approaches to issues of gender and sexuality often have real-world political antecedents or ramifications, which they see no reason to hide.

Recent scholarship on ancient sexualities (or the lack of ancient sexualities, since some scholars deny the applicability of "sexuality" to the period) has reached consensus, if not complete agreement, on two main points: the social construction of sexuality (that "sexuality" is not a *thing* that can be found in all cultures but is created by the various discourses of particular societies), and the active/passive dichotomy (that the ancient world, both Greek and Roman, categorized sexual behaviors or identities not by the gender of the participants but by the sexual role each played). These ideas are still relatively novel, especially to nonspecialists, and

I wish to thank Christie Balka, Martha Davis, Ralph Hexter, Chris Karras, Janice Siegel, and Dan Tompkins, as well as three anonymous readers for the *AHR*, for their thoughtful readings of earlier versions of this article. All opinions, of course, are my own.

¹ Kenneth J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, 1978).

² As an example of the latter, see David Halperin's attack on Amy Richlin in "Forgetting Foucault: Acts, Identities, and the History of Sexuality," *Representations* 63 (1998): 91–120, esp. 104–05. Slightly less vitriolic but similarly reflecting a heavy personal involvement in the argument is Richlin's "Zeus and Metis: Foucault, Feminism, Classics," *Helios* 18 (1991): 160–80. Marilyn B. Skinner, "Zeus and Leda: The Sexuality Wars in Contemporary Classical Scholarship," *Thamyris* 3, no. 1 (1996): 103–23, also available on the World Wide Web at <http://www.uky.edu/ArtsSciences/Classics/skinzeus.html>, provides an overview of the controversy.

some of the works discussed here are concerned with establishing them; other works, however, take these two points as the new orthodoxy to be demolished.

The concept “the ancient world” is problematic in itself, implying as it does that cultures from archaic Greece to imperial Rome may be lumped together. These cultures do seem to share some fundamental features with regard to sexuality, notably a focus on activity versus passivity. These features, however, characterize many other pre-modern and modern Mediterranean (and other) cultures as well. Other differences—a greater acceptance of pederasty by Athenians, a lower valuation of moderation among Romans—depend a great deal on what sort of texts one reads. The books under review all speak to particular historical moments and groups of texts, and most do not make claims about ancient culture generally. Because my purpose is largely to identify trends in classical scholarship that may interest historians of other periods, I have not attempted to build on these individual studies a broad, comparative overview of Greek and Roman sexualities. After discussing some of the theoretical issues that currently exercise the field, I will move roughly chronologically, dealing first with two books on Greece, then two on the Hellenistic/Roman world.

ALTHOUGH THE THEORETICAL POSITION that sexuality is socially constructed has become dogma in the field, much scholarly writing still presents it as a new and radical idea. This is in part because it is counterintuitive and has had little effect on attitudes outside the academy. Fundamentally, social constructionism argues that the categories in which we think about sexuality—like homosexuality and heterosexuality—are not universal but are a creation of our culture.³ Its opposite, called by social constructionists “essentialism,” argues that there are fundamentally different kinds of people, that in every culture there are those with homosexual, heterosexual, and various other orientations—although of course different societies may think about them and treat them quite differently. The popular lists of “famous gays in history” are essentialist in conception. Although humanities scholarship in the 1990s has almost universally rejected this view,⁴ such essentialism is implicit in the contemporary search for genetic markers or biological corollaries of a predisposition to homosexuality. It is also congenial to many gay activists who believe that society will be more tolerant if it understands homosexuality as something inborn, not chosen. Social construction does not imply that individuals choose their own identities—it is the discourses of the broader culture, for example medical, legal, or religious systems, that construct systems of sexual identities—but

³ Edward Stein, ed., *Forms of Desire: Sexual Orientation and the Social Constructionist Controversy* (New York, 1990), unites some of the early texts in this discussion.

⁴ Practically no one claims to be an essentialist. Eva Cantarella, *Bisexuality in the Ancient World*, Cormac Ó Cuilleain, trans. (New Haven, Conn., 1992), by its title and continuing use of the terms “homosexuality,” “heterosexuality,” and “bisexuality,” would seem to fall into the essentialist camp, but Cantarella seems to be using “homosexuality” as synonymous with “homosexual behavior” and rarely writes of people as being “homosexuals” or “bisexuals.” When she does do so, in the case of “passive homosexuals” (p. 113), the context indicates that she means those engaged in homosexual practices, rather than orientation: she is discussing a law that punished people for their actions.

nevertheless it is often misunderstood as implying that these identities are not “real.”

It is helpful to distinguish two versions of the social constructionist argument.⁵ The more moderate of the two states that the meanings that people put on sex acts or desires are different in different cultures, that we cannot assume that the categories in other times and cultures are the same as ours (that a man who has sex with both men and women is “bisexual,” for example), and that as historians we must examine the attitudes and mentalities of any given society to see how that particular society constructed sexual identities. It may be the case that we find roles (active or passive) more important than object choices, but the opposite may also be true. It may be the case that we find no deeply felt personal identity based on sexual preference, but the opposite may also be true. While we cannot assume congruence with modern categories, neither can we assume dissonance with them.

The stronger version of social constructionism, relying on the insights of Michel Foucault, states that not only the particular categories familiar to us but also the very notion of a sexual orientation are creations of bourgeois capitalism.⁶ Only in nineteenth-century Europe and North America did people come to view their sexual preferences as part of what constituted them as individuals. People in other societies may have had preferences for a particular type of partner, role, or act, but these preferences did not define them as a type of person. An “identity” based on sexuality was a categorization of convenience in earlier eras but was not psychically deep. The founding exponents of this school of thought include Jeffrey Weeks for the nineteenth century and David Halperin for ancient Greece.

It may be impossible to delve far enough into the psyches of ancient people to understand what sexual subjectivities they may or may not have had. This is true for many other aspects of their lives and mentalities besides the sexual. When Halperin argues that the very concept of “a sexuality” was unknown to ancient Greeks, he understands “sexuality” as a system of discourse. If we define “sexuality” as a creation of nineteenth-century medical discourse, we can all agree that the Greeks did not have such a concept, but it is an open question whether they may not have had something else that could also be called “sexuality” by someone using a less restricted definition. Halperin is careful in his recent work to note that he is not denying the existence of sexual identities before the modern period but of sexual orientations, which are quite different.⁷ Other scholars, however, have used

⁵ John Thorp, “The Social Construction of Homosexuality,” *Phoenix* 46 (1992): 54–61, calls these the “weak” and “strong” forms of social constructionism.

⁶ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1: *An Introduction*, Robert Hurley, trans. (New York, 1990).

⁷ See, for example, Jeffrey Weeks, *Against Nature: Essays in History, Sexuality, and Identity* (London, 1991), 92: “these social identities and intimacies based on sex are relatively new. They have not, could not have existed throughout the mists of time, because the conditions that gave rise to them just did not exist”; and David Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (New York, 1990), 27: “Before the scientific construction of ‘sexuality’ as a supposedly positive, distinct, and constitutive feature of individual human beings—an autonomous system within the physiological and psychological economy of the human organism—certain kinds of sexual *acts* could be individually evaluated and categorized, and so could certain tastes or inclinations, but there was no conceptual apparatus available for identifying a person’s fixed and determinate sexual *orientation*, much less for assessing and classifying it.” Besides Foucault, Mary McIntosh’s article originally published in 1968 was also influential on Weeks: McIntosh, “The Homosexual Role,” in *The Making of the Modern Homosexual*, Kenneth

Foucault's ideas without the careful reading that characterizes Halperin's work, and have used it simply to say that sexuality is not worth studying before the modern era.

Most modern scholars who draw on Foucault rely mainly on the first, introductory volume in his *History of Sexuality*. He further discussed the ancient world in the second and third volumes, *The Uses of Pleasure* and *The Care of the Self*, dealing with fifth-century Athenian culture and Hellenistic culture respectively.⁸ In these latter volumes, he attempted to apply the analytical program he had laid out in the first, using what amounts to a quite traditional historical method. He cited selected, mainly canonical texts, in support of the argument that, in classical Greece, the regulation of the *aphrodisia* (a term that, he notes, means something like "sensual pleasures," but cannot be translated precisely)⁹ was a matter of the health of the body and mind rather than a matter of morality. In the Roman world, the link between power over the self and power over others became attenuated, and a sense of danger and imperfection came to characterize the ethics of sexual activity.

The volumes of *The History of Sexuality* focusing specifically on the ancient world met with mixed reviews. Many historians and other classical scholars have long been critical of Foucault on specifics, arguing that he was no historian. Others have responded that the power of the ideas is such that they are far more important than the details.¹⁰ It is of course true that one can be wrong about the sources and still present ideas of such force that they are very fruitful in the hands of those more prepared to deal accurately with the sources. But classicists have other grounds, too, to criticize Foucault.¹¹

In *Rethinking Sexuality: Foucault and Classical Antiquity*, edited by David H. J. Larmour, Paul Allen Miller, and Charles Platter (1998), a group of classicists, theoreticians, and philosophers discuss Foucault's views on classical antiquity. Several of these articles are primarily concerned with the place of *The History of Sexuality* in, and its contribution to the understanding of, Foucault's oeuvre. Others, however, comment more directly on Foucault's contribution to the study of classical antiquity.

The most sustained critique of Foucault has come from feminist scholars, but they have not all critiqued him in the same way. Three feminist essays in this book, by Page duBois, Amy Richlin, and Lin Foxhall, illustrate the range of views. DuBois points out that, by beginning a history of sexuality with the Greeks, Foucault assumed "the inevitable primacy of masculine subject-formation, of women's subjection and submission."¹² He accepted the interpretation of Greek culture that made the history of the self the history of the male self, with women always

Plummer, ed. (Totowa, N.J., 1980). Halperin's more recent formulation is in "Forgetting Foucault," 101–04, 108–10.

⁸ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 2: *The Uses of Pleasure*, Vol. 3: *The Care of the Self*, Robert Hurley, trans. (New York, 1985–86).

⁹ Foucault, *Uses of Pleasure*, 35.

¹⁰ David Halperin, *Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography* (New York, 1995), 5–6. On 189–90 n. 9, Halperin lists some of the scholars he thinks have been inappropriately hostile to Foucault.

¹¹ See especially Richlin, "Zeus and Metis," for a feminist critique of Foucault.

¹² Page duBois, "The Subject in Antiquity after Foucault," in *Rethinking Sexuality: Foucault and Classical Antiquity*, David H. J. Larmour, Paul Allen Miller, and Charles Platter, eds. (Princeton, N.J., 1998), 85–103, quotation at 86.

subordinated. By focusing only on classical Athenian culture, rather than the lyric culture of Sappho, he wrote women out of the history of sexuality. And yet duBois' essay is far from an attack on Foucault. She draws from his work the revelation of the defamiliarization of the past, the notion that the ancient world was radically different, which allows a fresh view of Sappho, among other figures. The discipline of classics, she claims, is fundamentally ahistorical, because "one employs the philological method not to uncover the strangeness of antiquity but rather to dwell in a culture assimilated to our own."¹³ Foucault gives it back that strangeness.

An emphasis on the strangeness and otherness of the past is important to a historian, who should not assume that people have always thought the same way as she does. But she should not assume, either, that they thought differently. DuBois critiques the position that would say of the ancient Greeks, "If, for example, we are homophobic, so must they have been."¹⁴ But it would be equally wrong to say, "We are different from them, so if, for example, we are homophobic, they must not have been." A healthy respect for the alterity of the past need not make us deny all similarity or continuity.¹⁵ Yes, the context in which women existed in antiquity was quite different from that in late capitalist postmodernism, but this does not mean that we must deny continuity when the evidence points to it and we have carefully queried whether our own preconceptions cause us to interpret it that way.

Amy Richlin treats Foucault as a historian much more directly than duBois does. For duBois, it is the theoretical force of his historicist stance that is important, not his particular interpretations of the ancient world. For Richlin, it is what he has to say about that world: not the details of particular texts but his historical method. She notes that Foucault's antiquity lacks not only women but also Jews, Africans, Egyptians, Semites, Northern Europeans, children, babies, poor people, and slaves. The absence of women is dictated by his choice of genres and authors, "so that the text replicates the omissions of the history it documents."¹⁶ Richlin makes a great deal of the use of "the Greeks" to mean specifically male (and elite) Greeks. DuBois comments on this, too: both note that the "experience" discussed in Foucault's "four great axes of experience" of the "person" include "the relation to one's wife," although not all persons may have wives.¹⁷ But for duBois, this does not invalidate Foucault's important insights; for Richlin, it does. Foucault is dangerous because he is such an icon and perpetuates such a traditional misogyny. This may seem to be throwing out the baby with the bathwater. Certainly, feminist historians have used the tactic, "I am only discussing here the experience of white middle-class women, because that is the only group for which there is evidence." Why should Foucault not do the same, as long as he notes that he is focusing on the experience of men? Richlin points out that he often fails to note it; his disclaimers are not sufficient to balance out the naturalization of the upper-class masculine. Discussing

¹³ DuBois, "Subject in Antiquity after Foucault," 93.

¹⁴ DuBois, "Subject in Antiquity after Foucault," 94.

¹⁵ Thus, when duBois criticizes Amy Richlin for seeing a continuity of misogyny, calling this ahistorical and an erasure of historical difference due to a failure to question the category "women" (89), she is tilting the balance too far in the direction of alterity.

¹⁶ Amy Richlin, "Foucault's *History of Sexuality*: A Useful Theory for Women?" in Larmour, Miller, and Platter, *Rethinking Sexuality*, 138–70, quotation at 139.

¹⁷ Richlin, "Foucault's *History of Sexuality*," 143; duBois, "Subject in Antiquity after Foucault," 187.

women only as wives, discussing only male-male love under the rubric of “Erotics,” and then packaging the whole as authoritative replicates a historical imbalance.

Richlin presents a number of useful directions for a history of ancient sexuality that includes women. Lin Foxhall takes up a part of this agenda. She stresses the different way in which women and men in ancient Greece experienced time and the fact that women controlled men’s access to “the three-generation time scale which framed most of everyday life.”¹⁸ She also discusses the importance to social reproduction of women’s ritual activity in which they displayed their sexuality to each other in the absence of men. By dominating the *oikos* (household), men attempted to monopolize civic life, but women controlled not just physical but also social reproduction into the next generation. Further, she argues, women were not just seen as passive sexually; although *moikheia* (adultery) was an offense against the man who controlled the woman involved, the implication is that the woman had taken control of her own sexuality, subverting her husband’s control. By ignoring the household context of feminine sexuality, Foxhall shows, Foucault has ignored a big part of the picture. A number of the articles in *Roman Sexualities*, discussed below, also work to place women at the center of a history of ancient sexuality.

Scholars of Greece, in particular, have tended to accept Foucault’s theoretical insights, if not his research on Athenian society. The prominent 1990 collection of essays on the ancient Greek world, *Before Sexuality*, recognized the stronger and weaker forms of social constructionism: the title, the editors explain, could mean “before *our* sexuality,” suggesting merely that “sexual meanings and practices in the ancient Greek world were constituted differently from our own,” or it could “suggest that the very category ‘sexuality’ is a specifically modern construction.”¹⁹ One of the editors, John J. Winkler, went on elsewhere to stake out a moderate social constructionist position, for example in a discussion of the *kinaidos* (Latin *cinaedus*), often interpreted as a “passive homosexual”: “The *kinaidos*, to be sure, is not a ‘homosexual’ but neither is he just an ordinary guy who now and then decided to commit a kinaidic act. The conception of a *kinaidos* was of a man socially deviant in his entire being.”²⁰ It is, however, the view that sexuality and sexual identity did not exist in the ancient (or medieval, or early modern, or non-Western) world that has gained currency among non-classicists.²¹

Both moderate and strong social constructionists have tended to agree that gender roles—masculine or feminine, active or passive—were more important than object choice in the ancient world, although they disagree on whether this means that the Greeks and Romans had sexualities very different from ours or that their classifications were based on gender roles *rather than* (not as a part of) sexuality. Key to the distinction of gender roles was the concept that men are active and women passive, or that men are penetrators and women penetrated.²² Thus anyone

¹⁸ Lin Foxhall, “Pandora Unbound: A Feminist Critique of Foucault’s *History of Sexuality*,” in Larmour, Miller, and Platter, *Rethinking Sexuality*, 122–37, quotation at 126.

¹⁹ “Introduction,” in *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, David M. Halperin, John J. Winkler, and Froma Zeitlin, eds. (Princeton, N.J., 1990), 5.

²⁰ John J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (New York, 1990), 45. See now Halperin’s discussion of the *kinaidos* in “Forgetting Foucault,” 100–04.

²¹ See, for example, Martha Nussbaum, “Therapeutic Arguments and Structures of Desire,” *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 2 (1990): 46–66, esp. 49.

²² Eva Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus: Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985), is a

who is penetrated (or is in other ways passive) is gendered feminine, and anyone who penetrates is masculine. For the Romans, to penetrate other men could be a sign of masculinity (hence Valerius Asiaticus's taunt, "Question your sons, Suillius, they'll say that I'm a man," whereas a modern taunter might be more likely to say, "Ask your mother").²³ Women who penetrate (with dildos or large clitorises) and men who are penetrated are seen not primarily as sexual deviants but as gender transgressors. The primary example of such a deviant man is the *kinaidos* or *cinaedus*, but the exact meaning of these terms and the exact way in which such a person deviated from accepted gender roles is the subject of some dispute.

This way of understanding sex as something someone does to someone else seems fairly common in ancient Mediterranean culture.²⁴ Although this is a long way from modern understandings of homosexuality as related to the gender of object choice, not the gender of act performed, the idea that it is only the passive man or active woman who is perverted, not the man who penetrates another man or the woman who is penetrated by another woman, certainly survived well into this century.²⁵ This governing paradigm of ancient sexuality may be very different from the scholarly construction of sexuality today but not so far from a view widely held among the North American public, that gay men are effeminate and lesbians masculine.

The fact that there is more than one way of understanding homosexual behavior in contemporary culture should remind us that the ancients did not have a unitary view of it, either. Attitudes varied from archaic to classical Greece to Rome, and varied, too, within a given polis, as David Cohen stresses for Athens, with its internally contradictory expressions.²⁶ T. K. Hubbard has argued recently, as Kenneth Dover did in 1978, that same-sex relations were far more acceptable among elites than among the mass of the Athenian people and that the latter

strong, perhaps too strong, statement of the centrality of this phallic view not only to ancient sexuality but to all of Athenian culture.

²³ Tacitus, *Annales* 11: 2, John Jackson, ed., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 250.

²⁴ Halperin recently complained that Bernadette Brooten, in the book under review here, *Love between Women*, failed to attribute the idea to him, Winkler, or Foucault; she, however, replied that she had made this argument earlier. "The GLQ Forum: Lesbian Historiography before the Name?" *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 4 (1998): 560 and 627 n. 1. This point is so pervasive in the literature that it would seem to be impossible to attribute it to a single author. Richlin, "Zeus and Metis," 172–73, also demonstrates that feminist scholars made this point before the publication of Halperin's and Winkler's major books in 1990.

²⁵ George Chauncey, Jr., *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York, 1994), 119, suggests that this idea that the active partner was "normal" was characteristic of working-class culture in the 1920s. See also Chauncey, "Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion? Homosexual Identities and the Construction of Sexual Boundaries in the World War I Era," in *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, Martin Bauml Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey, Jr., eds. (New York, 1989), 294–317. The idea that the passive partner in a female same-sex relationship was not a lesbian was certainly characteristic of the relationships depicted in Radclyffe Hall, *The Well of Loneliness* (New York, 1990); see Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York, 1993), 323–71, on the persistence of the "gender-inversion" model in working-class Buffalo in the 1940s and 1950s. Some ferns considered only the butches to be lesbians.

²⁶ David Cohen, *Law, Sexuality, and Society: The Enforcement of Morals in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 1991), 171–202.

condemned both the active and the passive partner.²⁷ He argues that the Greeks did categorize by gender of object choice rather than role. Such a view is not incompatible with a moderate idea of the social construction of sexuality, since the argument is made on the basis of Greek texts and the categories that emerge from them, rather than on the imposition of modern categories.

The mainstream or majority view of a given culture, whether that of today or antiquity, is created in large part by a dominant masculine discourse. Did everyone in ancient Greece or Rome understand sex as something that a penetrator does to a penetrated, and if so, did those who were penetrated still see themselves as active participants? Answering these questions requires examining a wide range of texts, beyond the canonical, in innovative ways. In order to do so, a historian must understand something about how a given text helped construct the mental world of its contemporaries: who read it, and how did they understand it? Did it represent a dominant or subversive point of view?

BRUCE THORNTON'S *Eros: The Myth of Ancient Greek Sexuality* (1997) is critical of much recent work on the history of sexuality, which he dismisses with terms like "fashionable." He renounces the attempt to answer these questions: "This book, then, is not about what the Greeks 'really' thought or felt or did about sex. It is about what the literary remains from 700–100 B.C. say about sex." Many historians, however, retain a belief that texts constitute, if only in an indirect way, evidence about the contexts that they were created by or helped to create. A narrow focus on the texts also risks losing sight of how those who did not write surviving texts might have felt and lived. Thornton, to judge from his dismissal of attempts to do so, does not think that studying the mentalities of non-elites through the use of "so-called nonprivileged data" is a worthwhile or possible project.²⁸ To dismiss the whole field of social history because everyday attitudes are not encapsulated in canonical texts is just as reductive as dismissing canonical texts because they were written by dead white European males.

Thornton positions his book as a brave and honest voice crying in the wilderness of cultural-theory cant. This rhetorical move allows him to ignore the questions that social constructionism raises. Thus he writes of Greek attitudes toward "homosexuality" without asking whether the behaviors and identities to which he refers are really the same or fundamentally different from modern "homosexuality." He notes that "a Greek would not categorize as 'homosexual' a man who has penetrated another," but then goes on to discuss Aristotle referring to "homosexuals," when in fact, as his own discussion shows, it is not a category based on object choice but the taking of pleasure in passivity that Aristotle criticizes.²⁹ Thornton does raise substantive questions about whether pederasty was relatively unproblematic to the Greeks, as Halperin, Winkler, and Dover would have it.³⁰ He argues that many texts

²⁷ T. K. Hubbard, "Popular Perceptions of Elite Homosexuality in Classical Athens," *Arion*, 3d ser., 6 (1998): 48–78; Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, 148–51.

²⁸ Bruce J. Thornton, *Eros: The Myth of Ancient Greek Sexuality* (Boulder, Colo., 1997), xii.

²⁹ Thornton, *Eros*, 194.

³⁰ Thornton, *Eros*, 193–202; Cohen, *Law, Sexuality, and Society*, 171–202.

speak of boys and women in the same ways, indicating that, for male citizens, sex with women was the norm, and pederasty followed a “heterosexual paradigm,” but this could as easily be taken as evidence that gender roles (penetrator/penetrated), not object choice, were what mattered.³¹ His discussion of the *kinaidos* is not in deep disagreement with Winkler’s, at least in terms of who the Greeks thought the *kinaidos* was.³² Indeed, he also shares with social constructionists the fundamental premise of the alterity of the Greeks: unlike our contemporaries, according to Thornton, the Greeks viewed eros as a volatile, chaotic, dangerous, and uncontrollable force, inextricably linked to violence. He suggests that we would do well to learn from the Greeks in this regard and follow the lead of Camille Paglia, who alone has recognized that it is just as dangerous a force today.³³

James Davidson, in *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (1998), also contests the current orthodoxy about the active-passive dichotomy, in an engaged and engaging manner. He takes a moderate constructionist position, arguing that appetites exist in all societies; they are shaped by “historical, social, economic, cultural, intellectual, ideological, etc.” contexts but are not created by them.³⁴ The book, as its title implies, is about more than sex; it is about the desires generally, or at least men’s desire.³⁵ Based on his evidence, a case could be made that Greek men defined their identity not by sexual desires but by their eating habits.³⁶ He describes classical Athenian culture as one where the control of one’s desires and the fight against passion were of crucial importance—a view that, despite Davidson’s renunciation of Foucault, echoes the argument of the latter in *The Uses of Pleasure*. The passions on which he focuses are the love of fish and the love of men for courtesans. As in the study of same-sex desires among men, women’s desires have only a minor role to play here, but in his discussion of distinctions among those women often lumped together as “prostitutes,” he does provide a useful discussion of the nature of their experience and agency. He attempts to recover the highly cultured courtesan, the hetaera, as an independent and desiring woman, different from the *pornai* or common whores, and he challenges the view that women fell into only two categories, the secluded, private wife or the public prostitute.

Davidson’s focus on passion leads him to attack the widely held view that it was

³¹ Thornton, *Eros*, 194.

³² John J. Winkler, “Laying Down the Law: The Oversight of Men’s Sexual Behavior in Classical Athens,” in Halperin, Winkler, and Zeitlin, *Before Sexuality*, 171–209. This similarity comes despite his praise of Camille Paglia for her “brutal demolition” of Winkler. The first half of the article he cites, Paglia, “Junk Bonds and Corporate Raiders: Academe in the Hour of the Wolf,” *Arion*, 3d ser., 1 (Spring 1991): 139–212, is indeed structured as a demolition of Halperin’s and Winkler’s work, though not all will share Thornton’s view of its success; the second is an *ad hominem et feminam* diatribe against contemporary academia.

³³ Thornton, *Eros*, 218.

³⁴ James Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (New York, 1998), 312.

³⁵ When Davidson notes with disapproval (xxiii) that “Foucault’s study of Greek sexuality has very little on women at all and gives the impression that the Greeks were very much more interested in boys,” he clearly means women as partners for men, since it is Greek men who may or may not have been more interested in boys.

³⁶ Ironically, Halperin has used the counterfactual example of identities based on eating habits as an analogy to explain his view of social construction: “Sex before Sexuality: Pederasty, Politics, and Power in Classical Athens,” in Duberman, Vicinus, and Chauncey, *Hidden from History*, 41–42.

passivity and effeminacy that made the *kinaidoi* (and the similar *katapugones*) such figures of opprobrium.³⁷ It was not, he argues, because they abdicated the masculine role of penetrator that they were considered shameful but rather because they were unrestrained in their desires. Indeed, he claims, the evidence rarely speaks of their being penetrated. Their status had nothing to do with physical integrity but was a function of self-control. Yet the *kinaidos/katapugon* clearly was understood as someone who enjoyed being anally penetrated, whether or not this was the core of his identity. Even if it were the immoderacy of his desire, rather than his passive role, that was important, he was still fundamentally a gender transgressor, feminine in that very immoderacy. The *kinaidos* comes in for far more censure than a man with an immoderate desire to penetrate, although the latter also can meet with disapproval.

Ultimately, Davidson does not undercut the characterization of the Athenian view of sex as something someone does to someone else, a hierarchical act, rather than something two people do together. He argues that those who support the “power-penetration” theory in which the *kinaidos* is dominated and emasculated by being penetrated are actually applying not a Greek but a Victorian view. Given these attitudes, which have developed over a long Western tradition, “It is small wonder that classicists have interpreted rear-entry penetration in the classical world in terms of aggression and power. But in classical Athens the penetrated were not seen as the inert objects of someone else’s gratification. Women certainly did not lie back (or bend forwards) and wait for things to be done to them . . . Even passive sodomites are shown joining in at every level . . . The *kinaidos/katapugon* is not a sexual pathic, humiliated and made effeminate by repeated domination, he is a nymphomaniac, full of womanish desire, who dresses up to attract men and has sex at the drop of a hat.”³⁸ Here, Davidson misinterprets the claim some scholars make when they speak of sexual passivity. The one who is penetrated does not have to be inert or apathetic in order for intercourse to be understood as one person doing something to someone else. Indeed, as Halperin has recently stressed, what distinguishes the *kinaidos* is not that he *is* penetrated but that he *desires* to be penetrated.³⁹ The passivity is anatomical rather than affective. To say that historians of sexuality have denied that women or *kinaidoi* took pleasure in sex is to misinterpret the use of the term “passive.” Davidson’s own formulation of the *kinaidos* as “full of womanish desire” acknowledges the nature of the gender transgression involved.

ALTHOUGH DAVIDSON CLAIMS THAT in classical Athens sexuality was not characterized by power and domination, he contrasts it with other societies where it was, including ancient Rome.⁴⁰ A volume edited by Judith Hallett and Marilynn Skinner,

³⁷ Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes*, 167–82. There is some dispute about the meaning of “katapugon”; Davison argues that it refers not just to a passive male but to a lascivious person.

³⁸ Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes*, 179.

³⁹ David Halperin, in “GLQ Forum: Lesbian Historiography before the Name?” 568.

⁴⁰ Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes*, 169.

Roman Sexualities (1997), certainly supports the Roman end of that contrast.⁴¹ The articles in the book do not agree on all points, but several important themes emerge: the importance of the active/passive dichotomy in Roman culture; the critical importance of sexuality to Roman masculinity; and the existence of different discourses, including women's discourses about their own sexualities.

There is a tendency among historians to lump sexuality together with the study of women and gender; this is in part because of the way men in the historical periods in question treated women as controlled by their sexualities, but it has the pernicious effect of pushing us and our students to think of women as sexual beings (or sexual objects) first and foremost, to conflate the study of homosexuality with the study of women, and to erase male heterosexuality as a subject of study. A number of articles in this volume show the importance of sexuality to masculine identity regardless of what in the modern era would be called sexual orientation.

Holt Parker and Anthony Corbeill's articles both focus on the way the active/passive distinction affected ideas about masculinity. Parker constructs a chart to show how the Romans characterized various sexual acts, but his discussion of cunnilingus (equating it with a man's penetration by a woman) pushes the idea of a sexual "system" beyond the evidence.⁴² He also omits the active woman from the grid intended to summarize the possibilities for sexualities as the Romans saw them. Parker's conclusion, "Tacitus in Ohio," contains a wonderfully lucid social constructionist explanation of the difference between Roman sexual categories and contemporary North American ones. Parker uses the conceit of imagining Tacitus's field work in the United States to point out how little we know of how those Romans vilified as *cinaedi* would have felt about it, or behaved.⁴³ One could, of course, say the same about women, whose sexuality is depicted mainly in hostile sources.

Most of what survives about *cinaedi* is the vilification, which shows us how intensely at least one segment of Roman society equated masculinity with penetrative sexual behavior. Corbeill's article is particularly enlightening on this point. Criticism of banquets as a Greek or Asian import was closely tied to the invective against submissive sexuality.⁴⁴ Some scholars have questioned whether the passive male or *cinaedus* actually existed as a recognized type, characterized by what Foucault called "a kind of interior androgyny, a hermaphroditism of the soul" rather than as a literary construct based on men who merely engaged in specific acts.⁴⁵ Both Parker and Corbeill, following on important work by Maud Gleason and Amy Richlin, suggest that *cinaedi* did exist.⁴⁶ The question Parker raises, although

⁴¹ So does Amy Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor*, rev. edn. (New York, 1992), which Davidson does not cite on this point.

⁴² Holt Parker, "The Teratogenic Grid," in Judith P. Hallett and Marilyn B. Skinner, eds., *Roman Sexualities* (Princeton, N.J., 1997), 47–65, 51.

⁴³ Parker, "Teratogenic Grid," 62–63.

⁴⁴ Anthony Corbeill, "Dining Deviants in Roman Political Invective," in Hallett and Skinner, *Roman Sexualities*, 99–128.

⁴⁵ Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 1: 43.

⁴⁶ Maud Gleason, "The Semiotics of Gender: Physiognomy and Self-Fashioning in the Second Century C.E.," in Halperin, Winkler, and Zeitlin, *Before Sexuality*, 399–415, now incorporated in Gleason, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton, N.J., 1995), 55–81; Amy Richlin, "Not before Homosexuality: The Materiality of the *Cinaedus* and the Roman Law against

Corbeill does not, is how the individual so identified felt about his own identity. Others may have seen inner characteristics expressed through outward behavior, but did the *cinaedi*? Did the availability of a literary type for use in self-fashioning mean that this was really a sexual identity? If the sources do not exist that could tell us about the subjectivity of the *cinaedus*, some modern historians would have us take this as evidence that there was no such subjectivity or sexual identity. Even leaving aside the vicissitudes of survival of source material, however, if people did not write about certain types of feelings in the Roman period as they do today—if it was a less confessional age—does that mean that they did not have those feelings? It would be a mistake to assume that because our contemporaries tend to identify themselves by their sexualities, the Romans did, too; but equally it would be a mistake to assume that the Romans could not have.

If we do not know how those labeled *cinaedi* viewed themselves, we know more about the mainstream Roman elite's fear of being so labeled. Marilyn Skinner, in an article originally published in 1993, points out that masculinity in ancient Rome was a very fragile condition but necessary for public manifestations of rank and authority.⁴⁷ It was not achieved simply by being born male and growing up; it required constant vigilance to avoid being feminized by a loss of social status, a loss of control over one's family and slaves, or inappropriate sexual behavior. Jonathan Walters discusses the importance of impenetrability to Roman concepts of manhood. Not all adult males were impenetrable, and not all were considered real men (*viri*). To be the passive partner in a sexual relation was *muliebria pati*, "to have a woman's experience," but to be penetrated was not just the experience of a woman but also that of a slave or freedman. He discusses why the corporal punishment of a slave, but not that of a free child or the penetration of a soldier by a sword, was equivalent to sexual penetration.⁴⁸

Walters's argument raises a problem common to historians of gender who refer to biological females being constructed as masculine, and vice versa, or of gender being constituted by performance.⁴⁹ This, however, is a use of language not taken literally outside the academy, and perhaps too literally within it. Ask a hundred people off the street (either in ancient Rome, the modern United States, or anywhere else) to explain their concept of masculinity, and you will get a wide variety of answers. Ask them instead to define the term "man" and you will get a small range of variation. On one level, no matter how devoutly we believe that real men don't eat quiche, cry, or engage in violence against women, we still use the term "man" in common parlance to mean an adult male human. An adult male in ancient Rome who was penetrated might become an object of scorn, and might be castigated as unmanly or not really a man, but there would be no question that laws or medical texts that applied to *viri* applied to him. His gender transformation is

Love between Men," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 3 (1993): 523–73; Parker, "Teratogenic Grid," 60–62; Corbeill, "Dining Deviants," 112–17.

⁴⁷ Marilyn B. Skinner, "Ego mulier: The Construction of Male Sexuality in Catullus," in Hallett and Skinner, *Roman Sexualities*, 129–50.

⁴⁸ Jonathan Walters, "Invading the Body: Manliness and Impenetrability in Roman Thought," in Hallett and Skinner, *Roman Sexualities*, 29–43.

⁴⁹ On gender as performance, see Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York, 1990), 135–41.

metaphoric or symbolic, but no one thinks that having a woman's experience has "really" made him a woman.

About the sexual subjectivity of biological females, like that of feminized males, surviving texts reveal relatively little. Thus Catharine Edwards writes about prostitution without any consideration of how the prostitutes may have felt about their infamy.⁵⁰ Sandra Joshel, writing about a woman of the elite, Messalina, who is far better documented than women generally, still does not attempt to discover the "real" Messalina's experience; she is "concerned with the writing of history, not with history as a set of events."⁵¹ Even the study of female homoeroticism focuses on men's constructions of women's sexuality. Pamela Gordon argues that Ovid's Sappho is masculinized and "simply acts out a charade of male sexuality." She suggests that we "imagine the masculinized lesbians of the Roman texts not as monsters or fools (as their creators intended), but as dauntless rebels."⁵² The modern reader may, despite the hostility of these authors to women, be able to infer from them something of how the women may have seen themselves and their sexualities.

Amy Richlin draws on "a jumble of encyclopedias and agricultural handbooks" to more nearly approach women's sexual experience. Her title, "Pliny's Brassiere," refers to Pliny's use of a female undergarment tied around his head to relieve headaches; this brings her to the "medicinal uses of the female human body," which in turn tell us something about women's sexualities.⁵³ Women used various forms of herbal medicine and sympathetic magic to control (mainly to promote) their own fertility.

Judith Hallett's "Female Homoeroticism and the Denial of Roman Reality in Latin Literature," originally published in 1989 but still important enough to fully warrant its reprinting in the Hallett and Skinner volume, also attempts to disentangle women's actual sexual lives from masculine literary constructions of them. Hallett notes that Roman writers discuss *tribades* (women who engaged in sex with each other) as something from the remote Greek past, not as part of their own contemporary society, and also masculinize them, denying their resemblance to normal Roman women. They do so despite evidence in their own writings that they knew full well that women could give each other pleasure without penetration. "But for Roman males who wrote about tribadism, it was evidently easier to deny the actual and avow the unlikely than to abandon assumptions about how, according to biological nature and Roman culture, women ought to behave."⁵⁴

Although Hallett argues that same-sex female erotic behavior existed and that Roman writers who did not acknowledge its existence except as a monstrosity were engaging in deliberate self-deception, she is not able in the space of an article to discuss in detail that experience. A major and important attempt to do so is

⁵⁰ Catharine Edwards, "Unspeakable Professions: Public Performance and Prostitution in Ancient Rome," in Hallett and Skinner, *Roman Sexualities*, 66–95.

⁵¹ Sandra Joshel, "Female Desire and the Discourse of Empire: Tacitus's Messalina," in Hallett and Skinner, *Roman Sexualities*, 221–54, quotation at 222.

⁵² Pamela Gordon, "The Lover's Voice in *Heroides* 15: Or, Why Is Sappho a Man?" in Hallett and Skinner, *Roman Sexualities*, 274–91, quotations at 283, 288.

⁵³ Amy Richlin, "Pliny's Brassiere," in Hallett and Skinner, *Roman Sexualities*, 197–220, see 200.

⁵⁴ Judith P. Hallett, "Female Homoeroticism and the Denial of Reality in Latin Literature," in Hallett and Skinner, *Roman Sexualities*, 255–73, quotation at 268.

Bernadette Brooten's *Love between Women: Early Christian Responses to Female Homoeroticism* (1996). The second part of Brooten's book, and that which will be of most interest in the contemporary debate about the morality of homosexuality, focuses on a biblical text, Romans 1: 18–32. Brooten's discussion of this text will be disconcerting to many Christians: to members of the religious right, because she shows that Paul's homophobic attitudes were reflections of his time (and therefore, although she does not say this explicitly, not to be taken as eternal truths), and to those on the religious left who would like to explain or interpret away Paul's apparent homophobia, because she shows that he meant it. Historically speaking, however, her argument makes a great deal of sense: Paul was not particularly innovative in either a progressive or reactionary way but rather was part of a complex web of texts on homoeroticism that circulated in the Hellenistic Mediterranean.

While Brooten has made an extremely important contribution to the study of early Christian attitudes toward women's sexualities, our concern here is with the first half of the book, in which she sets the context for her exegesis of Paul. In meticulous detail, she gives the evidence for female homoerotic relationships in the Roman world and comes as close as is possible to how women themselves experienced those relationships. She notes that "[t]he sources bear witness to male constructions of female homoeroticism, rather than to lesbians' perceptions of themselves," but she goes as far as she can in reasoning from those constructions to the experience.⁵⁵ Like other scholars, she points to the importance of the active/passive distinction in Roman mentalities: men were supposed to be active, women passive, and to transgress these roles was unnatural. Yet there is evidence that women who loved other women did not necessarily accept these attitudes. Brooten also questions the strong social constructionist view that there can have been no sexual identities, orientations, or sexualities in the ancient world: "I present non-Christian material in this book for a category of persons viewed in antiquity as having a long-term or even lifelong homoerotic orientation," a category that included both men and women.⁵⁶

Some of the evidence Brooten presents, though sketchy, casts doubt on the traditional Roman view described by Hallett that female homoerotic practices involved penetration in imitation of men. For example, a wall painting from Pompeii depicts, among other things, one woman performing cunnilingus on another, who fellates a man. Although this can hardly be taken as typical of Roman sexual practices, it is noteworthy that the female same-sex practice depicted is not phallic.⁵⁷

The four chapters of the first section of the book focus on four types of sources. Greek erotic spells from Egypt actually state the names of women who commissioned the spells and the women they loved. Brooten cautions that "the individual

⁵⁵ Bernadette J. Brooten, *Love between Women: Early Christian Responses to Female Homoeroticism* (Chicago, 1996), 25.

⁵⁶ Brooten, *Love between Women*, 9. A number of scholars have questioned Brooten's conclusions on this point, charging that she applies a modern concept of egalitarian lesbian relationships that is not present in the ancient sources; for these and other critiques, and Brooten's response, see "GLQ Forum: Lesbian Historiography before the Name?"

⁵⁷ Brooten, *Love between Women*, 60.

women probably did not compose their own spells. Rather, these spells contain highly formulaic language that reveals more about cultural ideology than about individual women's lives."⁵⁸ Very true; but it still reveals more about individual women's lives than other sources do, namely that real, non-elite women, not literary fictions, did feel strongly enough about other women to commission these spells, and the cultural atmosphere was such that they were able to go public in doing so. That Brooten takes forty pages to present and analyze three brief spells indicates something about the level of detail in this book; she has taken pains to preempt the criticisms of specialists.

The chapter on astrological texts does not get as close to the lives of actual women, but it does present female homoeroticism as among the range of sexual possibilities the astrologers recognized, although they considered it an exception to the norm since it called for women to be active rather than passive. By explaining the astrological reasons for women's desire to have sex with other women (and also to have sex with many men), these texts show that it was a recognized part of everyday life, not just something literary authors wanted to present as an example of Greek perversion.

In her chapter on medical texts, Brooten suggests that Foucault's placing of the medicalization of homosexuality in the nineteenth century was about 1,700 years too late. "The patient suffering from such a disease [certain forms of same-sex desire] did have an identity, apparently a lifelong one, characterized by behavior considered unnatural (i.e., appropriate for the opposite sex), unless treatment effected a cure."⁵⁹ This treatment might include clitoridectomy, and Brooten raises the unanswered question of "at whose request such brutal surgery took place"—husband? brothel owner? The medical texts accept the view that female homoeroticism requires penetration.

Finally, the literature of dream interpretation tells us something of the generally accepted meanings of sexual activity. Artemidorus Daldianus (fl. second century CE) placed woman-woman intercourse in his category of dreams about unnatural sexual acts and distinguished between dreams of being the active and passive partner. Brooten suggests that these acts were perceived as unnatural because they failed to recreate patterns of social dominance; they perpetuated the penetrator/penetrated dichotomy, without that dichotomy corresponding to positions in the social hierarchy, as it was usually assumed to do.

THE MOVE BY FEMINIST AND OTHER SCHOLARS, Brooten among them, to recover people's experiences of what we might tendentiously call their own sexualities goes against Foucault's argument that what is important to study is sexuality, which is a discursive phenomenon, rather than sex, which is unreal and ahistorical. The important contribution of much of this recent work is that it does both: it attempts to reconstruct lived experience while recognizing the substantial methodological

⁵⁸ Brooten, *Love between Women*, 73.

⁵⁹ Brooten, *Love between Women*, 144.

and theoretical problems that stand in the way of that reconstruction. It analyzes both the discourse and its potential relation to practice.

The theoretical sophistication that the study of sexualities in ancient Greece and Rome has acquired makes a familiarity with this field necessary to anyone who studies or teaches the history of sexuality in other times or places. These new works teach us that it is possible to recover some aspects of women's sexualities even from male-dominated and male-documented cultures, that multiple and contradictory discourses can exist in one society, and that continuities as well as discontinuities are historical. They reveal some broad differences between Athenian and Roman sexual norms, but the differences and contradictions within each culture stand out more than the contrasts. We may never reach agreement on the exact meaning of figures like the *kinaidos/cinaedus* for ancient societies, but this should be no surprise. There is no agreement on the nature of gay and lesbian identities today, even among gay men and lesbians. When all we have are texts that were, after all, not composed in order to answer the questions we would like to ask, the discourse may seem more unified, but it is entirely possible that opinions among the ancient Greeks and Romans about sexuality were as varied and as vehement as the opinions of scholars today.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

MARJORIE CHIBNALL. *The Debate on the Norman Conquest*. (Issues in Historiography.) New York: Manchester University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 168. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$29.95.

A book on the English Civil War, originally written nearly twenty-five years ago, has since been revised and used to launch a new series. "Issues in Historiography" claims that students of history cannot be taken seriously if they are ignorant of the relevant historiography. Marjorie Chibnall's book is the second of the series to appear. As a distinguished author and editor of texts, she has made notable contributions to the subject. Here she distills the reading and learning of more than sixty years to provide a masterly summary of a historiography stretching back nine centuries.

For long after the Conquest, whatever the English anguish, "debate" about the consequences for England of Norman rule remained minimal, although appreciation of its effects on the native language and law began early. To show why historiographical debate about the remote past took off in the sixteenth century, Chibnall properly refers to arguments then raging about the power of the crown, its relations with the church, and the origins of its prerogative exploitation of military tenures and, more generally, of the existing social order. For all these the Conquest seemed the appropriate point of departure. The peculiarities of English land law long continued to make "feudalism" matter to both lawyers and historians; only in modern times was the term appropriated for different purposes. In the nineteenth century, the Conquest assumed new significance in passionate discussions about national identity and the origins of the class system. Popular interest in the subject has not abated. In twentieth-century Britain and America, historical interest understandably focused on the Normans as rulers of international standing; in Britain, evaluations of the Conquest continue to reflect current attitudes toward the continent.

Few topics continue to offer finer opportunities than the Conquest for studying the pace of social change, continuity in history, or what happens when different cultures collide, but popular opinions about such matters now owe little to professional historians. Chib-

nall's account of twentieth-century historiography concentrates exclusively on academic writing, with half the book devoted to work published in the last fifty years. Five chapters discuss in turn the way familiar problems have been recast to take current intellectual preoccupations into account. "Feudalism" is accordingly discussed in terms of "lordship"; "law" is taken in combination with the "family"; debate about "empire" opens up the issue of "colonisation"; concerns about nationality ("peoples") raise questions about "frontiers." Finally, the church is somewhat incongruously put together with the economy.

Each chapter deftly outlines the work of the principal scholars concerned. As the series no doubt intended, students in a hurry will appreciate the bibliographical guidance offered. A less topical, more chronological, approach might have made it easier for them to sense the tension in Norman studies after Frank M. Stenton's apologia for the Anglo-Saxons punctured the Norman conceit. The anniversary years (1966, 1986) and the annual Battle conferences since 1978 have done much to stimulate research and publication. Chibnall takes a positive view of the way scholars now collaborate to attain the truth, which plays down the importance of historiographical "debate." Given her own editorial credentials, however, she might have done more to stress the difference that scholarly investigation of primary sources, both archival documents and manuscripts, has made. Scholarly fashion itself initially prompted distrust of chronicle accounts as too biased; enormous energy was channeled into editing thousands of charters, regarded as more "authoritative." After World War II, fresh work on Domesday Book reflected mid-century confidence in public administration. When the "objectivity" of official records itself became suspect, historians recovered their interest in chronicles, if not as evidence of fact then as expressions of opinion. Greater precision in the use of source material has transformed perceptions of the past, but its technical character limits its popular appeal. Academic writers have their own intellectual agendas and their own style of publication, weighting their arguments with footnotes appreciated only by specialists. Unlike most earlier historians, they have no practical experience of active political life or estate management; few are sensitive to the problems

of rural society and economy or to the claims of religion, let alone to the challenges of warfare or hard living. The academic context of serious historical writing has both restricted its influence and sharpened its character. These aspects of modern historiography are not addressed here, but if the new series is to be of interest outside the classroom, the social and political context of serious historical writing itself merits closer scrutiny.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

DAVID N. LIVINGSTONE, D. G. HART, and MARK A. NOLL, editors. *Evangelicals and Science in Historical Perspective*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. vi, 351. \$45.00.

The relation between science and religion has commanded the attention of sagacious minds in every age. For two millennia, the notion of harmony between the two realms was a core doctrine of Western thought. The argument from design, which is a form of natural theology, and the metaphor of the two books—that God reveals himself both in nature and in Holy Scripture—was part of an intellectual tradition that ran from Plato and Augustine through the Cambridge Platonists to Isaac Newton and the writers on physico-theology—John Ray, William Derham, and Cotton Mather—who followed in Newton's wake. Years later, Charles Darwin and others challenged the ancient and familiar design argument, provoking a continuing controversy.

The volume under review aims at showing how evangelicals among Protestant Christians have thought about science since the Reformation and especially since the late seventeenth century. The book locates the encounter between science and religion in the broader landscape of scientific history and religious life in Britain and North America. Evangelicals, as defined here, are marked by belief in the need for a new birth, activism in spreading the Gospel, biblicism, and the centrality of the Cross to their theology.

An introduction is followed by five parts. In part one, "An Overview," John Hedley Brooke discusses some evangelical dimensions of the history of science and religion, concluding that we can identify ways in which evangelical beliefs might have been relevant to the portrayal of science. In part two, "Orientations," John Morgan revisits the relation of Puritanism to the rise of science. After examining the Merton thesis and its critics, he finds that the evidence makes it difficult to see a positive connection between Puritanism and natural philosophy. Edward H. Davis discusses Michael B. Foster's influential thesis about the relation between Christianity and early modern science. Using Galileo, René Descartes, and Robert Boyle as case studies, Davis writes that indeed theological presuppositions were allied with conceptions of scientific

knowledge. And yet, the changes that occurred resulted not from theology alone but from the inextricable relationship among science, philosophy, and theology.

In part three, "Theological Engagements," coeditor Mark A. Noll describes theology and science in the United States from Cotton Mather to William Jennings Bryan. He argues that in America the evangelical engagement with science belongs more to social history than to intellectual history. American evangelicals emphasized the extrinsic connections between science and society more than intrinsic ones. David W. Bebbington deals with science and evangelical theology in Britain from John Wesley to the late nineteenth century. Unlike liberal Anglicans and Unitarians, British evangelicals were initially skeptical about science. But over time they accepted the Enlightenment as the road to knowledge and confronted the challenges posed by scientific advances, especially geology and evolution. On the whole, British evangelicals were not hostile to science. They revitalized the design argument. Jonathan R. Topham treats science and religion in Scotland with special reference to Thomas Chalmers (1780–1847), who denied the centrality of natural theology while emphasizing the historical evidences of Christianity as the grounds for faith.

In part four, "Specific Encounters," Rodney L. Stilling writes on scriptural geology in America. New knowledge about the age of the earth led scriptural geologists to argue for reestablishing their science on scriptural foundations. They expressed a hermeneutical preference for a literal six-day creation. Coeditor David N. Livingstone compares the evangelical responses to evolution among Calvinists in Edinburgh, Belfast, and Princeton, showing that attitudes toward science and religion depended on their sociospatial settings. James Moore describes evangelicals and the legend of Darwin's deathbed acceptance of Christianity. Moore shows that evangelicals suffer an epistemic split. Their belief that some stories are true because they appear in the Bible while others which do not appear there should be refuted is precarious. Ronald L. Numbers delineates the history of the terms "creationist" and "creationism." During the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, the practice of describing anti-evolutionists as creationists was infrequent. Opponents of evolution were called advocates of creation. Starting in the 1930s, however, "flood geology," a body of thought used as a weapon against evolution, generated a complicated series of developments that resulted in such terms as "creation science" and "scientific creationism." Larry Eskridge narrates the search for Noah's Ark by twentieth-century evangelicals. Why, Eskridge asks, do evangelicals accept as evidence in one sphere what they would not find credible in another sphere? The answer is to be found in the realm of cultural authority. Evangelicals do not trust their opponents on scientific matters because modern science fosters unbelief. For evangelicals,

finding the Ark would be a divine sign for an unbelieving age.

In part five, "Wider Domains," Allen C. Guelzo discusses moral philosophy and the epistemology of science in nineteenth-century America. Moral philosophy as an academic discipline was seen as a way of reconciling science and religion and providing a book of virtue, a science of duty, for the republic. Michael Gauvreau and Nancy Christie portray the development of social science and a commitment to social reform in Canada from 1890 to 1930. In America the universities, reform organizations, and government led in these areas, whereas in Canada Protestantism assumed the leading role in determining the character of the social sciences. The clergy integrated evolutionary thought into the evangelical tenets. Fearing the decline of church influence, Protestant progressives recast the role of the minister and the function of religion in cultural and extrainstitutional terms.

Cocditor D. G. Hart analyzes evangelicals, biblical scholarship, and what he calls the politics of the modern American academy. Noting that certain authors made the doctrine of biblical inerrancy central to evangelical identity in the mid-1970s, Hart contends that the doctrine of inerrancy influenced programs in religious studies in American higher education from 1870 to the present. This essay has problems. Its argument is tenuous, its chronology is problematic, its use of labels (e.g., academic establishment, ecclesiastical right) prevents precision, and the writing often lacks clarity.

An afterword by George Marsden in the form of a dialogue on Olympus discusses the meaning of science for Christians.

The book displays a wide range of historical styles. Many essays are scholarly analyses; others are narratives. One chapter (by Numbers) is reprinted from an earlier work; another (by Moore) condenses a previous publication. The reference notes provide a valuable bibliography of the literature on the subjects treated. Only one author (Noll) identifies himself as an evangelical, but others are known for an evangelical commitment. Brief biographies of the contributors would have been helpful. To this reviewer, the contributions of Noll, Bebbington, Topham, Livingstone, and Guelzo are especially valuable (although Guelzo's is a bit marred by carelessness).

Generalizing, we can say that in Britain and North America evangelicals strove to keep the faith despite the challenges of a mechanistic view of the universe, new knowledge about the age of the earth, and the theory of biological evolution. And most important, evangelicals varied widely in their responses to science. Many influences, including the intellectual and geographical setting, helped determine the evangelical response to science.

This collection contributes significantly to understanding the encounter between science and religion in the period studied, but its value is badly impaired by the manner of presentation. The book contains typographical errors, spelling errors, faulty punctuation,

poor word usage, inconsistency in citing proper names, and several bad sentences. The reference notes contain a few errors. Worse, their style varies from essay to essay, and full titles are cited repeatedly when briefer entries would do. The index is perfunctory and untrustworthy. The authors, the editors of this volume, and the editor of the series in which this book appears all have obligations to their readers. When they fail, the publisher has a duty to set things right. Sad to say, Oxford University Press has abdicated its editorial responsibility.

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GEORGES MINOIS. *History of Suicide: Voluntary Death in Western Culture*. Translated by LYDIA G. COCHRANE. (Medicine and Culture.) Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. Pp. 387. \$35.95.

The history of suicide has come of age. After a century of sociological inquiry, historians over the last decade have now embraced this all-too-human act and have produced remarkable results. Ten years ago, Michael MacDonald and Terence Murphy set new standards for the social and cultural study of suicide by first compiling the most thorough statistical account of self-willed death in England between 1500 and 1800 and then casting doubt upon all such efforts to measure and explain the "suicide rate" (see Michael MacDonald and Terence Murphy, *Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England, 1500–1800* [1990]). In the process, they provided a wonderful essay on the changing religious and philosophical meaning of death and a stimulating inquiry into the power of the popular press to secularize and standardize the experience of self-murder. Others have picked up this high standard and have now produced ambitious books on suicide in the Middle Ages, in early modern Sweden, and in early modern Germany, to name just three prominent and recent works (see Alexander Murray, *Suicide in the Middle Ages* [1998]; Arne Jansson, *From Swords to Sorrow: Homicide and Suicide in Early Modern Stockholm* [1998]; and Vera Lind, *Selbstmord in der Frühen Neuzeit: Diskurs, Lebenswelt und kultureller Wandel am Beispiel der Herogtümer Schleswig und Holstein* [1999]).

Georges Minois, well known for his many studies of Brittany and of such topics as old age and religion under the Old Regime, has now written a cultural history of suicide (originally published in French in 1995). He concentrates on the early modern period from the sixteenth century through the eighteenth. The smooth translation by Lydia G. Cochrane is another of her excellent contributions, through which readers in English have gained acquaintance with many of the best French and Italian historians. Although Minois looks across the Channel frequently (adopting many of MacDonald and Murphy's conclusions) and occasionally glances at German conditions when they have been described by other scholars, it is fair to say that

he spends most of his attention and all of his originality on cultural conditions in France. He begins with a brief survey of attitudes toward suicide in antiquity and the Middle Ages, a survey in which he reinforces the broad generalization that pagan antiquity was theoretically tolerant of suicide at least among the social elites, while early and medieval Christianity condemned all forms of self-killing. This Christian consensus began to come apart in the late Renaissance, at least in France and England, where Michel de Montaigne and William Shakespeare symbolize for Minois the refreshing tendency to question why life should be given an absolute value. The period 1580–1620 marks for Minois the first crisis of the European conscience (adapting the phrase of Paul Hazard), a time when the old verities at last came under scrutiny. This did not mean, however, that intellectuals and skeptics now took their lives more often than before. Minois repeatedly suggests that the very act of questioning the meaning of life became for some a means of answering the question. The mid-seventeenth century marked a counterattack by the forces of royal and religious authority, condemning suicide with renewed harshness and underlining the severe penalties (secular and religious) attached to those convicted of this crime. But the tide of doubt could not be stemmed so easily, and Minois analyzes carefully a large number of poets, dramatists, and thinkers who continued to argue for the heroic nature of self-sacrifice when the conditions of life became unendurable. In this way they formed a “second crisis of the European conscience,” 1680–1720, when suicide became intellectually fashionable and philosophically problematic again. By the mid-eighteenth century, most French and English opinion makers agreed that harsh penalties against suicide were superstitious and ineffective. Minois makes an effective point when he shows that these penalties had always been most rigorously applied to suicides among the common people, while aristocrats and gentlemen had usually managed to mask their self-willed deaths with cover-ups and euphemisms. By the eighteenth century, commoners were conspiring with their clergy and with the local magistrates to achieve the same advantages long enjoyed by their betters.

After the French Revolution, as sociologists and psychologists took over the study of suicide, political thinkers and philosophers fell largely silent before the problem. And so, according to Minois, we are the apparent heirs to a renewed taboo, in which suicide is hardly mentioned among us above a whisper and in which the meaning of life and death can no longer be discussed in such stark terms. With the rise of the moral question of euthanasia, however, Minois urges us to return to the bracing age of inquiry when suicide and its attendant meanings could be openly discussed. His is a stimulating and learned view, well informed by wide reading, especially among the intellectuals and poets of the seventeenth century.

As a cultural study, this book is unquestionably valuable. Its chief weaknesses stem from a loose and

sometimes careless use of statistics. Minois knows well that it is useless to try to compute a suicide rate for classical antiquity or indeed for any age before the nineteenth century, but he often indulges in false certainties, as when he assures us that the ancient pagans did not commit suicide any more often than other people since then. In his treatment of early modern Europe, too, he sometimes forgets that we cannot compute anything like a real suicide rate and must rely instead upon reported suicides, which is quite another matter. It is true that he has good company in this failing, for until the study by MacDonald and Murphy most historians have accepted a vulgar Durkheimianism that has ignored the overwhelming obstacles that stand between us and a true suicide rate. But since 1990 we should know better or at least be better ready to defend our views. And yet Minois's book is so heavily cultural in its focus, with excellent attention to many little-studied theologians and jurists, that its occasional statistical overconfidence does not much mar a most useful survey.

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TORBJØRN L. KNUTSEN, *The Rise and Fall of World Orders*. New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1999. Pp. viii, 324. Cloth \$72.95, paper \$24.95.

The title of this book needs translation. Torbjørn L. Knutsen's “world” begins in 1494 and ends in 1945, and what he calls “order” refers to a recurrent pattern of international relations among a handful of European states (p. 1). Yet the second, and for a historian far more interesting, half of the book analyzes the rise and fall of American hegemony between 1917 and 1998, and Knutsen ends his book with a rather half-hearted suggestion that in the 1990s the United States may have resumed the world leadership it enjoyed in the decades after World War II, thus perhaps initiating a second American hegemony analogous to what he recognizes as a second British hegemony that began in 1815.

Part one describes the patterns of power that concern Knutsen in five chapters. Their titles explain the cycle he discerns: “The wave of great wars”; “The phase of hegemony”; “The phase of challenge”; “The phase of disruptive competition”; and a summary, “The rise and fall of world orders.” According to Knutsen, European states ran through this cycle four (or perhaps five) times, producing an Iberian world order, 1494–1648; a Dutch world order, 1648–1714; a first British world order, 1714–1815; and a second British world order, 1815–1914. This was succeeded by an American world order after 1945, but Knutsen refrains from giving it a definite terminus in his introductory schema (p. 7).

Political science became a distinct branch of learning by embarking on resolute search for laws or at least for recognizable patterns in public affairs, and Knut-

sen is true to this tradition. He seeks regularities in the past and, knowing full well what he is looking for, he finds them. Historians also habitually find what they look for in the tangled record of the past, but Knutsen's systematic cast of mind occasionally overrides inconvenient details more recklessly than I, for one, am comfortable with.

He writes, for example, that "Spain, the United Provinces, and England (twice) emerged from their respective waves of great wars with substantial land forces. These countries did not build up the biggest land forces of their time, as is indicated by Table 4" (p. 42). But Table 4 shows Spanish soldiers far outnumbering all rivals in 1555, 1595, and 1635! This seems inexcusably careless—or perhaps just hasty, for I surmise that Knutsen embarked on his exploration of the military-political history of modern Europe as a way of testing (i.e. confirming) his ideas about the rise and fall of American hegemony after World War II.

At any rate, his analysis of American foreign policy since 1945 in part two struck me as masterly. And he leaves his heavy-handed system building behind by recognizing the open-endedness of contemporary affairs and emphasizing how the emergence of a second American hegemony (if such there be) departs from previous patterns. By abandoning political science for contemporary history, in short, he becomes an admirably precise, insightful, and tentative interpreter of the course of international affairs since 1945. Seeing ourselves as others see us is always interesting and sometimes illuminating. I find Knutsen's chapters on the ups and downs of American foreign policy since 1945 to be often novel and frequently convincing.

Insights derived from his study of recent international affairs clearly affected his system building. In particular, Knutsen emphasizes the central importance of unifying myths and ideas for the exercise of power. "Hegemony," he writes, "can be defined as a temporal universalization in thought of a particular power structure conceived not as dominance but as the necessary and natural order of things" (p. 62). Military and economic power also matter, of course, but Knutsen's emphasis on the primary importance of consent within and beyond the borders of the hegemonic state departs from older cyclic theories and probably derives from his view that American expansion after 1945 was "empire by invitation," "anchored in a pervasive, legitimizing political mythology" (p. 211).

Nonetheless, two limitations of his outlook seem regrettable. First and most obvious, he equates Europe and America with the world, paying no attention to the existence of autonomous local patterns of power prevailing in the Muslim world, in East Asia, and in Africa until some time between 1750 and 1850. These were less expansive power structures than the European-centered system to be sure, but a political science purporting to be of general application surely ought to take them into consideration.

Second and more serious, Knutsen seems almost oblivious to the demographic basis of human society.

Can one really understand the rise and fall of political hegemonies without considering the rise and fall of populations? The swarming of European peoples after 1750 or so, the (often radical) diminution of formerly isolated populations, primarily by infectious disease, after 1500, and the decline of birth rates among urbanized Europeans since 1950 surely affected the wars and politics with which Knutsen is concerned. But he treats peoples and states as given, enduring entities and simply assumes their biological and cultural continuity.

To be sure, as long as rural majorities prevailed and village life persisted as the norm, neglect of what were usually comparatively minor demographic perturbations may not matter very much. But that ceased to be true for much of the world after 1500, and it is surely untrue everywhere today, when rapidly growing rural populations in most of the world share the earth with rich and politically dominant urban populations that are not reproducing themselves. Knutsen mentions, but merely in passing, that "All late twentieth century Western states are to some degree multicultural societies" and suggests that "The United States may, in fact, be the society which has managed its cultural and ethnic tensions best" (p. 289). But that is as close as he comes to considering the extraordinary demographic turbulence that prevailed throughout modern times, and how it affected the patterns of power he seeks to understand.

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JAMES MULDOON. *Empire and Order: The Concept of Empire, 800–1800*. (Studies in Modern History.) New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. viii, 209. \$65.00.

As James Muldoon remarks in his preface, this is a short book on a vast topic. Muldoon suggests that three aspects of the history of the concept of empire deserve greater attention: the variety over time and place in the meanings of the concept, the survival of empire into the early modern era, and the role of lawyers in developing ideas about empire. Six chapters move in roughly chronological order over the book's thousand-year range, with enough narrative to carry the reader through, although this work reads as much like a meditation on key issues as a survey of imperial concepts.

At the heart of debates about empire is the question of the relationship between secular and religious power. Muldoon begins, inevitably, with the coronation of Charlemagne by Pope Leo III and demonstrates how much subsequent debate, although clearly influenced by historical circumstance, actually revolved around a continuing discussion as to the significance of that event, with Carolingian and Hohenstaufen emperors playing key roles, especially as they tried to deal with the disruptions caused by succession and inheritance.

The real tension within the book lies between word and thing: the concept of empire as it was used, especially throughout the Middle Ages, and the "actual" empires that developed in the early modern era, especially the Spanish and British. Muldoon's emphasis is properly on the concept, as his subtitle indicates, which means that much of the book consists of textual analysis of uses of the word "empire," allowing him to demonstrate an impressive grasp of historical context and linguistic nuance. Key documents considered include Dante's *De Monarchia*, Otto of Freising's *The Two Cities*, Juan de Solórzano Pereira's *De Indiarum Jure*, and the work of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II. It was evidently the very weight and complexity of medieval debate about emperors and empires that made modern rulers and their lawyers extremely chary of using the concept about themselves or their possessions although, as Muldoon suggests, literary writers were much less reticent, finding a rich storehouse of classical and medieval imagery with which to write about their sovereigns and their nations, especially in periods of expansion.

Muldoon's mastery of the literature of canon law puts the book's specific gravity firmly into the medieval period, quite properly in the sense that the great discussions about empire took place at that time. He cautions against the conventional argument that places the concept of the state at center stage at the beginning of the seventeenth century, as if some smoothly orchestrated coup d'état had swiftly ushered the concept of empire into well-deserved retirement. Muldoon rightly points out the teleological nature of such arguments, suggesting a more complex set of transactions over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries before Napoleon Bonaparte dispatched the barely breathing Holy Roman Empire in 1806. In particular, he stresses the need to recognize the complex counterpoint, indeed tension, between the development of states within Europe and empires overseas controlled by those states. Even beyond this, Muldoon suggests, in an intriguing conclusion that makes one hope for a further volume, we need to consider such matters as the carefully restricted use of the term empire in Queen Victoria's title, and the openly imperial ambitions of the United States, from Thomas Jefferson's justification of the "empire of liberty," through Francis Fukuyama's shallow triumphalism, to Irving Kristol's chilling assessment of European countries as de facto "dependent nations" of "an American imperium" (quoted on pp. 140–41).

Equally intriguingly, Muldoon quotes John Elliott's argument to the effect that those rather untidy collections of dynastic territories that dominated the Western world in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries before the centralized nation-states "developed," now—from an early twenty-first-century perspective—look rather more familiar and rather less unsatisfactory than they used to, as our own difficulties with the relationships among territory, sovereignty, language,

and ethnicity afford us new insights into earlier dispensations.

For those who are not medieval specialists but who recognize the need to understand the principles and examples that the early modern imperial projects brought with them from the Middle Ages, this book is indispensable. Pascal famously remarked to a correspondent that he had written a long letter because he had not had the time to write a short one. Muldoon has given himself the time to write a short book, and he has written an admirable one.

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JOANNA BOURKE. *An Intimate History of Killing: Face-to-Face Killing in Twentieth-Century Warfare*. New York: BasicBooks. 1999. Pp. xxiii, 509. \$30.00.

"The characteristic act of men at war is not dying, it is killing" (p. xiii), writes Joanna Bourke. Typical military histories, she continues, if they consider the common soldiers' lot, stress the soldiers' hardships, and camaraderie, and fear of death. "This book," she explains, "aims to put killing back into military history" (p. xiv).

The book is structured thematically. The first three chapters consider the tensions between imagined killing and the actual experience of battle. The next three chapters examine heroism and atrocity. Chapters seven and eight investigate the ways in which soldiers and their physicians deal with the guilt and pain associated with killing. Finally, the last three chapters focus on noncombatants' attitudes toward killing. Bourke's material comes from the experience of British, Australian, and American troops in World War I, World War II, and Vietnam.

There is much in Bourke's cleanly written, powerful account that we know, or should know, already. The troubling soldiers are not the natural-born killers (whoever they might be) but rather the "ordinary men" who find, in war, that they have a taste for blood. They take to killing, Bourke explains, because killing carries with it an almost erotic charge. Killing brings a rush of pleasure, an intense sense of power. Killing for most is an acquired taste. In war, soldiers kill because they learn to like to kill. They learn to like to kill because their cultures bless homicide. Bourke's account of the noncombatants, the doctors, chaplains, and women who support the troops, is especially disturbing. Although they rarely face bullets themselves, these noncombatants are often more blood lusty than the troops. Concerning women, Bourke writes, "rather than being (as some historians assert) the 'other' in war, women were an integral part of the slaughter of war and myths surrounding it" (p. 332).

Yet there is also much in Bourke's book that is surprising and insightful. The great majority of people in the military, of course, never see combat, but even of those in combat, the majority, at least of U.S. troops in World War II, did not fire a shot or strike a blow. Do soldiers kill out of hate? No, not really. Although

governments did their best to instill hatred, combat troops found it psychologically difficult to condone hateful killing. Such killing seemed somehow wrong. To be sure, many soldiers killed out of numbness and emotional distance. But more often than not, soldiers were able to kill because they actually respected their enemies. Codes of chivalry, which call for honoring opponents, thus actually enable killing by convincing soldiers that their actions are driven not by malice but by regard. Yet, paradoxically, atrocities, ranging from torture to massacring prisoners to mutilating bodies, are common in war, and more often than not they are accepted by soldiers as a horrible but inevitable part of combat. It was not atrocities that disturbed soldiers so much as their rare comrades who actively tried to stop the atrocities; combat troops found attempts to interfere with massacres and mutilations "profoundly disquieting" (p. 202).

Good books raise more questions than answers, and Bourke has written a very good book. Her chronological range is narrow: would her findings apply to earlier generations of warriors? Her accounts are limited to British, Australian, and American troops; one wonders whether the same things could be said of, say, German, or Russian, or Japanese troops. Bourke repeatedly stresses the centrality of stories to her investigation. Experience inevitably is encoded in narrative structures, in "war stories," and this process is crucial to the soldiers' confrontation with battle. Yet unlike, say, Paul Fussell in *The Great War and Modern Memory* (1975), Bourke sometimes seems more interested in the sociology than in the narrative imagination of her subjects. None of these observations are complaints. They are, rather, thoughts provoked by this powerful, disturbing, and compelling work.

Military history has changed dramatically since the days when books about war were either studies in generalship or Ramboesque titillations. Though both are common enough still, the study of war, now increasingly a branch of social and cultural history rather than political and diplomatic history, has generated a nuanced, methodologically complex literature. Given war's terrifying place in the human experience, books like Fussell's, or John Dower's *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (1986), or Omer Bartov's *Hitler's Army: Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich* (1991) enormously expand our understanding not only of war but also of ourselves. Bourke's book is an important addition to this rich literature.

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THOMAS W. ZEILER. *Free Trade, Free World: The Advent of GATT*. (The Luther Hartwell Hodges Series on Business, Society, and the State.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 267. \$39.95.

Thomas W. Zeiler's theme is the inappropriateness of declarations of adherence to general principles of world trade as an instrument of post-1945 international reconstruction or of U.S. hegemony. Before summer 1947 and the announcement of the Marshall Plan, U.S. foreign commercial policy was dominated by a Wilsonian confusion of morality with the real practice of international trade. This confusion was most apparent in the attempt by the State Department to obtain worldwide agreement to the Chapter of the International Trade Organization (ITO) with its ringing approval of multilaterally agreed open markets and disapproval of "discrimination." By "discrimination" was mainly meant the preferential tariffs on trade between the United Kingdom, some Commonwealth countries, and some British colonies. Fortunately for the U.S. and the world, Zeiler concludes, the ITO with its grand multilateral vision proved unnegotiable, bequeathing to the world only the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which became a forum for proposed bilateral tariff bargains that, if all went well, could be multilateralized. His book traces the steps to this more useful outcome.

The U.S. refused from the outset to link percentage reductions in its tariffs to elimination of discrimination. Congress kept its firm control over the tariff; the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act never offered a convincing opportunity for long term bargains and was in any case firmly based on the traditional American practice of an accumulation of bilateral, single-product tariff agreements, all of which could be altered by various Congressional safeguard clauses and "peril point" conditions. The imperialism of Commonwealth preferences, which the State Department and most notably William L. Clayton, "ideological Willie" as he was called by Hugh Dalton, denounced was sustained by U.S. trade practice. The U.K. preserved its preferences as bargaining counters, hoping to achieve the bargain it most wanted; guaranteed easier access to the U.S. market (a point rather lost in Zeiler's book). Commonwealth countries were hardly going to give up preferences on U.K. markets when Congress kept their agricultural exports out of the U.S. market (a point well illustrated by Zeiler). Commercially, therefore, as in the 1930s, the U.S. did not behave as a creditor. The Anglo-U.S. trade agreement of October 17, 1947 not only kept "discrimination" but established a future method for GATT. It consisted of more than 100 separate, painstakingly negotiated accords that could be multilateralized. Clayton's protests came to nothing; the Cold War and the Marshall Plan meant that any general principles which were antipathetic to West European governments' own reconstruction principles would be abandoned. The ITO chapter was then kicked to bits in Havana by Latin American states more interested in import substitution than in free trade. There was nothing that the U.S., in need of allies and unwilling to have the USSR make capital out of these quarrels, could or by then really wanted to do about the outcome. The GATT alone survived, be-

cause, Zeiler concludes, it could accommodate a judicious mixture of political and economic reasoning, of free trade principles and protectionism and, he adds, was more accurately representative of U.S. interests.

The book itself frequently resorts to rhetorical declaration of general principles; more precise information on the effects of such tariff cutting as there was before 1952 might have at times made the author's arguments clearer. Zeiler does, however, give a balanced picture of the politics of an episode that has not received much attention, and it has great contemporary appropriateness. The Cold War over, the U.S. resorted once more in devising the World Trade Organization to general principles more honored in the breach than in the observance, so far with results that are only a little more convincing.

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RICHARD C. FOLTZ. *Religions of the Silk Road: Overland Trade and Cultural Exchange from Antiquity to the Fifteenth Century*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. viii, 186. \$24.95.

This is a very small book for a very large subject whose subtitle promises something that the text does not provide. It might have been possible to squeeze into the about 50,000 words of text a survey of the religions along the Silk Road, but to attempt to incorporate overland trade and cultural exchange over almost two millennia is a tall order indeed, one that the author failed to fill.

From secondary sources, most of them in English, Richard C. Foltz has distilled a book written "first and foremost with the student and general reader in mind" (p. vii). It is certain that the reader unfamiliar with the subject will find in this book much information of interest: most of it accurate, some of it not. Foltz, in an uphill battle, makes a serious effort to hedge his statements with a multiplicity of stylistic devices such as "although firm evidence is lacking, it is not unlikely," "it has been suggested," and "it has been argued." If Foltz, as he states in the preface (p. vii), wished to avoid "resolving disputes over fineries of detail," he could have done so. There is enough undisputed material to be used on a subject so vast.

While Foltz correctly states that the term "Silk Road" was coined by Ferdinand von Richthofen (1833–1905), there is no reason to attribute to this German geologist and geographer any role "in that web of intrigue known as the Great Game." It was played by the British and the Russians. According to Foltz, and in reality, "The 'Silk Road' was not one road but many; it was actually a network of roads, generally going East to West, but with spurs into southern Iran, the northern Eurasian steppe, and south over the Hindu Kush to the Indian subcontinent" (p. 2). His view that "the Silk Road can be whatever we wish it to

be; it can be the substance of all our dreams" appears more controversial.

Clearly, the author's interest lies in the history of religions. But, since the book's subtitle refers also to trade, I am bound to say that in this respect the work falls short of even modest expectations. Let me just mention the most glaring omission. In 568 A.D., a Türk embassy led by the Sogdian Maniakh arrived in Constantinople, where it offered silk to the Emperor Justin II. Neither before that date nor after it have we such incontrovertible evidence of the direct silk trade with which this book claims to deal. The event is not mentioned by Foltz.

Many passages reveal a wobbly grounding in political history. The Ming dynasty replaced the Yuan in the fourteenth and not in the fifteenth century (p. 139). Foltz completely misrepresents the Karakitay and Jurchen relationship. According to Foltz, "The Qarakhitai had been forced out of their original territory by a tribe or confederation called Jurchen" (p. 108). Nothing of the sort happened. From their original habitat in Manchuria, the Kitan conquered China, where in 947 they founded the Liao dynasty. It was overthrown in 1115 by the Jurchen, who founded the Chin dynasty. At that time a small fraction of the Kitan moved west, and this is the group that is known as the Karakitay. The Uighur empire was founded in Mongolia and not on the southern Siberian steppe (p. 80). Foltz sometimes confuses the Uighur empire ruled by a kaghan in Mongolia with the smaller Uighur kingdom in Kocho. Manicheism attained official status in the Uighur Empire under the kaghan Bögü in 763 and not under "Uighur kings in the eighth and ninth centuries" (p. 29). To call Bulgai, the principal secretary of the Naghan Möngke, "chief of police" (p. 120) is inaccurate, anachronistic, and sophomoric. So, I guess, is Foltz's intended pun about the "male oriented view ('his-story') of historical writings. In his superfluous and modish effort (pp. 17–19) to drag women into the narrative, Foltz omits the important testimony of the Turfan paintings with their depiction of women donors.

Foltz uses the terms "Turkic" and "Turkish" interchangeably (see for example, p. 106). But the Manichean texts were translated (p. 78) not into Turkish but into a Turkic language, namely Uighur. Turkish is the language of Turkey.

Lack of space prevents me from making further remarks. In summation, in this book Foltz bit off more than he could chew. Yet I believe that he is capable of more thorough work than this hastily prepared book.

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JAMES Z. LEE and CAMERON D. CAMPBELL. *Fate and Fortune in Rural China: Social Organization and Population Behavior in Liaoning 1774–1873*. (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy, and Society in Past Time, number 31.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xxi, 280. \$49.95.

Historical demography began as a search for accurate numbers—birth rates, death rates—whereby the lives of ordinary people in the past could be compared with ours today. Following T. B. Malthus, it soon added economic concepts: how did feast or famine influence the likelihood of dying or being born? However, as James Z. Lee and Cameron D. Campbell's masterful book on the peasants of Daoyi district in rural China from 1774 to 1873 demonstrates, it has now moved far beyond its origins in statistics and economics to consider more difficult and profound social questions. Can the underlying principles of a society—what used to be called "culture"—influence such mundane features as fertility and mortality? Is human behavior universal, or does culture matter? Can the way households are constructed (in Daoyi, the multiple-family household is both ideologically and statistically dominant) influence outcomes—the likelihood of marrying, or having more or fewer children, of living to old age—for individuals located in different positions in such households? Culture does matter: demographic behavior reflects social organization.

Although set in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this is a profoundly sociological book. The authors' questions are about power and social stratification. Traditional Chinese society had two sources of social mobility: heredity and ability. An individual's fate was determined by the place he was born into in the household: only born or first-born male, brother of head, nephew of head, cousin of head. Yet with ability and achievement in state test systems, such as military and civil examinations, men could better their fortunes (p. 11). These two principles intertwined to create a "pliant but integrative" social system that, unlike the West, provides mobility within hierarchies and links individuals to society at large (p. 222).

The source of the data is household registers compiled by state authorities every three years over the century. Lee and Campbell have created one of the best databases for the study of human behavior in the past, certainly the best outside the ambit of Western European civilization, with 200,000 person-years of information. In Appendix A, the authors do an excellent job of explaining the strengths and weaknesses of this data. Appendix B provides an explanation of the statistical methods used that will clarify them for even the most unfamiliar reader. Both of these chapters could serve as models for that kind of explanation.

Building on Malthus, and in contrast to the Western European demographic system, the authors identify two positive (mortality) checks to population growth: infanticide and neglect. They also find two preventive (fertility) checks: delay in marriage for men, and low marital fertility. These latter two are especially valuable for what they add to our understanding of human demographic patterns. While marriage was universal for women, a significant proportion of men never married. Within marriage, low fertility was the result of delaying the first childbirth well after marriage. (More than ten percent of marriage to first birth

intervals were over ten years in length [p.93].) In addition, there were long intervals between births, and childbearing ended early. The average age at which women bore their final child was 33.5, compared with age 40 in Western Europe.

Unfortunately, while the research style is a sociological one, the writing style is sociological as well. Readers used to a more humanistic style of presentation will be put off by chapters that are essentially social science journal articles minus the "theory" and "data" sections. (These are, appropriately, at the beginning of the book.) The tables drive the text. Fascinating explanations are created as byproducts of the numerical results, rather than driving them.

In summary, this is a masterful work that contributes significantly to the development of historical demography as a discipline and to our understanding of the lives of ordinary people in the Chinese past. Long-term, expensive statistical projects using historical data are likely to be as rare in the future as they have been in the past, but a book like this demonstrates their inestimable value to historians as well as social scientists. Lee, Campbell, and their many collaborators and funders are to be congratulated.

LAUREL L. CORNELL
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LEO OU-FAN LEE. *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 409.

In the opening scene of Ian McEwan's recent novel *Amsterdam* (1998), a crowd is assembled outside a crematorium when "the phone in Vernon's pocket" rings. While every reader of this novel knows about, and many own, cellular phones, a telephone ringing in a fictional character's pocket suggests the crossing of some threshold between modernity as rooms and cities and pockets filling up with the latest gadgets and modernity as an intense form of self-consciousness requiring a personal and ongoing commitment to fashion, progress, and history. In 1930s and 1940s Shanghai, the subject of Leo Ou-fan Lee's artful and illuminating book, the telephones were ringing in the more conventional mode, off the hook and on the table, and in ways that also represented the unsettling and uneven transformation of the strange into the familiar.

In a fluid and careful manner, Lee casts his eye on an amazing range of artifacts, texts, and films in search of what he calls a "cultural imaginary" or "a contour of collective sensibilities and significations resulting from cultural production" (p. 63). This project is so ambitious it may be beyond the capacities of a single volume, since he considers not only modern ideas found in literature but also the material modernity found in telephones, Browning machine guns, Citroen cars, Parisian dresses, and the rest of the "Occidental exotica" (p. 23) handled and advertised in Shanghai. Nonetheless, Lee is true to his method by way of

providing, for example, both a concise history of movie theaters in Shanghai and an analysis of the ways in which movies influenced literature. He also explores intermediary realms of popular culture like movie magazines and calendar art adorned with movie stars. Lee uncovers a wealth of interesting information and anecdote and advances a striking and original interpretation of Shanghai and, by extension, a broader urban culture. In the process of doing so, he is careful to distinguish the particular cultural commitments of the city's intellectual elite who were excited, for example, by "the marriage between Art Deco and the skyscraper" and ordinary Shanghai residents whose lives might only brush such things and ideas through exposure to the popular press or an occasional purchase or other physical encounter.

Lee argues that Shanghai's famous openness to the world in the cultural realm was less an unrelieved imposition by the West than a more flexible transaction in which Chinese writers in particular got what they wanted out of the city as spur to their creative efforts. No matter how strong the imperialists were politically and economically, Chinese writers still overwhelmingly wrote in Chinese, albeit in a new vernacular style that broke with classical traditions. By keeping their language they kept their culture. By keeping their distance from Western culture behind walls of translation (often from European languages through Japanese to Chinese), the social barriers provided by their own intellectual circles and salons, and an ironic attitude toward their borrowings (as in Francophile Zhang Ruogu's joking comment to his painter and poet friend Ni Yide that his cramped attic flat "has the atmosphere of the painter Rudolfo's room, but regrettably you don't have a Mimi to be your companion" [p. 23]), Chinese writers created intricate fictional worlds that did far more than reflect the times in a realistic style or mimic Western models. Their work might be influenced by the Marquis de Sade, Charles Baudelaire, or Howard Hawks's screwball comedy "Bringing Up Baby" (1938), to name a tiny handful of the possibilities Lee surveys. But their larger and smaller projects retained an independent integrity as they used Shanghai as a "cultural laboratory" to invent and reinvent themselves and Chinese culture (p. 203). Lee believes that "because of their unquestioned Chinese-ness . . . these writers were able to embrace Western modernity openly, without fear of colonization" (p. 312). The enemy of this adventurous cosmopolitanism was less a domineering imperial presence than imperialism's principal unintended consequence: a rising, nationalistic imperative that insisted that everything and every work of art serve a national purpose. However, even in this drafting of intellectuals for the purpose of creating and propagandizing a new political aesthetic of nationalism, Lee uncovers fascinating cosmopolitan influences. For example, the People's Republic of China's national anthem, "March of the Volunteers," originated as part of the score for a 1935

film entitled "Heroic Youth," which also included explicit borrowings from "La Bohème."

Lee finds a particularly powerful example of a "Shanghai modern" culture in the stories of Eileen Chang, the quintessential Shanghai writer whose work, until recently, has been dismissed as frivolous by many Chinese critics for a seemingly shallow focus on love and romance. In one of Chang's stories, brilliantly explicated by Lee, love between strangers on a streetcar stalled by an air raid in Japanese-occupied Shanghai flowers as a strange and telling epiphany. Writers like Chang could stop time for their characters in ways that recognized the power of streetcars and history without losing control of a much more personal aesthetic concern. Personal issues continued to haunt the "master narrative" of war and revolution like the traditional ghost stories many writers and film makers liked to appropriate. This kind of self-mastery and control of technique in the service of her art permitted Chang to appeal to a broad Shanghai readership despite the rise of powerful national emotions. Perhaps such personal concerns could never be fully absorbed, elided or erased in a city that put them so prominently in films and stories as well as calendars and advertisements.

Lee also makes the important point that the immediacy and tenacity of the Chinese tradition in art and life made modernity more appealing as a matter of intellectual choice in Shanghai than in Paris or New York. Chinese modernists fundamentally lacked an "aesthetic hostility" toward bourgeois life. This is an important and surprising insight since Shanghai stood on the cusp of a formally antibourgeois socialist revolution. Hostility was more likely directed toward the Confucian past and its continuing power in the present to arrange marriages and otherwise stifle individuality. Chinese audiences could applaud Nora's departure from "A Doll's House" and at the same time, as readers, show an interest in a modern, liberating picture of female domesticity in the new nuclear family celebrated in Shanghai magazines. Modern gadgets and a marriage based on love might resolve Nora's dilemma in ways that would arouse skepticism on the part of European or American modernist critics. It is a measure of Lee's achievement in this book that such comparative issues, as well as the further, yet to be fully studied questions as to why and how a socialist revolution so quickly captured the hearts, minds, and routines of urban Chinese, are framed in such stimulating, entertaining, and thought-provoking terms.

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BERNARD WASSERSTEIN. *Secret War in Shanghai*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1998. Pp. xiv, 354. \$26.00.

"Shanghai had always been notorious as a refuge for renegades, black sheep and bad hats," writes the author of this well researched and skillfully prosed book. "But the topsy-turvy morality of occupation

seemed to dredge the worst human filth out of the mud of the Whangpoo" (p. 255). With this understanding, Bernard Wasserstein sets out to dredge the worst human filth out of various archives and portrays a Shanghai during World War II, especially during the Japanese occupation, in thick covers of intrigue, betrayals, and collaborations. The story centers on the wartime experiences of a quaint collection of international swindlers, professional screwballs, would-be Nazis, fake royal relatives, greedy taipans, and occasionally bona fide spies. The piling of human filth and inhuman behavior never stops throughout the entire book and makes it a fascinating peek at the wild Shanghai that once was.

Yet, there is indeed a very serious and scholarly aspect of the picture. Wasserstein excels at sorting out various strands of life in wartime Shanghai and providing a concise panorama of the overall situation with regard to the communities of exiled Jews, bickering Western expatriates, and, best of all, mutually hostile Nazi/Japanese allies in the city. The descriptions on the prewar politics in the multinational Concessions are richly textured; the portrayals of the Russian and German Jews and Nazi operatives in occupied Shanghai are sophisticated and well documented.

If this book excels in giving us general descriptions of the Western expatriates' communities in wartime Shanghai, it does not achieve the same level of success in its attempts to substantiate the drama presented as a "secret war" of intelligence operation although the author tries throughout the book to make it sound as though such was the case. Most of the characters mentioned are hardly "agents" or "spies" at all in any real sense but rather boosters, talkers, and almost unanimously pathological liars, only occasionally used by various intelligence organizations as informants at best. There was indeed a propaganda war of some sort, but it happened mostly in the open and did not contain the element of intrigue and excitement as Wasserstein claims. In fact, the roles of the main characters in serious intelligence warfare in wartime Shanghai are marginal here, and most of them do not measure in any significant way at all. Although the author spends the right amount of space on the British government-sponsored intelligence operations in China, the analysis is not focused. It is true that the Oriental Mission of Britain's intelligence organization, the Special Operations Executive (SOE), did not succeed in its ambitious projects such as the China Commando Group and the sabotage activities aimed at bombing the Japanese-controlled Kailan Mines, but the enormous success of SOE's Operation Remorse in China, led by the taipan brothers Tony and John Keswick, is unfortunately described in only a few paragraphs. Operation Remorse, which sabotaged Chungking's currency stability through illegal currency trading on the black market, profited a phenomenal 77 million pounds for the British government during the war. Wasserstein claims that John Keswick, chief of the SOE in China, and the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) spymaster, Zhou

Enlai, had a cooperative relationship but again offers just a fleeting sentence without full explanation on such an important revelation. One gets a sense that there was not any "secret war" going on at all but rather simply a comic skit played by a contingent of colorful and babbling personalities trying to survive the harsh Japanese occupation in Shanghai by selling their souls and bodies to the highest bidders.

A more serious issue arises when one reads the book: it lacks any meaningful Chinese sources to balance the heavily Anglo perspective presented in this study. Meaningful treatment of the extraordinary Chinese participation in the intelligence and propaganda warfare in occupied Shanghai is remarkably absent. The descriptions of Chinese-related activities or figures lack sophistication and are for the most part cliché driven and often erroneous. Milton Miles of the U.S. Navy and SACO (Sino-American Cooperative Organization) is said to have been the chief of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) in China from 1942 to 1945, while in fact he was fired as OSS representative in China as far back as 1943. Tai Li, who is called Gestapo or Himmler of China throughout the book, is said to be the forefather of the CCP's secret police apparatus (p. 292), but the opposite is true.

Nevertheless, this book deserves attention from anyone who is serious about understanding the complicated communities of foreign expatriates in wartime Shanghai.

YU MAOCHUN
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SEE HENG TEOW, *Japan's Cultural Policy toward China, 1918–1931: A Comparative Perspective*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 175.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center; distributed by Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 310.

See Heng Teow's work describing China between the wars takes its place among studies revisiting the complex era of 1918–1931 with its warlord diversity, a phony Peking government, and finally a new central government at Nanking. Recent scholars view that China not as a passive recipient of "cultural imperialism," but as assertive and active. Teow, like Sun Youli in *China and the Origins of the Pacific War, 1931–1941* (1993), and I in my *Chinese Boycotts versus Japanese Bombs: The Failure of China's Revolutionary Diplomacy, 1931–1932* (1991), sees China, despite an absence of central strength, actively pressing its interests in international relations. Teow argues that in the spending of Japan's Boxer Rebellion indemnity remissions, China was unlike helpless victims of foreign "cultural imperialism," asserting its own objectives sometimes against Tokyo's designs. This is worth noting. His definition of Japan's cultural approach, however, is so inclusively fuzzy that conclusions are difficult.

Rather than defining what was cultural in Japan's China policy, he leaves the reader to decipher the

"cultural development experience" that Japan sought to impose on China. Teow uses, interchangeably, the terms "cultural," "policy," "diplomacy," and "influence" as well as "cultural imperialism." Concentrating on Tokyo's projects in China funded by the indemnity remissions, the author compares Japan's experience with similarly funded American and British projects, which he expands to include private and philanthropic projects. What Teow considers Japan's "cultural" approach from 1918–1931 includes not only educational and scholarly projects but public health and relief, as well as scientific and medical aid and facilities.

Teow organizes details by topic, with minimal historical narrative. Thus, the reader must know that "the Chinese" and "the Chinese government" credited with action are more specifically the "Peking Government," a warlord regime, or the Kuomintang's (KMT's) National Government at Canton. From his or her own timeline of this extremely complex period in China, the reader must know that when Teow states that "the government" rejects Japanese plans in 1929, this signifies the anti-imperialistic revolutionary diplomacy of Nanking. Bound by a topical focus, his chronology jerks the reader from the *late* 1920's under KMT control in one chapter back to the *early* 1920's and warlord Peking in the next. Similarly, Japanese efforts in China seem divorced from politics back home. Did Tokyo's action represent a Seiyukai or Minseitō cabinet (which differed considerably on China policy)? Did cultural projects in China represent General Giichi Tanaka's toughness or famed Foreign Minister Kijūrō Shidehara's conciliatory approach? Neither name appears, not even in the index. Teow lists the details, but the reader must place them in a broader historical context.

Those craving to know how various powers remitted their Boxer indemnity payments to China may find the study useful. Others may feel overstimulated by the itemized 1923–1930 budget for all Japan's remission-funded "cultural" programs described in prose followed by a table with the same numbers (pp. 194–195). Obviously, this dissertation winnowed a great stream of valuable resources. The *Gaiko Jiho* (*Diplomatic Review*) is an extremely valuable source for Japanese views on China in this period. Teow's inclusion of bilateral archival materials in the research must be commended. Although rich in commentary from contemporary Japanese and Chinese intellectuals, unfortunately, this account does not quote foreign ministers such as the aforementioned Shidehara and the series of Chinese who dominated this interwar period. That said, the chapter on "Views of Japanese Educators and Intellectuals" (pp. 174–80) may attract those seeking Japanese attitudes on China.

One analytical paradigm that might be applied to the data is East Asia's traditional vertical hierarchy and how China and Japan were exchanging ranks in this period. Teow finds that although the Japanese government provided significant aid to Chinese, the latter remained offended by Japanese "arrogance."

The superior in the relationship treats the inferior according to a situational ethic rather than as equal. The Chinese reject this manner of delivery from above. The Japanese that Teow researched apparently lacked the empathy to comprehend Chinese ingratitude for official aid, concurrent with Japan's successive attempts after 1918 to coerce China. However, when Chinese failed to appreciate Japan's funding of studies of Chinese traditional culture, this may also reflect the May Fourth Movement's rejection of tradition—China's true cultural revolution. Teow's three references to the momentous May Fourth Movement are brief, and two describe this turning point only as being anti-Japanese. The author finally refers to May Fourth to exemplify China's eclectic adaptation of foreign science and democratic ideals on its own, more evidence that even from 1918 to 1931, China was not a silent victim of cultural imperialism.

DONALD A. JORDAN
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JANICE MATSUMURA. *More than a Momentary Nightmare: The Yokohama Incident and Wartime Japan*. (Cornell East Asia Series, number 92.) Ithaca: Cornell University East Asia Program. 1998. Pp. vi, 172. Cloth \$22.00, paper \$14.00.

How vigorously did ordinary Japanese resist their government's policies at the height of World War II? And how effective were the Japanese state's techniques of controlling thought and expression on the home front? In both cases, the answer is less than one might expect, according to Janice Matsumura. Her well-researched, clearly written monograph addresses these questions by focusing on the arrest and eventual prosecution of several dozen journalists and policy researchers, starting in September 1942, for allegedly violating the revised Peace Preservation Law of 1941 or conspiring to revive the outlawed Japan Communist Party.

Matsumura argues persuasively that this episode, known since the war as the Yokohama Incident, was not a simple case of press censorship by an all-powerful thought police. Instead, the targets were not only journalists but also certain well-connected researchers who had recently renounced leftist positions and now professed to support the wartime imperial government. The researchers, some of whom were linked to the elite Showa Research Association that advised the first Konoe cabinet in 1937–1939, suffered especially harsh treatment, although two years later the police renewed the pressure on journalists by shutting down several hard-hitting monthlies and harassing major publishers.

Rejecting a common view that district police concocted the affair to embarrass former Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro, Matsumura contends that the repressions were propelled by second thoughts after 1941 about the reliability of well-educated former leftists in mid-level policy positions and an exagger-

ated fear of domestic revolution if the war turned out badly for Japan. The Yokohama suspects' "resistance largely consisted of attempting to influence official opinion" and conducting "studies to determine the potential for revolution in Japan" (p. 47). More generally, Matsumura does not regard "the apparent lack of open resistance to authority as just the product of thought control" (p. 27); instead, "many individuals and groups may have cooperated with or supported" the government by rational choice "in order to serve their own interests" (p. 26). She correctly points out that official censorship was fragmented and that, as the war deepened, top authorities "had little control over their own instruments of control" (p. 147), as the Yokohama Incident reveals.

Even though Japan faced certain defeat, in July 1945 prosecutors began trying various suspects, nearly all of whom admitted their guilt in return for gaining immediate freedom. Charges against the remaining defendant were dropped when American Occupation leaders abolished the Peace Preservation Law in October 1945. In an unprecedented turnabout, the police officers responsible for the incident were then put on trial by the postwar Japanese government, without prompting from the Americans. At length, three of them were convicted of torturing wartime suspects, although all three escaped punishment thanks to a general amnesty celebrating Japan's liberation from American occupation in April 1952. Matsumura notes that prosecution of the Yokohama police officers "was meant to be a people's repudiation of the wartime state and marked the first time in Japanese history that the courts ruled in favour of private citizens in a case against state officials" (p. 118).

Both archival and historiographical in compass, this forthright study improves the standard of historical discourse about civilian victimization and cooperation in wartime Japan. Unfortunately, Matsumura's publisher did not insist on an index, captions for photographs, running heads on each page, or consistent transliterations of Japanese names.

TOM HAVENS
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LISA YONEYAMA. *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory*. (Twentieth Century Japan: The Emergence of a World Power, number 10.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 298.

Lisa Yoneyama's book is a wide-ranging investigation of the state of memory in Hiroshima. Her point of departure is that memory is never unaffected by surrounding influences and that these influences have been strong and many-faceted in Hiroshima. In addition, attempts to influence the content of memories of the world's first atomic bombing are considerable today.

Yoneyama's thesis is that memory of Hiroshima rests on forgotten elements of Japan's militaristic past.

Also, the influences on present memories are not exclusively referable to forgetfulness or life experiences of the aging *hibakusha*, atom bomb survivors, but are consciously shaped by diverse actors for their own purposes. Thus, she makes her study interdisciplinary, stressing that memory, history, and knowledge are intertwined. Her theoretical basis rests on Walter Benjamin's version of Marxist historiography, one important point of which is reclaiming missed elements in history for a critical view at the present.

Yoneyama uses a wide range of materials, including extensive interviews with, among others, *hibakusha*, peace activists, and city planners. Her book is built around three main sections: Cartographies of Memory, Storytellers, and Memory and Positionality. Within these sections, she takes up the following subjects: part one—Taming the Memoryscape, Memory in Ruins; part two—On Testimonial Practices, Mnemonic De-tours; and part three—Ethnic and Colonial Memories: The Korean and Postwar Peace and the Feminization of Memory.

The book opens with an effective illustration of how memories of the past, that is of Japan's militarism, have been suppressed in creating what is generally hailed as the epitome of the peace-loving nation that has emerged after the atomic bombing: the Peace Memorial Park in Hiroshima. Planned by the world-renowned architect Kenzo Tange, it is in fact remarkably similar to his design from 1942 for a grand Shintoist memorial at the foot of Mount Fuji glorifying the Japanese Empire.

Meanings hidden in the cityscape are enhanced, suppressed, or obliterated, not only in physical buildings and sites but in the image city leaders wish to fashion. Thus, the atomic bomb is now perceived to have overly gloomy associations for future growth, and the slogan *akarui heiwa*, bright and cheerful peace, has been coined. The importance of such a doctored change in perceptions is explored on a number of levels, including its possible impact on tourists and the effect of making peace "a sign of innocence and harmlessness" (p. 62).

In Storytellers, past and present practices of retelling the atomic bomb experience are analyzed from the perspective of tracing influences in and motivations for the narration. These are seen to be much more complicated than the wish to share the ultimate horror of mankind in order to contribute to "No More Hiroshimas" and world peace. One salient point made is that the term *hibakusha*, used indiscriminately of the survivors, contributes very little to the understanding of the diverse backgrounds, motivations, and aspirations of those whom it denotes. Also, the retelling itself is imbued with influences outside the survivors' own experiences, such as the almost automatic indication of distance to the epicenter of the bomb. These references were demanded by medical and legal authorities to prove authenticity of presence at the bombing and thus came to be understood as a necessary tag of identification in other situations.

Identification as survivors is especially controversial in the case of Koreans, with the numbers of killed ranging between 5,000 and 50,000. The complications are many, including the issue of Koreans in Japan and animosity between South and North Korea. Here, as in other aspects, Yoneyama enlarges questions of Hiroshima to the wider issue of what she calls the nationalization of memory, not only for Koreans but for Japan as well where the "Japanization" of the atomic bomb experience has made the Japanese nation a victim. Such appropriation of the past is also seen as a continuing threat, certain official memories causing others to be forgotten.

Until recently, research published in languages other than Japanese on Hiroshima and Nagasaki has largely been positivistic. Yoneyama's research on memory and Hiroshima adds considerably to our understanding of what shapes our perceptions of the atomic age. Both in subject matter and in method, she breaks new ground, relevant also in the larger framework of Hiroshima's importance in a post-Cold-War global perspective.

MONICA BRAW

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FILOMENO V. AGUILAR, JR. *Clash of Spirits: The History of Power and Sugar Planter Hegemony on a Visayan Island*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 313. Cloth \$49.00, paper \$28.95.

This book is truly a fabulous tale in all the senses of the word. Here the Filipino past is transformed into an exotic landscape peopled by indigenous spirits, one where chance determines a person's fate, and life is one long colossal gamble whose outcome is largely the result of dare and the agency of one's *dungan* or spirit companion. The world that Filomeno V. Aguilar, Jr., conjures up, however, is one of conflict and opposition between the local and the foreign, the indigenous and the Spanish, two irreconcilable forces at play within the political, social, and belief structures of colonial society. There is apparently no room for syncretism, amalgamation, or appropriation of cultures here but, instead, "two colliding worlds," two realities, two constructions, two powers at war with one another (p. 46).

Aguilar situates himself in what is fast becoming a growing historiographic tradition that eschews a purely economic determination to social formation in Filipino colonial structures. Instead, he sets out to rediscover the "historic role of culture" and how it is inseparable from class structuring and state formation. As such, he is following along the path previously beaten by both Reynaldo Ileto (*Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910* [1979]) and Vincente Rafael (*Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* [1988]) in writing histories that can be both understood on their own terms and yet still satisfy

the standards of Western historiography. But the "clash of spirits" is equally within the inner world of the author's own mind. Aguilar is only too aware of the dilemmas posed by attempting to recover such a vision of the past through the lens of a Western-style education and a profoundly Christian upbringing. He confronts these difficulties by drawing on oral tradition as well as written sources to create folk-historic categories of analysis that weave luck and gambling, spirit and power encounters, social reciprocity and rank, and the idea of capital as evil into an historical narrative (p. 11).

Although the study is primarily about social formation on the Central Philippine sugar island of Negros during the Spanish and American colonial regimes, a period that spans from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries, its initial chapters present a reinterpretation of the broad sweep of Philippine history. Aguilar first reconstructs the cosmological perspective and social structure of the prequest inhabitants and then charts how these were shattered by the processes of colonization. This would be the subject of a very interesting book in its own right, but, in the present study, it serves merely as an introduction to the primary focus of the work. The second and more substantial part of the book begins with a discussion of the establishment of sugar *haciendas* on Negros and the origins and changing relationships between planters and farm workers. Subsequent chapters deal with the rivalry between these sugar hacenderos and native shamans over leadership and the competition between the former and colonial administrators over economic policy. Rather than presenting these struggles as purely political and economic ones, Aguilar, also explains them in terms of strategies of resistance, games of chance, the creation of atavistic charismas, and battles for spiritual supremacy that cast new light on the relative power of social groups in relation to one another and to the state. Colonial relations between colonized and colonizers are shown to be much more complex and far less one-sided than previously described.

Given the contradictions and dilemmas that he recognizes in his own background, ones that imply a hybrid or syncretic perspective, it is surprising that Aguilar denies the same ability to people in the past but persists in portraying their world purely in terms of irreconcilable opposites, the native counterpoised against the foreign, the clash of spirits. Ironically, it is in the very "catholicness" of the author's own viewpoint, one that sees the world only in terms of opposites rather than as characterized by syncretic adaptation and amalgamation, that the greatest unresolved dilemma of a Western legacy is most apparent. In the end, perhaps, Aguilar is himself unselfconsciously striving to create another version of a "usable past," one that identifies a Filipino culture essentially unsullied by external influences and one that persists into the present. There is, of course, nothing amiss with such an aim, but it does tend to depict the external

Other (the colonizing powers) without sufficient nuance, a sort of reversed Orientalism. In particular, Spanish colonialism is depicted as a fixed and unchanging monolith, a degenerate church and a debilitated and virtually irrelevant state (pp. 81, 93, 148).

In the end, does he manage to pull it off? Nearly, but not quite. Maybe it is not really possible to convincingly reconstruct how historical actors perceived their world in the past. But, in attempting the virtually impossible, Aguilar combines innovation and sound scholarship to provide insights into another dimension of the Filipino past and substantially expands the conceptualization of "history from below." On these grounds alone, he deserves to be loudly applauded.

GREG BANKOFF

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NONICA DATTA. *Forming an Identity: A Social History of the Jats*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. pp. viii, 228. \$26.95.

In late colonial India, diverse clans of agriculturists in southeast Punjab (present-day Haryana) developed their diffuse social and cultural traditions into the strongly self-defined Jat *qaum* (community). The process by which they, and their political and religious leaders, consolidated their syncretic cultures into a unified caste identity up through the 1930s forms the central narrative of Nonica Datta's well-researched book. While substantial parts of her evidence come from British colonial accounts of Jats, she attributes little of this identity construction to the British. Rather, drawing heavily on vernacular literature, supplemented by her interviews with Jat participants, she concentrates on the agency of Jats themselves. Her thoughtful work should cause scholars to reconsider the process of identity formation during the colonial period and will help us better understand subsequent social and political developments in Punjab.

Datta begins with a historical exploration of the variety of diverse and inclusive traditions followed by the social groups in Haryana who would become the Jats. She does not dwell on their movement into the region or their early sedentarization but rather focuses her narrative on the nineteenth century after they had become the dominant "warrior-cultivators and semi-pastoralists" (p. 11) there. Datta classifies their folk cultures into two distinct but overlapping types. *Kachha* traditions contained unorthodox and popular practices that centered on their "sense of common heroic descent" (p. 47) from—often martyred—nomadic warriors. Persistent in their identity was their distinctive practice of *karewa*, where widows or divorced wives cohabited with their brothers-in-law, thus retaining property within that male lineage. "Reformist" traditions stressed "purity, frugality, truthfulness and monotheism" (p. 39); here, women appeared dangerous to male religiosity. Both *kachha* and reformist traditions combined Islamic and Hindu beliefs but simultaneously defined Jats in opposition to Brah-

mans and other Hindu urban groups, especially merchant money lenders. While British colonial policies for military recruitment based on "martial race" theory enhanced the development of Jat identity, Datta argues that only with the coming of the Arya Samaj reform movement in the 1880s did Jats acquire the "textual sophistication, uniformity, and internal mechanisms for marshalling intellectual resources" (p. 48) into a unified community.

From that point into the early twentieth century, Datta convincingly explains, the Arya Samaj enabled Jat consolidation, but at the cost of distancing themselves from Muslims. Unlike many other scholars, Datta regards the Arya Samaj not as the product of, or reaction to, Western influence on Indian society but rather as an indigenous religious movement evolving from preexisting Jat *kachha* and reformist traditions. Arya Samaj leaders used print culture to produce Jat *qaumi* assertions of their Kshatriya and Arya status and created narratives about putative Jat historical unity.

Datta analyzes Jat political mobilization largely by following the careers of Jat leaders including Chhotu Ram (1881–1945) and Bhagat Phool Singh (1885–1942), both Arya Samajis. Chhotu Ram tried to make himself the "sole spokesman of Jat interests" (p. 93); his Zamindar League political party and his *Jat Gazette* newspaper sought to unite Jats through representing their common agriculturist interests to themselves and to the British colonial government. Datta traces how Chhotu Ram forged political alliances with Muslim leaders, expressed through the Punjab Unionist Party, to counterbalance the high-caste Hindu dominated Indian National Congress. Yet, the developing Jat popular identification of Muslims as "other," embodied in the career and reported martyrdom of Bhagat Phool Singh, ultimately shattered this Unionist political alliance. Datta ends her narrative before the partition of Punjab between the new nations of India and Pakistan in 1947 and long before independent India divided Punjab still further, separating the Jat-dominated state of Haryana from Sikh-dominated East Punjab in 1966.

A major strength of Datta's book is her synthesis of a variety of primary materials, including rarely used vernacular and oral sources, into a study of the formation of Jat identity from the perspective of the Jats themselves. In her introduction, she briefly surveys some variant interpretations of the social and political history of Punjab, but most of her analysis concentrates on her reading of her impressive sources. Comparative developments elsewhere in Punjab (such as Jat conversion to Islam or Sikhism), or in India generally, do not receive much attention. Nevertheless, scholars familiar with existing scholarship about identity formation in Punjab during the colonial period will appreciate how insightfully Datta has used her primary sources to make her distinctive argument. Scholars will

also draw upon her work to inform their future studies of other social formations during the colonial period.

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SAMITA SEN. *Women and Labour in Late Colonial India: The Bengal Jute Industry*. (Cambridge Studies in Indian History and Society, number 3.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 265.

Samita Sen's ambitious study is of women in the Bengal jute industry in late colonial India, by which she means the end of the nineteenth century to independence. She chose the jute industry as the only registered industry (under the Factories Act of 1881, amended in 1891) that employed any substantial number of women, some twelve to twenty-one percent of the work force from 1897 to 1950. Other industrial employers of women were smaller and more casual undertakings, such as cotton mills, rice mills, and bone mills, where women formed forty, thirty-five, and thirty-two percent of the work force respectively (p. 11). Presumably the choice was made because sources were more plentiful. Sen uses colonial records and legislative materials, jute mill and trade union records, and some interviews. Drawing on Dipesh Chakrabarty's *Rethinking Working-Class History: Bengal 1890–1940* (1989), she adds a few years to his Table 1.1 (p. 10 in Chakrabarty, p. 5 in Sen) and much additional material on women in Bengal and the jute mills there (Chakrabarty's index shows fifteen pages on women versus Sen's 247-page book).

Sen argues that because the jute industry employed fewer women, it offered the scope to investigate both those women who undertook industrial employment and those who were "excluded" (p. 13), and one of her major contentions is that the jute industry "offers an interesting case of women's 'exclusion'" (p. 4). Yet the gradual decline from 17.4 percent in 1897 to 12.4 percent in 1950 (she takes the high point, 20.9 percent in 1901, which appears atypical to me in her selective pre-1911 figures) is not dramatic, and the case for deliberate exclusion is not really made. (The real decline seems to have occurred from the 1960s to the present; p. 214.) Sen's other very significant and related assertions—that "the devaluation of women's work is the key to some of the most significant social changes in early twentieth-century Bengal: the spread of dowry, the increasing restrictions on widow remarriage, the diffusion of *purdah* and child marriage" (p. 17)—are not convincingly evidenced by patterns of historical data.

At the micro level, Sen's work is thorough and informative. She has described migration from rural to urban areas and the composition of the jute mill labor force, pointing to the tendencies for married women to stay behind and work in the countryside while widows and deserted or deserting wives migrated and sought work in the mills. She has looked closely at recruitment and work patterns within the mills, concluding that

although women were relegated to certain lower-paid jobs, they were not on the whole segregated within the work setting, so that their mobilization for collective action by unions was not easy (pp. 93, 225–226). Sen presents detailed material about the policies of the colonial state and factory owners regarding women factory workers, particularly with respect to their motherhood and health. Showing that mill owners and government alike preferred welfare clinics and home visits to maternity benefits and other welfare measures, she also sees this as the creation of "networks of surveillance" over workers and their homes (p. 165). Looking at sexual and marital arrangements, she moves beyond the mill women to the urban poor, prostitutes, and Bengali bourgeois women to establish a broader context for her conclusion that gender and class relations in late colonial Bengal were "embedded in and constructed through one another" (p. 213).

Sen, in sum, has raised important questions about the relationship of marriage and family practices to industrial work settings in late colonial Bengal, and she has assembled a rich body of material for cross-cultural and cross-national analyses of gender and class interaction in processes of rural to urban migration, urbanization, and industrialization. A greater investment in oral history (historical anthropology being admittedly my field, not hers) might have provided more insights, but like Chakrabarty before her, she fails to resolve crucial issues of culture and consciousness. However, Sen's quest for working-class women's history in Bengali jute mills was a very challenging one, and she productively pushes our knowledge and questions further.

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MARIA MISRA. *Business, Race, and Politics in British India c. 1850–1960*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1999. Pp. xiii, 250. \$72.00.

In the nineteenth century, as British rule integrated the Indian economy into the international system, there was a large flow of foreign, primarily British, capital into India with consequent external ownership of much of the modern sector. The managing agency system was one of the principal instruments through which foreign control was exercised. Managing agencies were private partnership firms, the senior partners resident in Britain and the junior partners in India, that controlled a diverse range of joint-stock companies to which they provided entrepreneurial, banking, and managing services under the terms of a legal agreement known as an agency contract (rather than by ownership of shares in the companies). At the end of the nineteenth century, there were about sixty of these managing agencies, a significant proportion of them in Calcutta, where they were most active in such areas as jute, tea plantations, mining, and shipping.

Managing agencies have been the subject of considerable attention by historians, most of whom have criticized their concentration on primary production and exports at the expense of manufacturing industry as leading to distorted economic growth in India. Maria Misra extends this discussion to an analysis of the relationship between the commercial, political, and social life of British businessmen engaged in these agencies, chiefly in Calcutta, in order to assess their impact on imperial rule itself. A recurrent theme throughout the book is that British businessmen, with a mindset based on social isolation and racial exclusivity, were far more imperialistic than British officials themselves, with negative consequences for the good of their commercial interests as well as for political relationships within the Indian empire.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part covers familiar ground with a discussion of the origins of the managing agency houses in the period 1860–1919 but pays particular attention to the forces that shaped their character: economic conditions, the peculiar nature of business in India, and the closed society within which British business operated. In this period, Misra argues, managing agencies performed a positive function by providing managerial talent and mobilizing capital that might not otherwise have been available, and by establishing a reputation for reliability and creditworthiness. The second part of the book, consisting of three chapters, examines the part played by the managing agencies in the Indian economy between 1919 and 1947. In this period, the role of the state and of Indian entrepreneurs grew considerably, but the managing agencies failed to adapt to the new circumstances. They clung to an organizational structure that allowed them to retain control of their companies and provided easy profits, although they could have done better by converting to limited liability status, and they preserved their social exclusivity instead of cooperating more closely with the growing class of Indian businessmen and even British manufacturers and traders anxious to do business in India. The third part, comprising four chapters, shows a similar inability on the part of the agency houses to adapt to the social and political changes that occurred in India after 1919, particularly in the context of rising Indian nationalism. A fascinating subtheme in this part is the way in which the government of India accepted the inevitability of political change and attempted, without success, to persuade the managing agents to adjust to the new conditions. A final chapter shows the managing agencies lingering on after independence; deprived of the imperial context in which they had prospered, they responded to the new situation by disinvesting rather than by accommodating.

This book is a significant contribution to the understanding of the political economy of the managing agency system. Its fresh angle of approach is sustained by the use of a wide range of original sources, notably the records of managing agency firms and other company records located in various archives in Britain and

India, as well as government and private records. The author has also conducted oral interviews with persons associated with some of the agencies and has made good use of the oral archives at the India Office Library in London. In addition, she has a very good command of the secondary sources—perhaps too good, for there are nearly 800 footnotes, with a handful of authors being cited repeatedly. There are twelve tables of varying usefulness: the figures in table 1 (managerial integration in Indian industries to 1911) do not add up; table 9A (distribution of commercial and industrial seats in the legislative bodies after 1919) omits Bengal, which is the focus of the book; and table 10 (which provides figures for British investment in India) does not specify the units. But these are minor cavils. In sum, this is an excellent study of an important subject. The theme of the book is clear throughout, and it is well written and refreshingly free of pretentious jargon.

PETER HARNETTY
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IAN TALBOT. *Pakistan: A Modern History*. London: C. Hurst & Co. 1998. Pp. xvi, 432. \$35.00.

The fiftieth anniversary of a state is an appropriate time to write a history of that state. Ian Talbot has done so for Pakistan and has done a superb job. He has an advantage over political scientists, who often undertake such a task, as he is a historian. The usual study of Pakistan does not ignore the history of the “Pakistan movement” that led to the demand for a separate state for the Muslim majority areas of united India. Nor does Talbot, but he brings into the study a field in which he has excelled in his earlier writings: the governance of the territory that is now Pakistan during the British Raj (see, for example, *Punjab and the Raj, 1848–1947* [1988]).

Talbot’s thesis is that the British-controlled territory acquired before the mid-nineteenth century and generally to the east of the Indus valley was acquired for mainly commercial reasons. It may also be true, as is often said, that it was gained “in a fit of absence of mind.” Talbot states, quite correctly in my view, that the Indus valley and the land to the west was taken for reasons of security, against tsarist expansion and Afghan raiding. This is not to say that there were not security areas in the east as well; the Northeast Frontier Agency (now Arunachal Pradesh) is an example.

Sir Charles Napier’s annexation of Sindh in 1843 and the conquest of Punjab (which then included much of the present Northwest Frontier Province) five years later brought the British face to face with Afghans and Baloch and beyond them the Russians. The governance of this newly acquired land required, in the British view, a much more rigid system than the pattern of gradual inclusion of Indians in governance in the remainder of India that began to develop, however slowly, after the Sepoy Mutiny.

Talbot describes the rule of what is now Pakistan as a three-pronged governance in a "British security state in northwest India" (p. 65). First was the rigid bureaucratic hold on the region. Although Sindh remained a part of Bombay until after the passage of the Government of India Act of 1935, the commissioners and lower officials dominated the government there as they did in Punjab and in the Northwest Frontier Province after it was separated from Punjab in 1901. This was also true in Balochistan, where the residents did not have a vote until 1970. The second prong was the military. As a security region, cantonments were numerous, as was the drawing of Indian troops from northwestern Punjab and adjacent districts of the Frontier. The third element was the cooption of the landlords, who became the principal political figures in Punjab and Sindh. One result of this was the weakness of both the Congress and the Muslim League until just short of the partition in 1947.

Talbot uses this background to help explain the instability of government in Pakistan. At its birth, the politicians were a weak group, unable to frame a constitution for almost nine years after independence, unable to maintain a stable central government after the deaths of Muhammad Ali Jinnah in 1948 and Liaquat Ali Khan in 1951, unable to exercise political control over the bureaucracy and the military, and unable to accept the participation of the people through an election. Pakistan has existed under the dominance of military leaders supported by senior bureaucrats much of the time since independence. When civilian rule was in place (as under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto), it, too, became autocratic. The last civilian government, that of Mian Nawaz Sharif, was displaced by a military move on October 12, 1999 (an event too late for Talbot's book).

In the August 14, 1997 (the fiftieth anniversary) issue of *Dawn*, I wrote that the rulers of Pakistan might well have adopted as their motto the words of Commodore Vanderbilt: "The public be damned." Talbot's excellent study has justified both his thesis and my quotation of Vanderbilt. He concludes by describing the governance of Pakistan as one of viceregalism, clientelism, and confrontationalism (p. 368): a good summary.

Very useful additions to the body of the book are two appendixes. The first gives brief biographies of the leading characters. The second describes the main political and religious organizations that have operated in Pakistan.

This book belongs in every collection on South Asia.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

PETER ENNALS and DERYCK W. HOLDSWORTH. *Homeplace: The Making of the Canadian Dwelling over Three*

Centuries. Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. 1998. Pp. xvi, 305. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

Architectural history, because of its close association with the study of fine art, is usually a stylistic appraisal of architect-designed structures, with reflections upon the cultural significance of their form and decoration. The shortcoming of this aesthetic approach is its indifference to technology and its focus on institutional buildings and the grand homes of the social elite. Such homes were made to impress the viewer with the client's wealth, taste, and, in Canada, attachment to Britain. Peter Ennals and Deryck W. Holdsworth are historical geographers who see themselves as "laying out a different and productive way of evaluating Canada's housing history, in which the artefact is set squarely amid the social and economic forces that energized the settlement experience and geography of the country" (p. xii). In addition to the high-style "polite houses," they consider the more numerous vernacular dwellings, "folk houses," and company housing for workers that were all erected by builders without formal architectural training. Climate and local resources were more important than style in these humbler structures. The writers' inclusion of rough, improvised, and, sometimes, temporary shelters for resource-industry workers, such as loggers, is original. The disposition of space within dwellings is noted, as is its social significance. Building methods and new technology, such as the iron stove, are discussed, but in a more cursory way. Ennals's line drawings of exteriors and floor-plans complement the text nicely.

The framework for the narrative is economic history, the main event being Canada's transition in the 1850s from an agricultural society with a mercantile economy to an urban culture under industrial capitalism. The privately built house of local design was superseded by the standardized, ready-to-occupy home constructed by real estate developers. The builders' inspiration came, not from tradition and memory but from published, architectural pattern books. Mail-order house kits assisted the process of standardization. Like ready-to-wear clothing, commercial homes offered the buyer a limited choice from what was currently fashionable. Variety in exterior detail, giving the illusion of individuality, masked a sameness in internal layout. Just as technology, labor, and capital crossed the border between Canada and the United States (usually going northward), architectural fashions were North American rather than national. Their international character is well illustrated in chapter eight, which describes the spread of the California arts-and-crafts bungalow into British Columbia and its translation into local terms. The authors also excel in chapter six when describing the "self-conscious," post-1850s mansions, whose functional divisions accommodated the rigid etiquette of Victorian high society. There may have been more nostalgia among English-speaking Canadians for styles of British derivation, such as

Tudor Revival, yet their preferences were usually in tune with American taste.

The emergence of the private home as a standardized, industrial product diminished its value as an artifact of local culture. Canadians were consumers of imported styles, which explains the rarity of innovative architects in that country. More striking is the writers' observation that, apart from isolated Ukrainian immigrants on the prairies, newcomers were quick to embrace the established American styles and structures that gave no hint of the occupant's ancestral traditions. This pattern of rapid adjustment was already evident in 1780–1850, when later arrivals accepted wooden-frame construction and Georgian forms. The Acadians of the Atlantic provinces, however, retained their own "hall-and-parlor" room division, despite conformist exteriors. The writers suggest that living in an established building type was a mark of the immigrant's material success. Having considered building patterns in the emigrant-producing areas of Europe, they are puzzled by the rarity of cultural transference to North America after 1800.

This is a wide-ranging, informative, and suggestive book. The reader loses a sense of time as the narrative moves back and forth between geographic regions and the dwellings of different social groups. This is a consequence of the writers' emphasis on regionalism and their determination to chronicle the full range of housing. Their account of Canada's history is simplified and sometimes in error, as in the description of the Acadians' expulsion from Nova Scotia or of Susan Denton Massey's Italianate Dentonia Park mansion in East York as "Massey's Tudor-styled Devonian in Scarborough" (p. 155). Although the writers overstate the novelty of their approach to architecture, they have produced a broad, ambitious, and stimulating survey of dwellings constructed by the nonaboriginal peoples of Canada. This book also testifies to the existence of a continent-wide architectural heritage.

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RICHARD WHITE. *Gentlemen Engineers: The Working Lives of Frank and Walter Shanly*. Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 262. \$50.00.

You don't have to be Canadian or a historian of engineering to like this book. Richard White has done more than give historians of engineering professionalism something to think about. He has written an informative, well-written account of a once-landed but far from uneducated or destitute Irish family that emigrated to Upper Canada in 1836, hoping to climb back into the ranks of the properly landed gentry. Things didn't work out exactly as planned. Even though the father had been a progressive estate manager in Ireland, none of the children stayed on the physically and financially punishing land. Two of the sons took the gentlemanly attributes of a good education, a desire for independence, and a familiarity with

things physical taught them by their father and embarked on engineering careers.

Frank, the younger of the two, found some well-paid jobs, and anything he built was good. Unfortunately, much-needed performance bonuses eluded him, because he rarely finished on time. But money in hand or not, Frank spent lavishly, as he felt a gentleman should. He died suddenly in 1882 at age sixty-one and left his brother Walter to deal with a life insurance policy with a lien against it, a wife, nine children—perhaps ten, but young Frank had left the United States and a teenaged girl too quickly to learn the full story—and an estate \$143,000 in the red. In 1899, the dutiful, more successful, unmarried brother Walter died a bitter, lonely old man. Much of his fortune had been spent after four decades of bailing out various family members. He considered his life a failure. However, his papers were in order.

Even fame seems to have played tricks on the Shanlys, who regarded themselves as engineers who did contracting only when there was nothing else to do. Yet they were the contractors who, with the help of nitroglycerine and pneumatic drills, finally completed the 25,031-foot-long Hoosac Tunnel, a task that had defeated some of the best engineering minds of the United States. The job broke up the partnership between the brothers, and Walter had to fight for years to get paid in full by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

White's account introduces some new ideas to the history of engineering professionalism. Much of the existing literature is based on the view that nineteenth-century engineers were generalists who came from trades and business families and who sought some measure of upward mobility by entering the nascent profession of engineering. But the Shanlys, and a few other engineers, were exceptions. "Frank and Walter were educated gentlemen—practical gentlemen to be sure, but gentlemen nonetheless—and the profession they entered was already formed in 1840. They chose the profession not because it offered upward mobility but because it offered a socially acceptable means of halting their downward mobility. It already had status. Nor were they engineering generalists. The scope of their practice never went beyond strict civil engineering" (p. 183).

The Shanlys fought for the independence of judgment that is essential for all professionals, but they did not support the so-called drive to professionalism. When Canada's first engineering society, the Canadian Society of Civil Engineers, was formed in 1887, Walter was not an early member. When he was made vice president, he missed every council meeting, and he later refused to become president. The Shanlys had a different and older vision of professionalism: "gentlemanly authority and strict independence" (p. 63) which asked only that the engineer be given the chance "to sell the directors his knowledge and judgment so that they could make an informed decision" (p. 71). They

were not trying to usurp authority. A gentleman knew his place and expected others to know theirs.

By probing deep beneath the surface, White has found a story of accomplishment without fulfilment and ultimately tragedy that "comes not so much from their financial failures as from their maladaptation. Like their father, the Shanly brothers were most at home in the generation from which they came. Such is the curse on those who live through changing times" (p. 193).

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University of Waterloo

NORMAN N. FELTES. *This Side of Heaven: Determining the Donnelly Murders, 1880*. Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 208. \$40.00.

The dramatic mass murder of five members of the Donnelly family in late nineteenth-century Ontario has long captured the imagination of Canadians and has drawn both popular and scholarly attention, largely because multiple homicide is an infrequent event in the country's history. The tragedy occurred in a complex environment of economic dislocation, ethnic and religious tensions, and heated political contests. Norman N. Feltes seeks to apply a theoretical approach to "determine" the historical context of these murders. By his own admission, he has nothing new to add to the narrative.

Preferring to leave aside all but the briefest descriptions of the events that triggered the crimes, the murders themselves, and the court cases that followed, Feltes disparages the attempts of others to understand the subject by focusing on narrative elements. Thus the Donnelly murders become a springboard to Feltes's real agenda, which is to apply "marxian" structuralist theory to nineteenth-century Canadian history. This critical design is not by itself the problem; leaving out the history of the event is. Remarkably, the reader finishes the book without a clear sense of the Donnelly family, the ethnic and religious tensions that surely were important precursors of the tragedy, the vigilante group that was formed immediately before the murders, the individuals arrested for the murders, the trial proceedings, and the event's larger significance.

The author's notion that various factors need to be considered in order to understand the Donnelly murders is laudable, as is his intriguing discussion of the surveying system employed in colonial Upper Canada, the increasing capitalization of the marketplace, and the development of roads and railroads as emblematic of the capital development that fundamentally altered the economic and social relationships of the region's inhabitants. Feltes's attempts to understand the event exclusively through a theoretical lens, however, are not compelling for numerous reasons. The author uses a first-person voice throughout the study, which is particularly unsettling for a scholarly monograph. The writing is dense, often impenetrable, and sprinkled liberally with jargon (is "structuration" a word?).

Conjectural assertions abound, largely because Feltes chose not to consult various sources to understand the events he purports to be considering. For example, the author indicates that he failed to consult Colonial Office papers and the Canada Company records in his assessment of the early settlement patterns in Upper Canada, a disconcerting admission given the centrality of those institutions (p. 44). The reader discovers exhaustive detail on the geological evolution of the landscape of southern Ontario, a discourse on the development of grain elevators, and a thorough discussion of a grain merchant business whose relationship to the Donnelly family is not at all clear. Moreover, many of Feltes's assertions are either erroneous or strained. He insists that Durham's Report was a "capitalist market solution to social problems" (p. 33), repeatedly refers to Ontario as Upper Canada long after the latter ceased to be a political entity, alludes to the Holocaust in his diaphanous description of the local Vigilance Society, compares the accumulation of local farms to the Scottish Highland clearances, and thinks of peasants as he discusses Ontario's small landholders. He characterizes the Donnelly family as anomalous, part of a rough culture, connected to trading enterprises in the community, and of a certain political persuasion, all without buttressing the claims with sufficient evidence.

Thus the threads of the story are lost in a sea of information, some of which is interesting, but most of which is not in any persuasive way linked to the murders. The theoretical cart is assigned the task of pulling the beast in this work. The logic that the author pursues, by suggesting that the actors—both victims and perpetrators—had extremely limited agency and thus bore little responsibility for their actions, relegates people to the status of mere pawns in an "overdetermined" landscape. The Donnelly murders cannot be understood without more information about Canada's immigration patterns, ethnic and religious issues, nineteenth-century criminal behavior, and vigilantism. Published material on the subject is admittedly not abundant, but this book is not the place to begin the journey of discovery into one of Canada's most notorious violent episodes.

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H. V. NELLES. *The Art of Nation-Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec's Tercentenary*. Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 397. \$45.00.

In 1908, the governments of Canada, Quebec, and Quebec City collaborated as senior organizers of a grand celebration marking the 300th anniversary of Quebec's founding by France. The event involved the participation of French and English-speaking citizens, Ojibway, Mohawk, Iroquois, and Onandaga Indians, militia regiments, regular soldiers, and mounted police. It was acted out in the presence of ships of the Royal, French, U.S., and Canadian navies, huge

crowds of spectators, and dignitaries from several parts of the world. Most noteworthy of all, it unfolded in an extraordinary series of balls, dinners, receptions, parades, and—the *pièce de résistance*—an elaborately staged historical pageant recapitulating significant moments in the history of New France and Quebec.

Standing at the heart of this powerfully orchestrated public spectacle was a concern that the drama and artifice so prominent in it represent the Quebec, Canadian, and imperial pasts in ways that would mobilize support for Canada and the British Empire in the present. “The Tercentenary,” writes H. V. Nelles, “seemed to have been built on the dual propositions that history would make a nation and that history could best be understood as performance” (p. 11). Attaching great importance to this idea, Nelles scripts his book as an extended examination of the tercentenary’s meaning and implications.

Five themes dominate. The event was intended by its architects and designers to project a nation-affirming, confidence-building vision of French Canada, Canada, and the British Empire; what in fact took place in some measure subverted this plan because of the way participants (particularly French-speaking Catholic nationalists) used their association with the scheme to advance their own purposes; thanks to audience members’ capacities to reformulate what they were presented with, the messages sent were in any case not the messages received; the whole thing fell victim to time and forgetfulness and so failed to make a lasting impact; and, given that the celebration “unfolded with divided support, under pro tem agreement, on a negotiated space of repressed differences” (p. 13), it was metonymically linked to the conflicted character of the Canadian adventure at large. Interspersed with comment on these matters are interesting reflections on art and spectacle as instruments of community building; what should be done in order to “read” a cultural event profitably; the extent to which all history is contemporary history; the relationship between professional history (as it was understood in 1908) and the creation of (largely fictionalized) master narratives; and the tension between the currently much-discussed impulse to remember and the hard, constant reality of forgetting.

Heavily influenced by notions of “imagined communities,” “thick description,” “audience response,” “public memory,” “invented tradition,” the “carnivalesque,” and related conceptions, this book sees itself as a contribution to ways of understanding general phenomena (commemorating, forgetting, community building, spectacle creating) as well as a project putting its readers in touch with the way those phenomena manifest themselves in particular, named spaces. Its Canadian focus is, to be sure, a real one. The book’s impulse to return its readers to the general is, however, strong. Echoes of its leitmotif—that history represents the unfolding of the partially seen, imperfectly understood, and soon forgotten—resound throughout. The penultimate paragraph’s emphasis on

community building, and, indeed, social and political activity generally, as being always and everywhere a kind of theatre of the hoped for and unattained, is striking. Whether readers attend to the first of the book’s dimensions or the second, they will find much in it of value. A study of a kind rarely attempted in Canada, it explores new issues in original ways, looks at old questions from new perspectives, deploys a range of sources and materials (especially visual) not before used, and exhibits a fine sense of irony and bemusement. Marred only a little by a sometimes forced and mannered style, it stands as a conceptually rich, intricately argued piece of work, one likely to become as much of a benchmark in the area it deals with as Carl Berger’s elegant, wise, and (in its day) equally innovative *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism* (1970).

ALLAN SMITH

University of British Columbia

DANIEL J. ROBINSON. *The Measure of Democracy: Polling, Market Research, and Public Life, 1930–1945*. Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 252. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$21.95.

Where does legitimate politics end and manipulation of an electorate begin? How is it possible for politicians to influence how we think? Is it immoral to smudge the line between consumerism and government policy making? Daniel J. Robinson comes to grips with these questions and others in his book. It is a finely written, extensively documented, and compelling account of how the politics of polling came to Canada, and how it ultimately came to serve the private, as opposed to the public, good.

Robinson charts new territory with this book, given that there are no histories of Canadian polling. He ably lays out the origins of consumer polling in Canada, soon seen to be a necessity as the Canadian economy grew after 1900 and business sought any advantage. These early polls were, however, rather crude and were eventually discarded in favor of George Gallup and his methods. From the 1935 establishment of Gallup’s American Institute of Public Opinion to that of its northern sister, the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion (CIPO), in 1941, polling became a much more important part of Canada’s political landscape. It promised to be, Gallup revealed in *The Pulse of Democracy* (1940), a book he co-wrote with Canadian Saul Forbes Rae, “a democratizing agent, a tool for social change that would restore a much-needed semblance of power to the politically inarticulate” (p. 7). His was a moral charge, as much as a financially remunerative one.

That it was not is the subject of most of the rest of the book. Gallup’s political polls in Canada as conducted through the CIPO, Robinson rightly argues, generally underrepresented certain elements of the population, presumably in an attempt to influence the outcome. In few places does one find the opinions of

French Canadians, the voice of the rural poor, or the input of women. All were seen to be unimportant in the general context of Canada's democracy and, as a result, their opinions were largely expendable. Not until 1948 did Gallup's political surveys accord women an equal place to men, and it was much later than that that minorities and the Quebecois were proportionately included.

Robinson's wartime chapters are among the most valuable in the book and help to flesh out an area of study hitherto completely neglected in Canadian historiography. Indeed, the author offers new perspectives on several issues, and one in particular, that has been among the most studied in Canada's history: that of conscription. It had bedeviled Canada in World War I and seemed set to do so again. When Liberal Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King announced his intention to hold a plebiscite to relieve the government of its promise not to send conscripted Canadians overseas, CIPO leaped at the chance to prove its worth. It was not necessarily interested in the results of the vote; it wanted to *predict* them and demonstrate its accuracy to policy makers (and potential clients). That its forecasts of voter behavior were very wrong did not seem to matter; if perception is more important than reality, then Gallup was a success. By simply asserting that the CIPO had accurately predicted the vote, the organization had convinced the monied and the powerful that it had, the mark of a successful spin doctor!

Certainly Ottawa now made the most of this new instrument. The government commissioned a myriad of polls designed to demonstrate public support for such things as wage and price controls, postwar peace-keeping, and a more socially interventionist state. The polls and their results generally reflected Liberal ideology and helped to affirm that Canadians, by and large, spoke with one (Liberal) voice. Of course, many of these polls were blatantly political, and Robinson quite rightly comments on their lack of objectivity. Mutual admiration knew no bounds.

This is a book well worth reading. It provides insights into the development of a phenomenon so prevalent in today's society that most people take it for granted. It also traces the evolution of how political polling became the preserve of politicians, officials, and marketers, the "spin doctors" of today; the "public" part, so important, at least in the rhetoric of Gallup's day, was simply lost in the "interpretation."

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MARTIN C. MELOSI. *The Sanitary City: Urban Infrastructure in America from Colonial Times to the Present*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. xii. 578. \$59.95.

In this large, well-documented study, Martin V. Melosi lays out the evolution of three sanitary (environmental) services—water supply, sewerage, and solid-waste

disposal—in the United States over the past 400 (mostly the last 160 years). These services are discussed through three eras: The Age of Miasmas to 1880, The Bacteriological Revolution 1880 to 1945, and The New Ecology 1945 to 2000.

Edwin Chadwick's 1842 *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* was the great watershed of the first era not only for Britain but for the United States and other industrializing countries as well. Prior to 1842, public health advocates had become increasingly certain that environmental conditions were responsible for outbreaks of yellow fever, cholera, typhoid, and influenza, especially among the urban poor whose numbers grew rapidly in the early nineteenth century as housing districts grew around new factories. Filth and in particular impure water were the chief culprits. In the 1840s, Chadwick and others, such as John Griscom in New York, raised consciousness to a higher pitch. They appealed to civic pride in persuading local politicians to hire more municipal employees to dispose of filth and to build public infrastructures, notably waterworks and, if more slowly, sewerage systems. States gradually established departments of public health.

With the discovery of bacteria, "germs," as the root cause of water-borne diseases, progress was much faster. By 1910 or so, all large cities and many smaller ones had installed filtration systems and the chlorination of water, thanks in large measure to the innovative ideas of civil engineers such as George Waring and Rudolph Hering. Typhoid epidemics virtually disappeared, though underserved poor districts persisted in many U.S. cities. To protect their water supplies and beaches from pollution, many cities installed sewage treatment plants, although others continued to rely on downstream dilution of waste water rather than treatment.

During the interwar period, smaller towns put in systems, boosted in the 1930s by New Deal financial support, in the process flagging public health questions as national in scope. As local public officials turned their attention more vigorously to the growing amounts of refuse, a consequence of rising consumer spending, sanitary (layered) landfills and incinerators began to replace the simple dumps of the past. In 1934, federal legislation prohibited dumping at sea, though not always effectively.

As in the previous two eras, Melosi divides postwar New Ecology into two subperiods. Up to 1970, massive suburbanization resulted in extensive additions to older systems. But at the same time, inner-city populations and social and fiscal decline meant that older systems were decaying. Water pollution mounted. Meanwhile, the "throwaway" society challenged officials to build even more massive sanitary landfills, though not incinerators.

In 1970, the first Earth Day and the formation of the federal Environmental Protection Agency signalled increased public demands for action, especially in cleaning up pollution and refuse. Officials attacked

industrial point-source chemical effluents in water with some success, although non-point effluents remained a greater challenge. Proper disposal of toxic wastes also was elusive. Recycling claimed a modest share of refuse. By 2000, it was apparent that the New Ecology "paradigm shift" did not, unfortunately, mean "an all-embracing environmental concept" (p. 291).

This study is primarily one of the development of public systems, of the successes and failures of local, state, and later federal public officials and engineers to build workable technologies. Graphic designs of water plants and sanitary landfills are more the order of the day than picturesque scenarios of poverty or degraded landscapes. By and large, the story is a familiar one to urban and public health historians. Melosi has fleshed out the picture with exhaustive documentation from primary sources, mainly contemporary engineering and municipal journals, as well as drawing on more recent research by scholars such as Joel A. Tarr.

Two final comments. First, the author backs up his discussion with many (maybe too many) numbers, quite a few in tables and graphs. Unfortunately, these are often not presented in a way that makes understanding change easier. Except in a few cases, dollar time series are not adjusted for inflation. Also, for graphed long series, semi-logarithmic scales would have indicated percentage rates of change, providing a clearer picture of impacts.

Second, air quality is dealt with only peripherally. This seems odd, since smog and greenhouse gases—much the result of burning fossil fuels to generate electricity and to drive motor vehicles—command a high degree of attention. Coal smoke belching from water plants, factories, trains, and ships has mostly passed into history only to be replaced by less visible but seemingly even more dangerous sources of air pollutants.

Third, regarding the inertia of built structures, being "locked in" to earlier "permanent" installations may have inhibited the development of new techniques (p. 11). Yet maintenance and incremental improvements of many systems might well be better than large changes for marginal gains. U.S. inner-city decay was more the result of neglect than of old technologies standing in the way. The American penchant for newness rather than making do with the old hardly enhances the sustainability of this small finite planet.

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MICHAEL D. PEARLMAN, *Warmaking and American Democracy: The Struggle over Military Strategy, 1700 to the Present*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1999. Pp. ix, 441. \$45.00.

With this impressive volume, Michael D. Pearlman adds to the rich and provocative Modern War Studies series of the University Press of Kansas. In fewer than 400 pages, he covers the vicissitudes of formulating military strategy in America's "pluralist democracy"

from colonial times through Vietnam and beyond. An unstable and unpredictable civilian "triad"—president, Congress, and the public—complicates the conduct of war, Pearlman argues, by denying the armed services central and consistent direction. Pearlman's ambitious volume is based primarily on secondary sources, and he uses an abbreviated endnote structure.

During the Revolutionary War, differing social origins and political philosophy of the Continental Army vis-à-vis the militia constantly affected military strategy. Practically no facet of the War of 1812 and the Mexican War escaped the effects of partisan politics, with parties in the first war and the president in the second striving to use the war front to settle conflict on the home front. The outcome of the Civil War swung largely on mastering the impact of politics on military strategy. By claiming that it was fighting for independence rather than slavery, the Confederacy all but ensured its defeat: the Union would not negotiate its demise, and the South could not survive total war. Abraham Lincoln unified politics and war aims by following an enraged public's demand for converting a limited war into an unlimited one. No foreign war was more politically motivated than that with Spain in 1898, as the Republican Party fought for its majority status, the North and South tried to unite, and stressed Americans sought reassurance. Contrary to the general interpretation, Pearlman emphasizes that Woodrow Wilson did lead militarily during World War I, but in a devious way designed to maximize America's role in the peace settlement. In the process, he created grave problems for American commanders abroad and undermined his own war aims. The nation achieved most of what it wanted during World War II—albeit often inefficiently so—because Franklin D. Roosevelt was a masterful juggler, never losing sight of domestic events as he intricately maneuvered among competing goals of the Allies and America's armed services. During the Korean War, political considerations were paramount as the Truman administration struggled with Cold War containment while trying to keep Russia and China out of the conflict, avoiding the use of nuclear weapons, and answering to a restive public. All of these tensions and more were played out in Vietnam for twenty-five years.

Pearlman goes beyond numerous studies of civil-military relations to focus on the critical issue of strategy. His goal is both the book's strength and weakness. The volume is sophisticated and challenging. But parts are better than the whole. Pearlman's analysis is more accomplished for the twentieth century than earlier centuries, and chapters on World War II and the Korean War stand out. Moreover, and more important, the author wanders from his principal thesis and tends to get carried away with narrative because he has not set forth theoretical guidelines to channel his analysis and assist the reader. Instead he offers generalizations that are commonplace or questionable: pluralist democracies are more willing to fight to prove they can do so; elites go to war to

validate democratic capabilities while the general population takes up arms to export domestic institutions; the most vocal critics of political interference in military affairs are often the most active politicians in the services; and the public strongly objects to civilians meddling in military operations. By excessive and annoying quotations from participants involved in military strategy, Pearlman apparently seeks to bolster his case. He also attempts to give greater coherence to his volume through anecdotes and personal asides, such as "Dewey's easy victory in 1898 led to the death march from Bataan" (p. 181). To maximize his contribution, Pearlman needs systematically to examine major issues such as the impact of continental and international expansion on military policies, civilian control of the armed services in the twentieth as opposed to earlier centuries, civilians taking on military values, or other interpretative patterns reflecting his point of view.

Nonetheless, Pearlman has written an important book. By reaching so far, he invites criticism. That is as it should be for a study as bold, controversial, and stimulating as this one.

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CECILIA ELIZABETH O'LEARY. *To Die For: The Paradox of American Patriotism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii. 365. \$29.95.

In recent years, historians have lavished increasing attention on the origins and nature of American nationalism and "public memory," wringing the paradigms of "imagined communities" and "invented traditions" for all they are worth. In Cecilia Elizabeth O'Leary's cleverly titled new book, students of the genre will find much that is familiar: ambiguous identities, contested symbols, exclusionary rituals, public and private spheres. Refreshingly different, however, is the historical setting. Whereas a flurry of new literature focuses on the pre-Civil War republic, O'Leary's study begins on the near side of that historical watershed and continues through World War I. O'Leary detects a persistent paradox in American patriotism: it is steeped in a perpetual tension between often nebulous "political ideals" and "everyday practices," between "ideologies of social equality and individual liberty" (p. 4). This unresolved anxiety frustrates unassimilated peoples struggling for acceptance as "Americans," especially as they discover that even their willingness "to die for" their country does not necessarily bring them the full benefits of citizenship.

O'Leary rejects the argument that Union victory in 1865 settled the question of American national identity (an argument few historians would make these days), insisting instead that the coming of peace marked "the *beginning* of a long and contentious struggle over who and what would represent the

nation" (p. 6). As O'Leary demonstrates, settling that question was a task initially taken up by large private organizations, such as the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) and the Women's Relief Corps (WRC) in the North and, later, the United Confederate Veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy in the South. These societies represent what O'Leary sees as the chauvinist strain of American patriotism: the northern "veteran" associations endorsed a patriotism that vindicated northern war efforts against a disloyal South, while unrepentant southerners formed their associations on the assumptions of regional autonomy and white supremacy. Arrayed in competition with these exclusionist organizations were ultimately less influential groups of blacks, women, and liberals who sought to equate American patriotism with an ongoing crusade for equal rights and social justice.

O'Leary's early chapters trace the formations and changing agendas of these societies, especially the GAR and WRC, who championed nationalist causes such as flag-desecration legislation, patriotic indoctrination in public schools, and the establishment of Memorial Day. Taken together, however, the accomplishments of these groups seem too modest and inchoate to constitute the broad "nation-building movement" O'Leary represents (p. 111). O'Leary gradually abandons the rigidly formal style of her early chapters, finding her voice in the second half of the book. Here she begins skillfully to weave together the loosely connected threads from earlier pages. The reunion of northern and southern identities that eluded the nation after the Civil War was finally realized in the 1890s, as anti-immigrant xenophobia inspired a sympathetic turn among northern whites toward their erstwhile southern foes. Northerners resolved the nagging problem of reconciliation with southern "traitors" by joining them in commemorating American *valor*, regardless of the demerits of the South's "lost cause." African Americans, of course, were left in the lurch by this selective forgetting of the Civil War, especially in the South, where northern apathy left them to the mercy of a region determined to exclude them from full citizenship. Later in the decade, this "racialization of patriotism" (p. 129) was consolidated in a popular war against Spain, in which white men north and south rediscovered brotherhood in joint martial endeavor, while black troops remained segregated and uncelebrated.

Nevertheless, O'Leary insists, until World War I "national culture remained an open arena for political debate" (p. 222). That arena closed when, to squelch isolationist dissent, the United States government collaborated with ultra-nationalist citizen organizations to take an unprecedented, active part in prescribing the proper forms of patriotism. In the process, the government "criminalized political dissent, segregated black soldiers, and demonized immigrant Americans unwilling to renounce dual allegiances" (p. 221). The result, according to O'Leary, was a "racially exclusive, culturally conformist, militaristic patriotism [that] fi-

nally triumphed over more progressive, egalitarian visions of the nation" (p. 7).

Right-wing triumph was short-lived, however, and the debate between chauvinist and liberal constructions of patriotism resumed shortly after the war. O'Leary demonstrates convincingly the cyclical nature of American patriotic discourse, in which inclusionist, progressive voices are periodically, but never permanently, overwhelmed in times of national stress. This cycle did not begin with the Civil War and is not uniquely American, but O'Leary is surely correct in arguing the unique contradictions that *e pluribus unum* brings to any attempt to define American patriotism.

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BENJAMIN W. LABAREE *et al.* *America and the Sea: A Maritime History*. (American Maritime Library, number 15.) Mystic, Ct.: Mystic Seaport Museum. 1998. Pp. x, 686. \$65.00.

This notable book tackles a big subject on a big scale. Six main authors and several other contributors deployed nearly seven hundred pages in a large format to provide a synoptic history of every sort of maritime and waterborne activity conducted within what is now the United States' or by Americans elsewhere. For the period of the first European exploration and settlement, they effectively treat North America as a whole, so the Vikings in Greenland and Newfoundland, the Basques in Labrador, the French in Canada, and various Europeans in the Caribbean are invoked to provide the context for the first English and Dutch settlements. Thereafter the contributors proceed in a broadly chronological fashion to the end of the twentieth century, dealing with all sorts of merchant shipping, fishing, and sea-fighting as well as with shipbuilding and ship ownership. They cover the rivers, canals, and lakes of America, the coastal waters, and every ocean of the world on which American ships have sailed. They deal extensively with the people of the sea, giving considerable coverage to the once-neglected figures of Indians, blacks, and women. They explore private firms, labor unions, and national policies. They devote much coverage to the U.S. Navy, the Coast Guard, and other public bodies afloat. They do not neglect navigation, pilotage, lighthouses, or life-saving. They survey the literature and art of the sea, including films. Short vignettes of a page or two allow a variety of minor but interesting subjects to be treated without breaking the flow of the main narrative. (They also allow some subjects, such as the life of John Paul Jones, to be treated twice.) Printed on art paper throughout, the book is lavishly illustrated with contemporary prints, photographs and paintings, many of them in color, and all of them with lengthy and informative captions, which add very much to the value as well as the attraction of the volume. One of its more extravagant features is the way in which particular

illustrations figure twice or even thrice; a luxury that might have been sacrificed in favor of more maps. As it is, the book assumes a very high standard of geography teaching in American schools.

The book is published by the Mystic Seaport Museum and written by the staff of the Munson Institute, the Museum's university-level teaching organization. Although it draws on a very wide range of scholarship, it has no notes and is not directed primarily at a scholarly audience. It is clearly meant for someone like the ideal visitor to Mystic Seaport: an intelligent member of the general public, not ignorant of American history but keen to be fully informed about the maritime part of it. So large a book, even on so large a subject, is able to go into considerable detail, and it does not shy away from difficult or controversial issues, but evidently some judgments have been made about what the intended readership will stand for. There is much about the economics of merchant shipping, for example, but definitely no graphs or tables. Here and there the reader gets the flavor of an older style of history written in comfortably nationalist terms. One wonders if it was really so underhanded of Tecumseh and his people to fight for their lands, or of the British to support their Indian allies; and perhaps it is not unduly cynical to ask who were the "patriotic Panamanians and foreigners linked to the Panama Railroad" who so conveniently declared independence in 1903. But on the whole, this book is by no means uncritical. In places it would have benefitted (if space could have been found) from a more global perspective. Although deep-sea faring is by its nature an international activity, and neither commercial shipping nor naval warfare can be understood in narrowly national terms, not all sections are sufficiently aware of what was going on abroad, so that events that were really the consequence of other people's initiatives can appear out of context as the fruit of American genius or American misfortune.

There are also some big questions lying behind the subject that are difficult to explore within a national perspective. Why, for example, has the U.S. merchant fleet, which had so outstanding a record of profitable enterprise up to the 1860s, survived since then thanks only to massive subsidies and protection? The U.S. economy as a whole has not been marked by an inability to innovate, to invest, or to compete. There are hints that modern American policy makers have regarded the sea as too important to be left to free enterprise, or perhaps that the U.S. Navy effectively captured the merchant marine early in the twentieth century and has run it for its own purposes ever since. It would be worth asking what this implies about American policy makers' attitudes toward the sea: is it a challenge or a threat? Is it the means of American expansion or of American isolation? Does it any longer mean anything at all to the average American? There are times toward the close of this book when the tone becomes elegiac, lamenting a lost America when everyone knew and valued the sea—but did it ever exist?

Is America really an "island nation," or is it in fact a continent with seacoasts? These are hard questions, and if this book does not completely answer them, it certainly provides a broad and solid foundation for the attempt. Although it is not directed specifically at scholars, there will be few professional historians whose knowledge is so broad as to have nothing to learn from it. In an age of ever-increasing specialization, historians have growing need of books like this that make connections, link the monographs, and put them in context. For the general reader to whom the book is directed, it triumphantly succeeds in filling in a huge, neglected part of America's history. There will be no excuse for neglecting it now.

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ALBERT L. HURTADO, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California*. (Histories of the American Frontier.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1999. Pp. xxix, 173. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$17.95.

In this theoretically sophisticated but eminently readable book, Albert L. Hurtado reveals how sexuality and family formation had as much to do with who controlled California as did military and political maneuvers. Influenced by the new western history, Hurtado treats the concept of the frontier as a multi-cultural meeting place rather than as a Turnerian advancing Euroamerican border. Hurtado is also influenced by the emergent field of the history of sexuality and particularly by Michel Foucault. Unlike many scholars who nod to Foucault, however, Hurtado writes in a lucid style and eschews the use of postmodern jargon. Thus Hurtado's book will not only appeal to scholars of the American West and of gender and sexuality but will also engage undergraduates.

Hurtado begins by examining the conflict over sexuality between California's many indigenous people and the Spanish Franciscans who sought to "civilize" them within the missions. The friars also attempted to control the unrestrained sexuality of Spanish soldiers, especially as the rape of Native women by these soldiers impeded the Franciscans' missionary work. Moving on to the period of Mexican sovereignty in California, Hurtado examines the role of "mixed" marriages between incoming Anglo-American men and either elite Mexican women or impoverished Indian women. Hurtado shows that Anglo-American men much preferred high-status *Californianas* as permanent marriage partners because such alliances offered a ticket to land ownership and favorable trade relations. By contrast, Anglo-American men engaged in mainly casual relationships with Indian women, because such relationships, in Hurtado's words, were merely deadends to social and economic advancement. In neither case, however, did Mexican or Indian women have much say in the matter. Mexican fathers controlled whom their daughters married, and Indian

women often resorted to prostitution or casual sexual liaisons with incoming Anglos out of sheer desperation.

Hurtado's third chapter deals with Anglo-American journeys to California. Although travelling Yankees might have reevaluated their own cultural values after being exposed to myriad different cultures, Hurtado argues that instead such encounters reinforced most Anglos' sense of superiority. Hurtado's next chapter on the Gold Rush explores the results of an imbalanced sex ratio: the growth of prostitution, especially among women of color; a better marriage market for white women; and more liberalized divorce laws. But even with this more favorable marriage market, white women's options were still quite limited, as Hurtado so vividly demonstrates in his next chapter on Amelia Kuschinsky, a fifteen or sixteen-year-old servant girl who was impregnated by her master, then compelled to have an abortion. The girl's ensuing death temporarily raised alarm in the community, but her master and the doctor who performed the abortion eventually went free and did not suffer economically or socially from their role in this tragedy.

Hurtado's work includes much primary research and fresh readings of such hackneyed topics as the Donner Party and Dame Shirley. His book also brings together in a coherent and persuasive narrative much of the recent scholarship on early California. Synthesizing some of the scholarly contributions of Antonia I. Castañeda, Douglas Monroy, Genaro M. Padilla, Ramón Gutiérrez, Anne M. Butler, Benson Tong, and Marion Goldman, Hurtado relentlessly argues that the agency of women of all cultures was severely restrained by Spanish, Mexican, and American patriarchal social systems. Although some scholars may resist Hurtado's emphasis on victimization, it is difficult to find fault with Hurtado's book. It is truly a masterful piece of history that reveals the significance of gender and sexuality in the American West and further proves the importance of the West to the study of American history in general. The book will prove to be valuable in U.S. survey, women's history, and American West classes as well as popular among more casual readers of history.

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MICHAEL LEROY OBERG, *Dominion and Civility: English Imperialism and Native America, 1585–1685*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 239. \$42.50.

Michael Leroy Oberg's book makes the important point that English imperial policies contrasted substantially with how imperialism played out in practice. The imperial ideal assumed compliant Native people, ready and willing to be made Christian subjects. However, English settlers on the far edge of English colonization, in a hurry to accumulate land and profit, pushed Indians out of the way with violent consequences.

Oberg examines this conflict between idealized design and actual experience in the first hundred years of English colonization on the eastern seaboard of North America. He begins with a chapter on early English failures, Humphrey Gilbert's Newfoundland and Walter Raleigh's Roanoke. Oberg classifies Richard Hakluyt's promotion of New World expansion and the ethnographic sensitivity of Roanoke's chroniclers, Thomas Hariot and John White, as "metropolitan." They advocated an Indian policy that strove for "Dominion and Civility." But except for Hariot and White, soldiers and adventurers fresh from Irish conquests controlled the Roanoke colony from its inception and, accustomed to using force to fulfill their desires for food and women, quickly turned Indians against the English. Subsequent chapters tell the same story of deteriorating English-Indian relations: the series of wars between Jamestown and the Powhatan Confederacy, New England in the years leading up to the 1637 Pequot War, New England from the Pequot War to King Philip's War in 1675, and Bacon's Rebellion, which occurred around the same time in Virginia.

This book has many virtues. It is most useful for emphasizing that English colonization was multifaceted and that the English disagreed about appropriate methods and objectives. It is especially insightful at demonstrating how, from their first contacts with Indians, English writers described them as earlier incarnations of themselves, as primitives who could be brought to English standards of civility. Also valuable is Oberg's composite treatment of both New England and Virginia. A century or more of historiography has treated English colonization of these two regions as a study of opposites and the source of regional divisions that would culminate in the U.S. Civil War. Yet, as Oberg shows, these two regions travelled virtually identical paths in their relations with Indians.

My one difficulty in reading this book was coming to grips with its overarching analytical framework of "metropolitan" and "frontier." By choosing these particular terms, Oberg misleads readers into thinking that location, whether in the metropolis or on the periphery, explains the differences in how the English approached Indian affairs. And on the surface, location seems the likeliest explanation for why intentions to subjugate with benevolence and order gave way to violent conquest. "Metropolitans," from afar, could envision Indians as tractable people without a religion, culture, or national identity of their own. But the problem is that "metropolitans" in Oberg's study do not always live in the metropolis. According to Oberg, Hariot, White, John Rolfe, several colonial governors, and many other people who were on the front lines of English colonization all expressed "metropolitan" ideas. Why is Rolfe "metropolitan"? More than anyone else, as Pocahontas's husband, he lived on the frontier. His house, his very bed, was the English-Indian frontier. Oberg's "frontier" is an attitude, not a place. "Frontier" encapsulates anyone who saw violence against Indians as the only recourse. "Metropol-

itan" turns out to mean anyone who believed that the future of the British American colonies depended on incorporating and converting Indians. Thus, "frontier" and "metropolitan" become nothing more than labels—they could just as easily be called "A" and "B"—and we never learn what motivated particular Englishmen to adopt "metropolitan" or "frontier" perspectives.

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PHILLIP H. ROUND. *By Nature and By Custom Cursed: Transatlantic Civil Discourse and New England Cultural Production, 1620–1660*. (Civil Society: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives.) Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 1999. Pp. xiii, 317. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$21.00.

Seventeenth-century New England continues to lure students to its literature, even though the region's bibliography is so vast that in itself it constitutes a field of study. As the tides of academic fashion shift and turn, scholars focus the newest methodological lens on the Puritans, in the hope that their readings will elucidate more of the mysterious sway these colonists still hold over us. In Phillip H. Round's case, the tools come from sociolinguistics and cultural studies, but fortunately he uses his theorists—Pierre Bourdieu is particularly prominent—more as fertilizer than staple. In a wide-ranging study of "the social dimensions of New England utterance" (p. xi), he sheds new light on a full range of well-known texts: early exploration accounts, controversial literature, the poetry of Anne Bradstreet, and writings about Native Americans, to cite but a few. Although not wholly free of the jargon that frequently disfigures work in cultural studies, this book is a worthwhile addition to recent work on colonial New England.

Round is interested primarily in discourse, "how early modern English men and women used different styles of speech in different settings," and he gets at this "rhetoric of everyday life" (p. xii) by examining its traces in print and manuscript culture. Further, *pace* Perry Miller and a host of others, he understands that this rhetoric was not exclusively based in religion; he wants, as he puts it, to "parse the civil from the theological in New England cultural production" (p. xiii). Thus, his book is not about Puritans per se but about transplanted English men and women whose ways of understanding the world depended as much on the customs and language they brought across the Atlantic as on the Calvinist preaching of Cambridge clergy. In their various linguistic productions, New Englanders spoke to varying audiences, and in addressing brethren and critics across the ocean as well as friends and neighbors, they formed their nascent sense of identity. Most richly explored in Round's chapter on the Antinomian Controversy, this matter of self-representation provides one of the book's leitmo-

tifs, a discussion richly suggestive to literary scholars as well as historians. Round's notion, for example, that in the controversy over Anne Hutchinson "the ministry took the lead by mobilizing the language of honor culture and truth-telling [which the author has discussed earlier in its English context] in order to reestablish their own social status, and thus the centrality of their own cultural productions" (p. 127) is one of the more sensible of recent readings of this literature.

Following the lead of Harold Love, Round also is particularly persuasive in his treatment of manuscript culture, whose significance in the British American colonies has not yet been fully ascertained. Round's section on Bradstreet's poetry, circulated in manuscript in the Massachusetts Bay Colony before her brother-in-law brought it to press in London, offers a shrewd assessment of what difference it made when an author—and a woman, to boot—moved from one realm of publication to another. As Round puts it, Bradstreet's "search for a poetic voice becomes a search for social agency carried out within the vexed discursive space that was early modern literary authorship" (p. 155). Similarly probing the complexity of John Eliot's and Roger Williams's writings about the Native Americans as other markers of such vexed "discursive space" (p. 205), Round vividly makes us aware of the subterranean energy in tracts and histories whose full sociolinguistic context had eluded historians.

Round observes that "New England cultural production [readers unfortunately will tire of the phrase!] arose within the ferment of the broader English discourse of 'civil conversation,' a discursive sphere whose limits were fixed by nature and custom, and within which modern English men and women negotiated their increasing anxieties about social hierarchy" (p. 2). This notion, like several others he proposes, forces us to explore in more sophistication the ways in which New England's self-image was developed and promulgated by men and women who by 1660 were still learning how to be English in America, and how to speak of it. His book is particularly successful in how it pushes us in such new directions even as we enjoy the novelty of readings of material we thought familiar.

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DAVID JAFFEE. *People of the Wachusett: Greater New England in History and Memory, 1630–1860*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999. Pp. xiii, 306. \$39.95.

Unlike real gold mines, historical ones usually do not get played out: intellectual prospectors prefer to dig in the same productive ore beds over and over again—and for good reason. The qualities that make a subject interesting are difficult to deplete; rich sources stay rich. Few riches in American history have been as thoroughly mined as the colonial New England town.

Built on the bedrock of Puritanism, the New England town continues to this day to charm and fascinate students of the American past and present. We know so much about these little villages, and yet, there always seems to be so much more to know. Puritans and their towns remain elusive, and New England's rocky soil remains a profitable place to do some historical digging.

David Jaffee's book investigates a process he calls "serial town settlement" (p. 4). The process, if not the term, is familiar to students of local history. A group of like-minded future settlers obtains the right from a central authority—usually but not always the government of one of the existing colonies—and then moves to the proposed site to carve farms out of the land and to establish a church and a town government. A desire for good land is the prime motivation for most of the settlers, although some may be leaving their previous places of residence because they were unhappy with their social or religious situation. If the new town succeeds, it develops, matures, and then becomes an old town, unable to supply land to all the young men of the second or third generation. They leave to found another new town wherever the best land is available, and the whole process repeats itself. Jaffee follows settlers from an area of the Wachusett (modern-day Worcester County, Massachusetts) through the founding of Lancaster in the second half of the seventeenth century to nearby settlements in northern Massachusetts in the first half of the eighteenth century to pockets of settlement in the northern Connecticut River Valley and on the south shore of Nova Scotia in the revolutionary era. From this history of town founding on New England's successive frontiers, we are able to see the changing patterns and values of life at the literal and figurative margins of New England for most of its colonial and some of its early national history.

The research design is clever, and Jaffee carries it out effectively. He also goes far beyond the mere description of these three generations of town settlement. Jaffee examines the local historical traditions and folkculture—the "memory"—of town founding that was passed on to subsequent town residents. Not surprisingly, historical circumstances and memories varied considerably over a century and a half. Native-white relations and fears played a major role in Lancaster's founding. The horror that King Philip's War inflicted on all of New England, aboriginal or English, imprinted tales of battle, terror, heroism, and death on the memory of its settlers and their children. Westminster, one of three towns carved out of Lancaster by the grandsons of the original Wachusett generation, was settled amid less heroism and horror. Its founders fought among themselves over land, and residents of the new town fought absentee proprietors instead of Natives. Free from threats of war and from the restraining impulses imposed by Puritan piety, Westminster's eighteenth-century town founders pursued their Eden with invigorated greed. And the whole process quickened as it heated up. By the time West-

minster received its act of incorporation in 1759, almost all of its land was distributed and the next generation was off to the new frontiers of the 1760s and 1770s. With the French removed as a military threat, New England surged north; nearly three hundred towns were founded between the end of the Seven Years' War and the outbreak of the American Revolution.

Wachusett emigrants played a major role in the founding of Chester and Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, although this frontier was settled under the aegis of British military government, not the General Court of Massachusetts. Land was abundant in Nova Scotia, but royal officials did not extend the privileges of town meeting government to these settlers of a greater New England. Wachusett's sons and daughters who settled Walpole, New Hampshire in the upper Connecticut River Valley fared better; their new town became the economic and cultural center of the region, a frontier emporium of what Jaffee calls "the village enlightenment" (p. 200).

Despite the familiarity of much of this story, no one would mistake this book for one written in the 1960s and 1970s when town histories first became popular among professional scholars. Gone are predictive models, dense statistics, and social-scientific methodological discussions; absent are questions about democracy, oligarchy, deference, and political mobility. Included are charming vignettes, narratives, and physical and literary artifacts. Much of the context in which Jaffee situates material is taken from his predecessors. In short, although his work is in the form of a monograph, it also has the qualities of a synthesis that benefits from the previous mining of social historians. This book is enjoyable to read. The New England we see through it is in constant motion, churning with new notions as people move to settle new towns.

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JAMES D. DRAKE. *King Philip's War: Civil War in New England, 1675-1676*. (Native Americans of the Northeast: Culture, History, and the Contemporary.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1999. Pp. vii, 257. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$16.95.

The conflict usually called "King Philip's War" is named after the Pokanoket chief who led a loose coalition of Native Americans against the New England colonists in the mid-1670s. The war was catastrophic for the region's Indians, even for those who remained neutral during the hostilities or who fought on the English side. Death, deportation, and flight reduced southern New England's Native population by at least one half, to fewer than nine thousand persons; moreover, the Puritans consolidated their victory by increasing their political, legal, economic, and religious controls over the Indians who remained in the area.

James D. Drake's main thesis is that the conflict was

a civil war because "the natives and the colonists . . . had enough in common to form their own unique society" (p. 2). They lived in geographical proximity to one another, interacted regularly in diplomatic, economic, legal, and missionary exchanges, and shared a value system that stressed the mutual obligations of rulers and subjects. For some Native groups more than others, this "fragile" and "delicate" society was disintegrating as the time of the war neared. Generally, "the decision to join or fight against Philip's forces hinged largely upon the extent to which an individual or group . . . felt marginalized by the colonial political structure" (p. 77).

To the best of my knowledge, no other historian has interpreted the conflict as a civil war. Although Drake's phrasing is novel, his evidence is familiar to specialists, who have recognized for more than a decade that there were "strong links between people of diverse backgrounds" (p. 14) in prewar New England, and who have known for even longer that a growing English dominance increasingly marginalized Native Americans. As the author readily acknowledges, his book is a "synthetic" study that "draw[s] on the work of other scholars" (p. 13) who have investigated King Philip's War as well as the larger patterns in Puritan-Indian relations in seventeenth-century New England.

Drake's book concentrates on the southern theater of King Philip's War, in the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Plymouth, rather than on the area east of the Merrimack River, where the fighting began later and continued longer. He excludes the eastern arena because it differed from its southern counterpart. Instead of "represent[ing] the dissolution of a single society," the war in the east was "an attempt [by the natives] to prevent becoming a part of one. It was a frontier war, not a civil war" (p. 27).

One criticism that can be made of the book concerns the Nipmuck Indians of central Massachusetts, many of whom sided with Philip. The bellicose Nipmucks deserve more attention than Drake pays to them. Their involvement in the war was considerable, particularly in Massachusetts Bay, where they were more active than Philip's Pokanokets. Furthermore, their situation requires a different analysis than the one that Drake provides. There was little English settlement or exercise of political authority in the prewar Nipmuck Country. The situation there more resembled the region east of the Merrimack than it did coastal Massachusetts and the area around Narragansett Bay, where Indians and colonists interacted frequently with one another. Drake does not make a convincing case that the Nipmucks were part of a "single society." Their participation in the conflict was more akin to "frontier war" than to "civil war."

This book had the misfortune of being published in the wake of Jill Lepore's justly celebrated *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (1998). While not as provocative and wide-ranging as Lepore's study, this superbly written book

deserves to be read by both specialists and non-specialists. Drake provides an excellent—and in this case, a highly original—interpretation of the postwar situation, one that argues that the colonists' position under royal government was analogous to the Indians' prewar position under Puritan rule. With the exception of his discussion of the Nipmucks, he carefully analyzes the competing interests and contrasting situations of specific Indian groups. Finally, he shows that the older historiography was wrong to see King Philip's War as the inevitable conflict of two racially polarized societies that had long been on a collision course to armed confrontation.

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DONNA MERWICK. *Death of a Notary: Conquest and Change in Colonial New York*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 281. \$35.00.

In Donna Merwick's marvelously told story, the "insignificant" Adriaen Janse van Ilpendam's very ordinary life in seventeenth-century Albany is tied inextricably to the very large transfer of power from Dutch to English rule in the colony (p. 233). Successively a schoolmaster, local court secretary, and self-taught notary, Janse eked out a living in the rough frontier by writing down the last wills of neighbors, taking testimony about the small debts of ordinary local people, and occasionally writing powers of attorney for merchants conducting business an ocean away. Most notaries—whether in Europe or the colonies—were "unremarkable" in social status (p. 127) but essential to the life of corporate cities, the smooth functioning of merchants who traveled widely, and ceaseless transfers of property. Janse's "achievement has been to have served well, year after year, in all the small particulars of being a low-level civil servant" (p. 27). He was the "community's tool for ordering the real world" (p. 186).

But, ineluctably, "the particularities of Janse's life were being enfolded by the generalities" (p. 233) of the transition to English rule in the colony after 1664. That transition involved creating a strong imperial power over all of England's dominion abroad, reconfiguring New World land titles, and replacing the negotiating powers of individual merchants and commercial companies with the power of the imperial state. Merwick's purpose is not to explain how this transition actually took place but rather to show its traumatic effects on people whose livelihoods and cultural identities contradicted English imperial intentions: people like Janse, who became increasing professionally useless when English governors changed the rules by which his community had lived during the Dutch period and altered Janse's role in creating its "memory" (p. 180). Juries and trained lawyers eventually replaced notaries, the common law replaced the "lex mercatoria" of merchants, and the performances of civil servants altered noticeably.

Ironically, for a man whose chosen occupation was to write down the affairs of neighbors, there is a very short paper trail of Janse's notary activities and almost no record of his life among Albany's families. But Merwick keeps him in the forefront of her narrative in two ways. One is by conjecturing about Janse's life through the thoughts and actions of others in his community, his colony, and his home country. The other is to extrapolate from what we know about Dutch inheritance customs, legal practices, commerce, beliefs about death and suicide, commercial practices, and other elements of Dutch social and cultural tradition to Janse's colonial life. We are reminded frequently of the stark contrasts between the poor frontier town of Albany and cosmopolitan Dutch cities, as well as of their abiding connections to each other. As Merwick instructs us about how notaries produce documents, what they must know about the law, how they learn to comport themselves in public and build their reputations for accuracy and honor, we rarely forget that self-made, low-level civil servants on the colonial frontier—men like Janse—were vital components of a far larger imperial system. Some could transfer these roles from the Dutch to the English after 1664; Janse could (or did) not.

Merwick writes her tale primarily in the present tense rather than in "historical time," a choice that will probably irk some scholars. She has also chosen not to footnote her narrative but instead to provide discursive commentary at the end of the book, which is better at elaborating on generalizations than at linking evidence to precise sources of information. Moreover, Merwick often speculates about the internal thoughts and motivations of Janse, powerful landowners, or imperial governors, when in fact there are no proofs for these musings, however entertaining (and even feasible) they often are. The line between history and fiction will, upon some scholars' close scrutiny, appear to be blurred in Merwick's study. Even more important, Albany's fur and grain trades, relationships with foreign merchant communities, links to transatlantic family networks, and intrigues of war are only shadowy foundations for the local drama prominent in this study. Instead, it is Merwick's conviction that by recreating the particular details of Janse's everyday world we will comprehend the hugeness of the transition from Dutch to English rule.

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PHILIP D. MORGAN. *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 1998. Pp. xxiv, 703. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$21.95.

Building on an extraordinary scholarly legacy, a prodigious amount of primary research, and a hallowed set of historiographical problems, Philip D. Morgan

has written a book that is destined to be read and reargued for some time to come.

In the first of the book's three parts, Morgan outlines the "contours" of black life in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake and lowcountry: environment; crop regime; rate of slave reproduction; pattern of slave importation; density of white settlement. Combining a nested set of scales of analysis—environmental, economic, everyday—this part of the book represents Morgan's work at its substantial best. In the temperate Chesapeake, tobacco thrived. Because tobacco presented few barriers to entry and offered few economies of scale, most Chesapeake slaves lived on relatively small farms in close proximity to their owners and other whites. And because tobacco required a great deal of care, those slaves were minutely supervised and worked in gangs, usually from sunup to sundown. By 1720, they were reproducing themselves and by the time of the Revolution, Virginia slaveholders had virtually stopped importing African slaves. Cut off from Africa, closely monitored, and surrounded by whites, Chesapeake slaves were, by the end of the eighteenth century, "thoroughly assimilated," dependent on their owners for their material culture, their dress, their language, and their customs.

Things in South Carolina were different. The tropical climate and long growing season of the lowcountry were ideal for rice cultivation. The tremendous investment it took to clear, drain, and ditch South Carolina's swamplands favored those who could make a large initial investment, and rice cultivation offered substantial economies of scale. Consequently, lowcountry slaves generally lived on plantations larger than those in the Chesapeake and they saw a good deal less of white people; the majority of the inhabitants of South Carolina were black as early as 1700, and by 1790 many areas were eighty percent black. Rice was a hardy crop that did not require close supervision, and South Carolina slaveholders generally "tasked" their slaves, assigning them a set amount of work for a week and allowing them the rest of their time to themselves. Slaves often used this time to cultivate food which they used to support themselves and sometime sold, thus accumulating a small "peculium" of their own property. Slaves in the lowcountry lived harder than those in the Chesapeake: they were often ill, undernourished, and brutally punished. Although the birthrate among lowcountry slaves was comparable to that in the Chesapeake, lowcountry slaves died at a much higher rate, and South Carolina slaveholders remained enthusiastic importers of African slaves up to (and in some cases after) the closing of the African slave trade in 1808. In contrast to their Chesapeake counterparts, lowcountry slaves were relatively autonomous and "African": they wore few European clothes, slept in African-styled houses, provided their own food, shared a culture full of African elements, and spoke a dialect (Gullah) that was unintelligible to many whites. The differences between slavery in the Chesapeake and the lowcountry, Morgan concludes, illustrate the tragic

paradox of New World slavery: "an inverse relationship between material conditions and communal autonomy" (p. 665).

Having outlined the material context of slave life in the Chesapeake and Lowcountry, Morgan, in the second part of the book, overlays an account of the structured interchanges between blacks and whites. Over the course of the eighteenth century, Morgan argues, the relations between slaveholders and slaves shifted from an "austere patriarchy," characterized by often shocking brutality and an ideological emphasis on masters' obligations and slaves' duties, to a "mellow paternalism," more concerned with generosity, kindness, and the mutual attachment of masters and slaves. This broad transition occurred earlier and more powerfully in the Chesapeake, where slaveholders had more contact with their more assimilated slaves, than it did in the lowcountry. Likewise, over the course of the century, the relations between non-slaveholding whites and slaves changed from the interracial proximity and occasional cooperation of the late seventeenth century to the racially inflected antipathies so familiar to historians of the antebellum South. Everywhere in the ideology and behavior of whites, however, Morgan finds eddies and "contradictions"—intimacy *and* antipathy, domination *and* dependence, cruelty *and* tenderness, calculation *and* sentimentality, and on and on—enough of them, perhaps, to constitute a catalog of the complexities of human relations.

In this part of the book, Morgan takes up the extraordinarily important question of the psychological dimension of the experience of enslavement. Morgan frames his argument about slave psychology as a realist critique, part of a broader effort to "deromanticize" black history by considering the vulnerabilities and frailties of enslaved people alongside their communal autonomy, human agency, and consistent resistance. As it appears here, the argument consists of three loosely linked propositions: enslaved people derived "self-esteem" by working alongside whites and being considered valuable in the market; slaves "identified closely with their master" and often felt a good deal of affection for their owners; and "the slave community" was vulnerable to external forces and riven by internal strife. Of these propositions, only the last seems susceptible of easy proof, at least by the evidence offered here. Much of the argument about slaves' psychology is couched in peculiarly doubled constructions such as "rubbing shoulders with whites . . . no doubt increased the self-esteem of some blacks" (p. 173) or "the slave was unlikely to remain oblivious to the compliment" (p. 351). What purports to be a hard-headed and historical account of complexity of slave psychology turns out instead to be a set of projections of right-minded twentieth-century notions of "the self" (liberal individualist, integrationist, work-centered) onto a group of people who could be almost unimaginably complex in their own accounting of the relations between people and their working worlds (providential, magical, animist, separatist). Other ele-

ments of the realist critique seem to ignore the context of the production of the slaveholding sources upon which they are based. Surely, slaveholders' own accounts of the enthusiasm with which their slaves greeted them upon their return from long trips or the fealty their slaves demonstrated by sticking around during the Revolution, fraught as they are with projection, self-deception, and the dissimulating purposes of the slaveholders who scripted them out in letters to their white friends, are not the best sources to use when trying to decide which expressions of affection were tactical and which "too effusive to be explained away" (p. 382). In his effort to explore the psychological dimensions of slavery (or rather, of enslavement), Morgan raises questions of extraordinary importance, questions that press at the outer limits of historians' imaginations and their sources. Unfortunately, in these passages, those questions go begging for answers.

In the final part of the book, Morgan turns from the material determinants and social parameters treated in the first two parts to the social relations, family life, and cultural forms that defined "the black world." Morgan begins with the sometimes contentious relations among African groups in the Americas and the equally vexed relations of Africans as a group with their Creole neighbors. The emergence of a Creole majority, first in the Chesapeake and later in the lowcountry, Morgan argues, "facilitated cohesiveness among slaves" (p. 463). Morgan notes, however, that relations between slaves were shot through with conflict along the axes of age and sex and, especially among those with plans of resistance, were characterized by a good deal of suspicion. From the outset, Morgan's account of "the slave family" emphasizes vulnerability. Noting that slave families were often separated by their owners and that slaves had no "legally sanctioned sexual monopoly" of their partners, Morgan suggests that "coresidential consensual union" (p. 499) might be a better word to describe slave unions than "marriage." Nevertheless, slaves actively struggled to keep up family ties in spite of marriage and family-separating estate settlements and sales. "For the most part," Morgan opines, slaves took marriage and parenting "very seriously" (p. 540). In the book's final chapter, Morgan turns to the cultural forms that helped enslaved people resist "dehumanization." Working his way through a remarkable variety of cultural practices—talking, drumming, singing, dancing, playing, joking, conjuring, poisoning, walking, smiling, glancing, dying—Morgan argues that there was a significant African element to eighteenth-century slave culture, but that various African practices were inevitably mixed with one another and with European cultures so that "creativity and innovation far more than . . . any attachment to an indelible cultural tradition" (p. 594) characterized the lives of Chesapeake and lowcountry slaves.

With a few curious exceptions—the work of Margaret Creel Washington and Daniel C. Littlefield on slavery and slave culture in South Carolina and of

Sylvia Frey on slavery and the American Revolution come to mind—Morgan has seemingly attempted to take up every question that has shaped scholarship on slavery since the time of Ulrich B. Philips. The pages of this book are peopled by vital characters and punctuated by incidents by turns fascinating, disturbing, perplexing, and deeply moving. The sheer diversity of the stories that Morgan tells highlights both the strength and the weakness of what is surely the most comprehensive social history of slavery yet written. And yet, the stories in these pages often seem to transcend the historiographical arguments that knit them together. At this point in the historiography of slavery, it may be less important to establish that slaves in the Americas had a culture (African or otherwise) or felt for their families or "preserved their humanity" than it is to explore the complexities of what those things meant in their everyday lives: how cultural forms were actively used, fought over, and redefined in specific struggles; how patriarchy and family life were practically negotiated over hostile terrain; and how slaves' own thoughts about their place in the natural and supernatural order shaped their daily response to slavery. It is, then, as much for the extraordinary stories he tells as for the scholarly arguments he makes that Morgan is to be commended.

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WOODY HOLTON, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 1999. Pp. xxi, 231. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$15.95.

Much debate has revolved around whether the American Revolution is better understood as a fight for home rule or over who should rule at home. Most recent historians arguing for the latter, neo-progressive interpretation have concentrated on the urban north. Woody Holton seeks to revitalize the neo-progressive view of the coming of the Revolution in Virginia. Virginia might appear to be one of the least promising states for such an interpretation: members of the state's well-entrenched gentry led the revolutionary movement, and at least in conventional narratives of the Revolution they faced mild opposition from other free Virginians. Holton makes a strong case for the influence of subaltern "freedom struggles" (p. xxi) on Virginia gentlemen's efforts to win independence from England, in part by broadening the story of the Revolution to include events too often given short shrift, and in part by altering the terms usually used by progressive historians of the Revolution.

This book is divided into four parts that follow a chronological and thematic narrative. Holton begins with two chapters on Virginians' grievances against the British Empire in which he portrays a colonial culture riven below the surface between the gentry and yeo-

man tobacco farmers. According to Holton, these latent class tensions have often been overlooked by historians, because they manifested themselves in gentry attempts to gain control of land (from Native Americans) and labor (by restricting slave importation), and thus they are too easily interpreted without adequate attention to gentry-yeoman divisions. Part two constitutes the analytical center of the book with chapters on nonimportation and nonexportation. These political struggles over trade effaced the latent conflicts between the gentry and yeomen, because planters and farmers recognized their shared interests in blocking British merchants' attempts to collect debts. This helps explain their consensus regarding independence. Part three traces the unintended consequences of the independence movement. Holton retells the well-known story of Lord Dunmore's attempt to rally enslaved Virginians against independence, as well as the less famous story of Dunmore's effort to spur a pan-Indian alliance. Yeoman discontent with resulting wartime economic dislocations helped impel the gentry to prosecute the war aggressively. In postrevolutionary Virginia, small farmers and religious dissenters gained freedom and influence, but they won them at the expense of Indians and enslaved Virginians. In Holton's nicely turned phrase, "It is not sufficient to say . . . that slaves and Indians were denied the fruits of Independence. To a large extent . . . slaves and Indians . . . were the fruits of Independence" (p. 211).

The book bases a neo-progressive reading of the Revolution on careful and detailed attention to events on the ground in Virginia, especially during the decade prior to 1776. One key to Holton's effort to revitalize neo-progressivism is an important shift in the logic of conventional neo-progressive interpretations. This becomes most obvious in one of the less familiar of Holton's lines of analysis: his explanation of Native Americans' influence on the coming of the Revolution. He builds on recent work on 1760s pan-Indian movements to argue that Indian unity in the west threatened Virginia land speculators' claims, thus helping to spark Dunmore's War and, given Britain's need to economize after the Seven Years War, led to the Proclamation Line of 1763. That, in turn, fueled elite Virginians' hostility toward England by invalidating speculators' titles to land beyond the line. Indians thus built an alliance of convenience with the imperial government that impelled free Virginians toward independence for economic motives.

In summary, Holton does more than transfer a familiar neo-progressive narrative of the coming of the Revolution to Virginia. His is not the story of "radical" plebeian Whigs fighting "aristocratic" Tories, nor is it a tale of a "radical" Revolution hijacked by a constitutional Thermidorian reaction. His neo-progressivism shuns such simple morality plays. Instead it portrays the coming of the Revolution in Virginia as deeply bound up with competing social groups—planters, farmers, Indians, slaves, and British merchants—all of

whom pursued their own interests. His social history of a revolution emerging out of these struggles rather than out of civic humanism or disputes surrounding the imperial constitution complements Rhys Isaac's interpretation of cultural conflict in revolutionary Virginia.

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PETER THOMPSON. *Rum Punch and Revolution: Tavern-going and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1999. Pp. 265. Cloth \$42.50, paper 18.50.

"Virtue and Safety in Wine-bibbing's found, While all that drink Water deserve to be drown'd." These verses from Benjamin Franklin's 1745 drinking song remind us of the importance of alcohol in early America. Indeed, there could be no "good living," Franklin maintained, "where there is not good drinking." Based on the enormous quantity of liquor they consumed, thousands of eighteenth-century Americans apparently agreed, as we have learned from W. J. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic, An American Tradition* (1979), and Mark Edward Lender and James Kirby Martin, *Drinking in America: A History* (1982).

Peter Thompson's exceptionally fine study uses this fact as a point of departure from which to analyze the public space in which much of that hard drinking took place: taverns. Early America in general and Philadelphia in particular contained numerous public houses, both licensed and unlicensed. With one legal drinking establishment for every thirty-two taxpayers in 1756 and one for every twenty-five adult males in 1790, the Quaker City had a larger number of taverns per capita than European metropolises like Rotterdam and Paris. Besides dispensing liquor, many taverns afforded other important services, including meals, overnight accommodations, and stables for visitors' horses. Public houses also served as meeting places for various groups of Philadelphians, from the monthly assembly of the Cordwainers' Fire Company to the routine gathering of merchants at the City Tavern. They likewise provided communal space for people to locate employment, negotiate business deals, and discuss news, as well as to gossip, gamble, brawl, relax, and, undoubtedly, acquire sexual partners. Thompson considers all of these activities, and the enterprise of running these establishments, in fine detail. Given the nature of the topic, readers might expect an entertaining as well as an informative study, and they will not be disappointed. The book is a pleasure to read, for both its content and its lively style, and it is very appropriate for assigning in upper-division university courses.

But this monograph is much more than an antiquarian examination of quaint colonial pub life. "Taverns were," Thompson asserts, "the most enduring . . . and most contested body of public space in eighteenth-century America" (p. 16). The book thus analyzes, in a

sophisticated and convincing fashion, the connections between the American Revolution and the political debates in taverns, and the ways in which changes in public houses and the people who attended them mirrored and reinforced shifting ideas about politics, deference, and class in Philadelphia and throughout much of early America. Although records of the discourse that actually occurred in taverns are limited, Thompson grounds his arguments in a solid research foundation, imaginatively and successfully employing the extant sources to dissect the nature of public contestation over the course of the eighteenth century. The author identifies a significant transformation during that era. In colonial Philadelphia, "the egalitarian values of tavern sociability" (p. 13) were evident as people of different classes congregated in the same public houses to mingle and to engage in debate. But during the Revolutionary period, as "enduring divisions of wealth . . . became the basis of a class-based system of social stratification," citizens rejected the earlier inclusive "mores of sociability" (p. 155) and instead frequented taverns in a more segregated fashion, based on occupational, economic, and other indicators of status and interest. One of the ironies of Revolutionary Philadelphia, then, is that at the same time that a republic that advocated widespread political equality was founded, social divisions widened and class distrust intensified.

Occasionally, Thompson falls prey to a trap that ensnares many scholars: overstating the importance of one's topic. For example, his claim that in one episode during the war the elite dismissed "the militiamen's position largely because . . . it originated" (p. 175) in a workingman's tavern is dubious. At other times, he overemphasizes the desire of Philadelphians to explore the political and cultural perspectives of other tavern-goers; many must have retreated to public houses for one primary reason: to drink.

Nevertheless, this is a marvelous book about an important, interesting, and diverting subject. It deserves to be widely read.

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NANCY L. RHODEN. *Revolutionary Anglicanism: The Colonial Church of England Clergy during the American Revolution*. New York: New York University Press, 1999. Pp. xii, 205. \$40.00.

One can feel only sympathy for the plight of conscientious Anglican ministers caught by the American Revolution. Political allegiance and ministerial vocation merged when ordination oaths bound clergy, as civil servants in the Church of England, to George III and the exact observance of prescribed prayers for the monarch and royal family. To side with the revolutionaries violated sacred covenants. To remain loyal churchmen, as war rippled through the colonies, meant almost certain violence, deprivation, and eventual exile. Nancy L. Rhoden tells the collective story of

these men, focusing on the different ways in which individuals responded to the rebellion and satisfied their consciences.

The author explores familiar terrain. Studies of loyalism by William N. Nelson, Robert M. Calhoon, and others necessarily included the struggles of Anglican clergy and laity. Numerous books and articles by religious historians such as Mark Noll, Frederick V. Mills, Sr., and John F. Woolverton analyzed the dynamics of the Revolution as it affected Anglicans and the transformation that the Church of England experienced during and after the conflict. What this book promises is "a collective biography of the church's ministers and a Revolutionary history of the denomination" (p. 3). What it delivers, although interesting and informative, is ultimately incomplete.

For her study, Rhoden identified more than three hundred Anglican clergy who served in America between 1775 and 1783. An appendix lists their names by region and state. Two early chapters carefully summarize their prewar situation and the struggle to obtain a bishop for the colonies. While other accounts of that controversy stress its political dimensions, Rhoden rightly emphasizes the religious problematic. Without bishops on hand to ordain and supervise the clergy, the Church of England's polity was incomplete. Yet even Anglican ministers split over the issue, largely along sectional lines. That division also reflected the differences between those ministers working under the patronage of the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) and those who either came to the colonies on their own or were born and educated in America before seeking ordination in England. The latter tended to locate in the southern colonies where the church was established, to enjoy greater economic security and social status, and to accept the de facto congregationalist church polity. SPG missionaries predominated in New England and the middle colonies, were often converts from Standing Order churches, and experienced closer financial and emotional ties to Britain.

When the Revolution came, the same division frequently manifested itself in loyalism versus patriotism. Rhoden devotes a chapter to what she describes as the political philosophies undergirding those contrasting positions, but her efforts to locate the divergence within an "Anglican civil religion" (p. 66) seem misplaced. Anglicans of all stripes emphasized obedience to hierarchical authority. Yet they also inherited the Whig tradition undergirding the Glorious Revolution. Patriot Whig clergymen defended rebellion in America. Conservative Whig loyalists found the cause unsupportable. But ideology alone supplies insufficient motivation. People often develop arguments to rationalize positions they have already espoused for other, more personal reasons. Rhoden classifies the clergy by political orientation. Further analysis of their socioeconomic backgrounds might explain more persuasively why these ministers, particularly in the South

(where Rhoden's literary sources were sparse), chose as they did in 1776.

Two tables enumerate the numbers of clergy who died or went into exile during the war. The author argues that the mass of clergy underwent "depoliticization" (p. 88) during and after the Revolution amid the trauma of finding themselves cut adrift from their ecclesiastical moorings. Eventually good leadership reformed their thinned ranks into the Protestant Episcopal Church under a representative polity of bishops, clergy, and laity. In respect to the laity, Rhoden's study is unfinished. No historian can write denominational history and erase the people in the pews. Moreover, an exploration of lay-clergy relationships would undoubtedly enrich our understanding of clerical choices for or against the Revolution. If Thomas Jefferson heard Charles Clay in church, surely Clay listened to Jefferson in the church yard. Despite these shortcomings in analysis, students of American religious history and loyalism will find this book helpful.

THOMAS E. BUCKLEY, S.J.

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JOSEPH M. LYNCH. *Negotiating the Constitution: The Earliest Debates over Original Intent*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999. Pp. x, 315. \$42.50.

What did the framers of the Constitution intend when they inserted in the document a congressional power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution" the powers enumerated elsewhere in the text? And how much weight did they and their contemporaries think should be accorded to their intentions when deciding what the Constitution means? These questions are the focus for this carefully detailed examination of the earliest debates about interpreting the Constitution. Joseph M. Lynch opens with the Constitutional Convention and considers nearly every incident in which construction of the Constitution was at issue from the ratification contest through the administration of John Adams, proceeding for the most part session by congressional session.

The major figures and major episodes in the development of strict and broad interpretations of the Constitution are probably familiar to most readers of this journal. Most are also likely to have had some previous instruction in the difficulties of determining original intent, the inadvisability of looking only to a handful of individuals and sources, and the great variety of things that influenced early opinions about the Constitution: state and sectional considerations, policy preferences, party needs, and personal ideologies and ambitions. For the most part, Lynch retreads familiar ground, capably but from familiar angles. The major novelty of his book is an argument that the "necessary and proper" clause was the product of a deliberate, and deliberately enigmatic, compromise at the Constitutional Convention between southerners such as James Madison, who had abandoned his initial

preference for a broad grant of legislative power and was already working for an understanding that the clause merely made it possible for Congress to enact measures "incidental to the execution of the enumerated powers," and northerners who thought it would permit whatever measures Congress judged to be "in the general interests of the country" (p. 4). The evidence for such a compromise is flimsy, I believe, as is the evidence that any considerable group of framers, much less Madison himself, ever believed that they could or should grant Congress powers as broad as Lynch implies. If accepted, however, it strengthens the author's broader argument that neither side in the succeeding decade's sharp disputes about the extent of federal powers was actually right about the original meaning of the Constitution. (And neither, Lynch insists, was consistent throughout that decade about the weight that ought to be accorded to the framers' intentions or the ratifiers' understandings.)

This book is well informed and remarkably exhaustive. But there are other ways in which its subject might have been approached—ways, in fact, that might have been more consistent with its title. The meaning of the Constitution and the proper methods of determining that meaning were, indeed, quite deeply problematic when the current federal government initiated operations, not just because conflicting groups had different political agendas, but because distinguished leaders such as Madison were themselves uncertain what the Constitution would permit, yet deeply dedicated to a good-faith effort to abide by the nation's highest law. For Lynch, however, individual constructions of the Constitution, then as now, were mostly instrumental, changing when a change was necessary to achieve the policy results that individuals desired. No one really puzzled over meaning. No one had to figure it out. People simply put together clever arguments with which to plead a cause, switching from strict to broad construction, appealing to memories of the Constitutional Convention or rejecting such evidence as improper when their previous position no longer served the sectional, political, and individual interests they were determined to pursue. Lynch delights in pointing to the many great and lesser contradictions that emerged, especially from Madison himself. He may, indeed, find more of these than his subjects actually committed, since categories such as strict versus broad construction can sometimes force their questions into awkward containers. But even the most capable dissection of these constitutional positions, guided by such instrumentalist assumptions, largely misses what may be the most distinctive aspect of this early national story. It simply has too little room for genuine uncertainty about the meaning of the Constitution or for how the methods for determining this meaning had to be constructed over time.

LANCE BANNING

University of Kentucky

SCOTT DOUGLAS GERBER, editor. *Seriatim: The Supreme Court before John Marshall*. New York: New York University Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 362. \$50.00.

There is a common perception that the real work of the Supreme Court began after John Marshall became Chief Justice in 1801. Marshall himself was so much larger than life, and the achievements of the Court during his tenure so towering, that his predecessors and their labors are likely to be overlooked.

The Court's first twelve years have certainly not escaped scholarly attention. Julius Goebel, Jr., devoted 240 pages to the work of the first justices in the first volume of the History of the Supreme Court series (1971); the past few years have witnessed publication of five volumes of the comprehensive *Documentary History of the Supreme Court of the United States 1789-1800* (1985-1998); and William A. Casto's book-length examination of the same era appeared just five years ago (*The Supreme Court in the Early Republic* [1995]).

It is certainly fair for Scott Douglas Gerber to say, however, that his new book does something that has not been done before, and it is something worth doing. The book's title is both clever and descriptive. Not only did the justices of the time deliver their opinions *seriatim*, which is to say separately, but the book presents the justices themselves *seriatim*, affording us not so much another analysis of the decisions of the early Court (for which there is no crying need) as a better understanding of the individuals who made up that tribunal and of whom our knowledge has been limited.

As the introduction points out, the approach is eclectic. The authors of the various sketches hail from a variety of disciplines and reflect a panoply of philosophies. There are both strengths and weaknesses in this design. There is much to be learned from contrasting political, historical, legal, originalist, Marxist, and deconstructionist assessments of the same decisions or judges. But, to a significant degree, the several authors of this collection are not discussing the same subject. The whole point is to discuss the justices one at a time, and each is dissected from a single point of view. Thus the discussion is in a sense incomplete. In one of the chapters I find most intriguing, Justice William Cushing is aptly classified as a "textualist" in his approach to constitutional interpretation; virtually no one in this volume attempts to make parallel assessments of the interpretive practices of his brethren. To use John Godfrey Saxe's metaphor, we touch the ear of one elephant and the trunk of the next; we are hard pressed to compare the justices with one another, as no two are examined in comparable terms. That said, even one who has studied the work of the early Supreme Court can learn a good deal about the individual justices from this book, and thus a lot about the Court they composed.

There are ten substantive chapters, written by ten different scholars, treating ten of the twelve justices

who sat on the Court before Marshall. No chapter is devoted to Thomas Johnson, who resigned after two years to avoid the burden of riding circuit, or to Alfred Moore, who left no visible trace in five years of service under Marshall and his immediate predecessor, Oliver Ellsworth. Few are likely to lament these omissions. The remaining ten justices are discussed in the order of their appointment.

Not surprisingly, they were a pretty impressive bunch. John Jay, the first chief justice, had been among other things president of the Continental Congress and secretary for foreign affairs under the Confederation. James Wilson, William Paterson, and John Rutledge had been prominent and influential delegates to the constitutional convention. Paterson and Ellsworth had been leaders in the new Senate, where they had collaborated in drafting the critical Judiciary Act of 1789. James Iredell, a highly respected attorney with a long record of government service, had led the fight for ratification of the Constitution in North Carolina. Even John Blair and Cushing, who had less of a national reputation than most of their colleagues, had been judges of their respective state courts and members of the conventions that ratified the Constitution.

Blair and Cushing also have less of a reputation with posterity. Jay and Wilson are celebrated, in a minor way, for their flashy and wide ranging opinions in *Chisholm v. Georgia*; Samuel Chase is praised or condemned for his apparent embrace of extraconstitutional limitations on state power in *Culder v. Bull*; Paterson draws occasional kudos for this circuit-court defense of judicial review in *Vanhome's Lessee v. Dorrance* and for his serious effort to define direct taxes in *Hylton v. United States*. Nobody has much to say for Cushing or Blair, whose opinions tend to be dismissed as "pedestrian" and "forgettable."

Almost nobody, that is. For while Holt seems to agree that Blair was nothing to write home about, Gerber takes the provocative position that Cushing is entitled to more credit than he usually receives. Wilson's and Jay's opinions in *Chisholm*, he insists, strayed far from the case before the Court; only Cushing and Blair stuck to the question presented, which was whether Article III of the Constitution permitted a suit against an unconsenting state. Cushing relied on the text alone in answering that questions, and Gerber appears to think that was the right thing to do. Cushing is thus not to be dismissed as a simpleton incapable of sophisticated analysis; he is to be applauded for recognizing his modest role as interpreter of the constitutional text (pp. 108-09).

Jay, probably the best known of the early justices, comes off comparatively poorly in this collection. Sandra VanBurkleo's essay concentrates on Jay's political philosophy. His judicial service is barely mentioned, no doubt in part because its fruits were so meager; Jay left the Court before it decided such major cases as *Hylton v. United States* and *Culder v. Bull*.

VanBurkleo's main argument is that Jay was a judge

with an agenda who perceived the courts in a sort of partnership with the executive, standing shoulder to shoulder against legislative encroachment (pp. 45–46). This insight helps her to explain the readiness of Jay (and several of his colleagues) to give advice to the president and his cabinet, in sharp contrast not only to modern practice but also to Jay's own well-known refusal to countenance advisory opinions from either the Supreme Court or circuit courts as such.

It is not obvious what considerations of policy or principle would permit individual judges, but not whole courts, to offer advice to other branches. Van-Burkleo makes no effort to explore this conundrum. Nor does she delve into Jay's elaborate opinion in *Chisholm*, much less his important grand jury charge respecting prosecutions for violations of neutrality. Hers is not a legal analysis, but one might think these utterances worthy of comment from a historical or political perspective as well. And when she concludes that critics may well find Jay "a poor excuse for an appellate judge" (p. 56), one may wish she had done more to prove her conclusion, which, although not unprecedented, came as a surprise to this reader at least.

Space limitations preclude detailed discussion of the remaining contributions to this useful anthology. Suffice it to say that in their various ways they help to round out our portraits of the early justices, without surprises comparable to those afforded by the entries on Cushing and Jay. I found them all interesting and informative; the serious student of the Court's history cannot afford to ignore them.

DAVID P. CURRIE
University of Chicago

ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE. *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 394. \$29.95.

Thomas Jefferson had a life-long fascination with American Indians. As a young man, he chatted with Cherokees who stopped at his father's farm en route to visit the governor in Williamsburg. During the Revolution, Governor Jefferson waged war with some Natives and smoked a peace pipe with others. In the 1780s, he began his "Indian Hall" at Monticello, stuffing it with everything from wampum beads and buffalo robes to bows and shields. A decade later, while secretary of state, he left the national capital in order to collect vocabularies from nearby Native bands. In 1806, still hard at work on Indian linguistics, President Jefferson spent so much time at one reception talking to an Indian delegation that the offended British ambassador stormed out. At the very end of his life, Jefferson was still poring over Indian grammars and preparing a gloss on the New Testament "for the use of the Indians" (p. 281).

This important dimension of Jefferson's life has largely escaped the attention of historians, even during

the current boom in Jefferson studies. Now, at last, Anthony F. C. Wallace has placed Native Americans closer to center stage in Jefferson's story, offering a sweeping study of the man's encounters with Indians, his philosophical inquiries about Indians, and his policies toward Indians.

No one is better able than Wallace to tackle this vast subject. Author of many classic works on Indians, and other Americans in this era, deeply versed in the many fields—from early ethnography and Enlightenment philosophy to colonial politics and federal policy—needed to keep up with Jefferson's own omnivorous curiosity, Wallace ranges easily across several centuries as well as several disciplines in order to understand Jefferson's tangled history with Native peoples.

It is not a happy tale. Jefferson could express warm feelings toward Indians, chat with them amiably, praise their prowess in war and oratory, mourn their decline, and urge that those still left be "civilized." But, as Wallace shows, Jefferson's reference in the Declaration of Independence to "merciless Indian savages" was no aberration. He was determined that Indians surrender their lands, and their cultures, so that yeoman farmers—God's chosen people, in Jefferson's view, the heart and soul of the American republic—could pursue happiness. "The Jeffersonian vision of the destiny of the Americas," Wallace concludes, "had no place for Indians as Indians" (p. 11). "Rage," "belligerence," ruthlessness, "duplicity," "hypocrisy": such terms have a central role in Wallace's portrait, just as they have in other aspects of Jefferson's life and career lately scrutinized by scholars (pp. 19–20).

The book follows a roughly chronological route, tracking Jefferson from his early speculation in Indian lands through his speculations of another sort—on Indian origins—to his presidential policies and, finally, back to his more academic pursuits during retirement. This route can, at times, be somewhat circuitous. It occasionally backtracks into repetition, strays into details that some readers might find excessive, or gets sidetracked, treating people Jefferson probably never met and texts he probably never read. In addition, Wallace's vast knowledge results in a work that is sometimes less analytical than encyclopedic. The meaning of the curio collector's impulse, the significance of the rhetoric deployed in treaty speeches, the ways President Jefferson's Indian policy departed from his predecessors': more thorough analysis of these and other matters would have further enriched the book.

Nonetheless, Wallace has done pioneering work in calling attention to this neglected but important chapter in Jefferson's history. Not only does his book give Native Americans a more prominent place in this Virginian's life, it also reminds us, once again, of their central role in American life during this era. Moreover, in employing terms such as "ethnic cleansing" (pp. 10, 20), "cultural genocide" (p. 276), and "final solutions" (p. 338), in tracing how one man wrestled with "the sharing of spaces among different ethnic groups" (p. 338), Wallace invites us to ponder the

modern, and global, implications of Jefferson's "long shadow" (p. 337).

JAMES H. MERRELL
Vassar College

STANLEY W. HOIG. *The Cherokees and Their Chiefs: In the Wake of Empire*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 350. \$34.00.

Stanley W. Hoig, a journalist by training, has published many books about the West and the American Indian. Most would be considered "trade" rather than "academic" contributions. This narrative account is of a similar nature, as it follows the lives of the various "Cherokee Chiefs" who led these Indians, starting with European contact and proceeding into the twentieth century. There is an inordinate amount of information on warfare and war chiefs, as Hoig examines the various conflicts that affected the Cherokees, from the French and Indian War through the Revolution and into the period of removal and the American Civil War.

Many Indian historians will have problems with this book. While it is well written and, at times, engaging, it suffers from a total lack of ethnohistorical method. Hoig provides no framework for understanding Cherokee politics—such as a basic discussion of the role of chiefdoms. How are Cherokee chiefs selected and how do they manipulate their power within the tribal reciprocal system? One would expect a comparable book on the history of American presidents to discuss at least to some extent party politics and the electoral college. More importantly, by emphasizing the role of "War Chiefs" and giving less attention to Cherokee "Peace Chiefs" (a term that is not even in the index to the book), the book presents a stilted history.

To be fair, this emphasis on military history dissipates when Hoig moves into the period of Indian Removal and beyond. As the Cherokees face the Dawes Act and Indian allotment, Hoig's narrative, based almost exclusively on newspaper accounts, reveals tribal factionalism and growing political chaos. Given the lack of historical work in this later period, the story here becomes more interesting. But, of course, by the turn of the twentieth century, most Cherokee leaders were themselves assimilated Indians who functioned well within a capitalistic framework.

Hoig's depiction of the Cherokee chiefs was likely designed for the general reader, and the book does cover a large amount of Cherokee history. Despite its publication by an academic press, however, it will be a disappointment to the serious scholar.

GARY CLAYTON ANDERSON
University of Oklahoma

ANDREW BURSTEIN. *Sentimental Democracy: The Evolution of America's Romantic Self-Image*. New York: Hill and Wang. 1999. Pp. xxi, 406. \$28.00.

Many cultural historians face the challenge of avoiding both structuralist synchronic description and tradi-

tional diachronic narrative. For them, culture is neither uniform nor stable enough to support sweeping analyses based on ubiquitously embodied codes, which too often have excluded agency, conflict, negotiation, exchange, appropriation, representation, particularism, irony, chance, and confusion. Yet the grand narratives of yore are, of course, no less exclusionary, for, after all, such traditional storytelling imposes its own structures on the richness of the past.

The task of somehow blending (or transcending) diachronism and synchronism lies at the core of Andrew Burstein's ambitious book. For this is not an orthodox synchronic national character study but rather an attempt to trace "the evolution of America's romantic self-image" through unfolding events from 1750 to the 1820s. Upon this scaffolding Burstein hangs his argument that the years witnessed the development of a sentimental and democratic "temperament . . . that conditioned public behavior and so informed political values" (p. xvi). He sees that temperament as "a moral quality, a vision of progress theoretically built on the encouragement of good works and public virtue, ideals said to have guided the American Revolution" (p. xvii). He draws his evidence of this temperament from much public discourse and some private correspondence of public figures in which he discerns an "emotionally rich vocabulary" (p. vii) expressive of sentimental democracy. In Burstein's account, these emotions drove the traditionally conceived events of the Revolution and early republic. Thus, the causal arrow goes mostly one way, from emotions to action and reflective discourse. The advantage of this approach is that it promises a way out of the text-versus-event historiographical quandary by triangulating it with emotional psychology: for the same emotions that inspired the creation of texts also produced events. Indeed, text and event here become almost epiphenomenal to the evolution of the democratic temperament, yet they are essential to proving its existence and following its evolution. The synchronic motive (the temperament) is thus allowed a diachronic life (its evolution), while text and event become mere evidence.

By focusing on democratic feeling, Burstein aims to cut new ground between interpretations based on the period's political thought (in the spirit of Bernard Bailyn and Gordon S. Wood) or on older, religious origins (from Ernest Lee Tuveson to Sacvan Bercovitch). Although Burstein is careful to let these interpretations go unchallenged directly, he clearly means to advance his over theirs on the grounds of its greater explanatory power. Yet, taking this at once less political and more secular middle ground, he opens himself to the charge that he has "gone native," hijacking the national character in the name of Jeffersonianism, for the self-image he proffers is not unlike that with which some Americans still flatter themselves. Needless to say, this makes Burstein's rhetorical strategy somewhat circular. He naturally plays to an audience liable to recoil in horror from both the republican synthesis and

the puritan origins of the American self as constituting *their* national character. With this loaded argument in hand, Burstein coyly demurs from outright judgment of sentimental democracy: "I do not prescribe, nor do I aim to subject to scientific analysis the minds of those whose words I cite, but simply to stir the pot of Americans' passions" (p. xviii). Ergo, let the people (i.e. readers of this book) decide on the basis of what they feel is right; this is sentimental democracy in action.

As much as an expression of sentimental democracy as a history of its evolution, Burstein's book ultimately does not surmount the diachronic/synchronic problem. He adds little new to the tired litany of key political events, and his synchronic analysis of the discourse of primarily educated, white, elite men (albeit some self-made) lacks sophistication. It is mostly old-style intellectual history with a history-of-emotions glaze. Moreover, the events and the sentimental discourses unfold in seeming isolation from one another and from key transatlantic currents, such as that which Kenneth Silverman called "Whig sentimentalism" (*A Cultural History of the American Revolution* [1976], pp. 82–87). After all, even the dust-jacket detail of John Trumbull's *Battle of Bunker Hill* (1786), which sentimentally depicts the death of revolutionary patriot Joseph Warren, directly quotes Benjamin West's 1771 *Death of General Wolfe*—the latter, tellingly, a painting much admired by George III.

RONALD J. ZBORAY
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SCOTT E. CASPER. *Constructing American Lives: Biography and Culture in Nineteenth-Century American*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 439. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Scott E. Casper has crafted a sophisticated, ambitious, and rewarding treatise on how Americans wrote, published, and read biographies from 1790 to the turn of the twentieth century. On one level, Casper convincingly argues for the absolute ubiquity of biographical writing in this century by excavating an incredible range of biographical writing and writing about biographies hitherto unexplored by historians and literary critics alike. On another level, he builds on the work of Jane Tompkins, Cathy Davidson, and Daniel A. Cohen, among others, to show how producers and readers of biography deeply believed in the genre's power to shape American lives and national character. His work owes much to both the scholarly traditions of New Historicism and history of the book studies.

Casper also explores how the genre of biography changed in the eyes of its authors, publishers, critics, and readers during the course of the nineteenth century. In the early decades of this century, American-written biographies were didactic and nationalistic. By the 1850s, biographies began to be separated into two differing castes: "the 'high' world of biography as literature and the 'middle' realm of didacticism" (p. 5).

The "high" strain of biography was deeply marked by Samuel Johnson's thinking, which focused on developing the "inner man" rather than national identity. Later in the century, other pressures came to bear on biographical writing. Those influenced by evolutionary theory began to question whether the human agency stressed in biography was getting it all wrong. Paradoxically, as evolutionary thought proclaimed that nature, not individuals, shaped history, a strain of romantic thought began to influence biography, promoting individuality and the development of one's genius through the way that biographies inspired readers.

Casper does not shy away from such paradoxical tensions in this book. He is continually layering his argument, both in terms of his source material and his analysis, in ways that eschew simple arguments and glib statements about the popularity of biography and the ability of the genre to influence individual and collective American thought and culture. Much of the richness of Casper's work comes in painstaking historical research. His extensive endnotes and bibliography stand as vivid testimony to just how much primary and secondary material he has culled.

One of Casper's commitments is to the devilishly difficult work of attempting to understand what American readers were actually thinking as they read biographies. He does this by using sources as diverse as library records and the diary entries of James A. Garfield, who recorded thirty years of his reading of biographies. He also pursues his investigations into how Americans experienced biographies in sections between his five main chapters, giving a significant amount of attention to both the production and reception of American biographical texts. He uses his rich methodology and analysis to particularly good effect in a wonderful chapter on representative men and women in the antebellum years.

If there is a weakness in Casper's grand exposé, it might be found in the book's sheer ambition. Casper attempts much. There is also no doubt that he delivers much; I stand in awe of his work ethic, his analysis, and his clear command of wide-ranging source material. But at times I wondered if he was attempting too much for the discussion of a single book. His narrative occasionally becomes obscured by its own complexities, making me wonder about the coherency of some of his narrative's argumentative arcs. Casper states in his introduction that he is setting out to make three arguments. He also mentions his book's focus at several other points in his introduction, slightly adjusting this focus each time. In the end, I think I would have appreciated more development of just one or two positions; this would have given his arguments greater force.

I say this with hesitancy, however, because Casper's ambition and accomplishment are clearly worthy of both our admiration and our applause. He has written a wonderful book that will surely become a standard

work for everyone interested in the history of American biographical writing.

PAUL C. GUTJAHR
Indiana University

MATTHEW FRYE JACOBSON. *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Paperback edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999. Pp. x, 338. \$16.95.

The aim of this book by Matthew Frye Jacobson is to trace how immigrants to the U.S. from various parts of Europe were constituted as members of the same race. The author is guided by two premises: first, that race is central to the history of his subjects, and second, that it is a product not of nature but of politics and culture. He divides the history of whiteness into three epochs. The first begins in 1790 and runs to about 1840. The 1790 law limiting naturalization to "free white persons" was passed at a moment when color stood out as a mark of status: the only chattel slaves were of African descent, the only "savages" were the indigenous peoples, and most of the rest were British-descended Christians (of the reformed sort). The law expressed the consensus among legislators that geographic origin, religion, nationality, physical type, civilization, republicanism, and fitness for self-government were linked, and for a half-century it presented few problems to those in power.

The second epoch begins in the 1840s with the massive waves of Irish and German immigration and runs to 1924. During that period, as a result of the new infusions, internal divisions among whites came to the fore, and the monolithic white race of the previous period was fractured into hierarchically ordered distinct white races: Celts, Teutons, Slavs, Hebrews, Mediterraneans, Anglo-Saxons, and so forth. According to Jacobson, it is anachronistic to apply the modern notion of culturally based ethnicity to that phenomenon: Catholicism was biology, and biology was destiny. Races existed on a continuum, and Anglo-Saxons were set off against Irish as well as against Mexicans. But in a period of volatile and contested racial meanings, the logic of Chinese exclusion and imperialism pointed toward the amalgamation of all whites, even as the eugenics movement pointed to the exclusion of some.

The third epoch, what may be called the epoch of the recomposition of whiteness, begins with the 1924 Johnson Act, which drastically reduced immigration, and runs to the civil rights era. "Caucasian" unity replaced Anglo-Saxon exclusivity, and in place of a multiplicity of races there arose a bipolar distinction between black and white. Jacobson attributes this development in part to the black migration north and west, which nationalized the "Negro Question": in part to liberal anthropologists who discredited Nazi theories of anti-Semitism and Aryan supremacy without challenging the notion of race itself; and in part to civil rights activists (including liberals and Communists) who reified black and white.

Jacobson views the amalgamation of Europeans into a single race not as a triumph of democracy but as a realignment of privilege. He calls for the dismantling of race but is not optimistic about the implications of "deconstructing" it at a moment when so many whites, for various reasons, are anxious to distance themselves from whiteness. The book is ambitious in scope and well researched. The writer surveys race theory in the nineteenth and twentieth century, as well as the tortuous efforts of the courts to define the indefinable. He provides insightful readings of a number of novels and films, and he writes gracefully.

Aside from brief discussions of the 1863 New York Riots and one or two other incidents, there is very little in this book about what people *did* or what becoming white meant to the newcomers. It is mostly a study of the attitudes of already established whites as revealed in words. *How* did the appearance of large numbers of African Americans on the streets of New York and Chicago help open the doors of the Nordic brotherhood to recently reviled immigrants from Europe? Did Italian immigrants make common cause with black people after the 1891 lynching of eleven Sicilians in Louisiana, or did they learn the lessons the lynchers intended to teach? What was the effect of their actions? Jacobson criticizes the work of David Roediger and Theodore Allen as rigidly economic, but his own neglect of human sensuous activity means that the reader will have to look elsewhere for the answers to these and similar questions.

Jacobson argues that by defining racial justice as the struggle against Jim Crow, "progressives" helped remake the various immigrant groups as monolithic whites, at a time when their whiteness was not a foregone conclusion. As an example, he cites the Communist Party's celebrated 1931 public trial of one of its members, a Finnish immigrant, for "white chauvinism." It is difficult to imagine an alternative; after all, it was not Poles or Italians whom the Finnish Club had barred from its baths but black Americans.

"Are Jews/Italians/Greeks/Slavs/Letts 'white'?" Jacobson asks. "*So far*," he answers (p. 272). I couldn't agree more strongly, but I note the omission of Anglo-Saxons from the list—a mere slip, or a failure to appreciate the full possibilities of dismantling race?

NOEL IGNATIEV
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WILLIAM E. VAN VUGT. *Britain to America: Mid-Nineteenth-Century Immigrants to the United States*. (Statue of Liberty—Ellis Island Centennial Series.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999. Pp. xi, 241. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

The study of British migration and immigration, still a neglected subject, received a first boost by Charlotte Erickson's *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America* (1972), Rowland Berthoff's *British Immigration in Industrial America 1870–1950* (1953), and Dud-

ley Baines's *Migration in a Mature Economy: Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1861–1900* (1985). William E. Van Vugt now offers a book that in many respects is representative of the “new history” of migration in which nation-state frameworks, ethnic boundaries, and the culture retention-uprootedness dichotomy are replaced by transnational cultural transfer.

Van Vugt carefully distinguishes British ethnicities and regions as well as multiple United States destinations. He begins by outlining the social, economic, and political context of emigration, including a cautious assessment of the onset of free trade in the frame of the Atlantic economy. In 1983, Thomas J. Archdeacon noted that the juxtaposition of old agrarian and new labor immigration was never supported by the data. For the 1850s and 1860s, Van Vugt emphasizes the diversity of the migrants: agriculturalists, industry and crafts people, miners, merchants, professionals, and gentlemen. He differentiates Scots, English (by region), Cornish, and cluster-forming Welsh.

The questions asked concern, first, the impact of the repeal of protective laws for agriculture on emigration. Perception of the impact was probably inflated because relevant publications often came from supporters of emigration. Furthermore, small farmers perceived threats to their standards of living with greater intensity than potential advantages and innovations that usually accrued to different social groups (i.e. larger farmers and merchants). Second, the process of departure and travel is assessed in both its psychological and material dimensions. Third, with similar sensitivity Van Vugt approaches adjustment after migration: which craft or agricultural practices were retained, which had to be discarded in view of social and economic differences? Was acculturation costly in terms of traditional patterns of (work) life and values? These migrants, like those of other cultural origins, did not merely assimilate; they changed the receiving society's farming practices and craft or industrial patterns. The result was a receiving society modified by the initiatives of the newcomers.

Throughout the book, emphasis is on agency within given but changeable contexts. Migrants wrote back to kin in Britain, often with positive accounts of achievements and possibilities but cautious about recommending that anyone follow. The decision of life-course options had to be made by the potential migrant him/herself. In each industry and craft—preindustrial crafts, textiles, ironworking, engineering, wood, food, shoe, and metals trades are discussed—conditions and opportunities varied, and the human resources to take advantage of options or negotiate difficulties depended on the particular persons. The one group that failed were gentlemen and ladies “dedicated to maintaining their refined English sensibilities and pursuing an upper-class life-style” (p. 118). It might be added that in Canada, too, such men arrived in large numbers and failed while gentlewomen proved more adaptive and successful.

The author deals with the eastern U.S. and the Old Northwest; future work would benefit from a Great Lakes region-approach that includes southern Ontario. Although the text is concerned with men and women, slight changes in language (for example, from “farmer” to “farming family”) would have reduced the male bias of the sources and brought home that farm labor usually was family labor. Placement of the well-argued separate chapter on women at the beginning rather than at the end would have set the tone for the reading of subsequent chapters. Finally, the interaction of British-origin migrants with those of different cultural backgrounds might have received more attention. Hardly any of the relevant literature concerning German and Czech workers in industry or Scandinavian settlers in the Old Northwest, for example, is cited.

On the whole, the book is a highly successful blend of quantitative data (much of it in tables in the appendix), painstaking research in regional archives, and lively, impressive, and informative quotes from life-writings, mostly migrant letters. It is easy to read and well illustrated, and can be highly recommended for use in immigration history courses, to use the old terminology, and in general history courses to deconstruct the view of an Anglo society receiving only cultural Others as immigrants.

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LISA MERRILL. *When Romeo Was a Woman: Charlotte Cushman and Her Circle of Female Spectators*. (Triangulations.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1999. Pp. xxv, 318. \$35.00.

Lisa Merrill explores the controversial yet highly successful life and career of Charlotte Cushman (1816–1876), the most famous and respected American actress of the nineteenth century. As an actress and a lesbian, Cushman flouted many of the social conventions of her era, but she was still revered as a “true woman.” Merrill's biography is a fascinating, well-researched answer to this paradox of Cushman's life. Merrill argues that Cushman's public and private pursuits legitimated each other: her disinterest in men gave her a moral reputation, contrary to the usually debased image of actresses in this period, and her stage career brought her financial independence and adoring female fans, some of whom became part of her intimate social circle.

Merrill focuses on the different representations of Cushman: her stage roles, Cushman's public and private constructions of herself, and other writers' trivialization of Cushman after her death. Cushman's characters on stage mirrored her own ambition and defiance, often dramatizing the expanding roles for women that were developing off stage. She frequently appeared as powerful, sometimes wild, female characters, such as the gypsy Meg Merrilies from Sir Walter Scott's *Guy Mannering* (1829). And her performances

of many significant male roles, including Romeo, matched her masculine role off stage as the breadwinner for her mother and siblings. Although Cushman's Romeo was criticized by some for its gender transgressions, her interpretation was also praised as a chaste version of William Shakespeare's love story. According to Merrill, Cushman's theatrical roles could support dominant social values, such as women's passionlessness, or challenge convention, sometimes providing a lesbian subtext.

Drawing on Cushman's private papers, including a diary and an unusually rich collection of letters from Cushman to one of her lovers, Emma Crow, Merrill uncovers Cushman's attempts to express, comprehend, and hide her passion for other women. Cushman surrounded herself with artistic, "strong-minded" women, encouraging the careers of her friends and lovers and creating a protective but also explosive family environment (p. 108). At the center of these circles of companionship, lust, and jealousy were Cushman's varied relationships with a series of lovers, including the poet Eliza Cook, novelist Matilda Hays, and sculptor Emma Stebbins. Although she acknowledges that "lesbian" is a twentieth-century category of identity, Merrill asserts that Cushman can be considered a lesbian for two reasons: she formed enduring "emotional partnerships" with some women as an "alternative to heterosexuality," and she also struggled to conceal taboo sexual desire (p. 160). Building on the research of Martha Vicinus and Terry Castle, Merrill thus rejects past interpretations of Cushman's relationships with women as primarily platonic and widely accepted romantic friendships. In Cushman's private writings, Merrill finds expressions of sexual desire for other women as well as the actress' worry about disguising her feelings, and she discovers friends and family members who were suspicious of Cushman's affairs with women.

Merrill repudiates any caricature of romantic friendships as innocent, but some questions remain about her attempt to transpose lesbian identity on to Cushman. Merrill finds lesbian love between Cushman and the aspiring young artist Crow despite Crow's marriage to Cushman's nephew and adopted son, Ned, and Cushman's encouragement of this union. The admittedly complicated relationships in this triangle could, on the other hand, support Carroll Smith-Rosenberg's pioneering conception of complementary homosocial and heterosocial worlds of the nineteenth century in which women's intimate friendships (even including sexual passion) did not preclude heterosexual marriage. As this example suggests, the twentieth-century notion of a lesbian identity as an "alternative to heterosexuality" may obscure as much as it reveals about women's experiences in the nineteenth century. Merrill's detailed account of Cushman's love affairs would have benefited, in general, from further contextualization: readers need to know much more about the particular nineteenth-century conventions of inti-

mate friendship between women and sentimental styles of expression.

Regardless of these questions, Merrill's biography has much to teach historians. She uncovers the individual nuances of sexual desire and identity, the wide variety of one woman's romantic friendships, and early doubts about women's chastity as well as the purity of their same-sex friendships. Cushman's unconventional life, as Merrill deftly illustrates, challenges simple labels and dichotomies.

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BRUCE A. RONDA. *Elizabeth Palmer Peabody: A Reformer on Her Own Terms*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 391. \$45.00.

Bruce A. Ronda's excellent biography of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody will help ensure that Peabody takes her rightful place in American history. Long condescended to and trivialized (in part because of her appearance and weight), Peabody has been relegated to roles as a "fuzzy do-gooder" or a "bluestocking busybody," significant only because of the important men that she befriended. Ronda's feminist reconstruction of Peabody's life deconstructs those too-easy dismissals of her significance and shows us with great specificity exactly how Peabody managed to embrace both avant-garde ideas and conventional beliefs—to her contemporaries' delight and to posterity's disdain.

Ronda frames his biography particularly well, opening with his own personal history and the shifts in scholarship and theory that have allowed scholars like himself to focus on marginalized or under-represented writers and thinkers. Like so many of the best feminist biographers of the past two decades, Ronda rescues his subject from ridicule and obscurity while being particularly sensitive to the gendered spaces of her life.

Calling Peabody a "practical intellectual," Ronda shows us how significant Peabody was in her own time: far more so than, say, Margaret Fuller, who is much better remembered (or gets better press) today. Throughout, Ronda illustrates Peabody's many achievements and her seeming blind spots. Peabody was a teacher who taught in Bronson Alcott's Temple School and later championed the kindergarten movement; she opened a remarkable bookstore in Boston, edited and published *The Dial*, advocated antislavery causes, and reformed textbooks. Yet, at the same time, Peabody did not advocate one of the most important reforms of her era: woman's rights.

As a biographer of Ernestine Rose, one of Peabody's contemporaries, I have always been fascinated by Peabody's refusal to align herself with such an important cause and one so seemingly close to her reformist heart. Ronda gives us an interesting interpretation of why Peabody (and her relatives) resisted the cause of woman's rights: her "organicism." Peabody wholeheartedly embraced the notion, so popular with English and American Romantics, that society

was an organism, with everyone having a preordained part in the whole. The essentialism arising from that notion kept Peabody from ever questioning woman's "innately" separate nature from men; woman, to Peabody, was "instinctively" nurturing and moral. That woman's rights advocates spoke openly of labor and strife bothered Peabody, who wrote that "the natural sphere of woman is above the slough of human nature," and therefore she would not hear such lectures "with a gentleman by my side." She also declined to hear such arguments without a gentleman, as she refused to participate in the popular woman's rights conventions attended by many of her friends.

As always, modern readers want to know about the personal life of historical subjects. And Peabody's famous intimate friendships with Horace Mann and Nathaniel Hawthorne (who each married one of Peabody's sisters) are food for much interesting speculation. Ronda writes about Mann and Hawthorne in great detail, interpreting Peabody's relationships with both men as meaning more to her than to them. To the ever-present question about the sexuality of a nineteenth-century woman who never married, Ronda writes that sexual expression outside of heterosexual marriage would probably not have occurred to Peabody, although he does admit that Peabody had several "intensely emotional attachments" with women. Did Peabody turn to intimacies with women because of her own inclinations or because her sisters married her only romantic interests? Or was the always-awkward Peabody simply unable to express her feelings to the men (or women) she cared most for? Ronda's interpretation raises such questions but he (wisely) suggests answers only in the conditional voice.

Perhaps the greatest joy of reading this book is that Ronda writes extremely well. To offer only a small example, the prologue begins: "Nathaniel Cranch Peabody was, to put it simply, a failure and the heir of a failure. Men in the Peabody family . . . had been failing, abandoning, and disappointing since the 1780s." Ronda makes us want to read more. And we do, and as we do, we find that he weaves the cultural contexts of mid-nineteenth-century America into his narratives of Peabody's life with great skill. Ronda has given us that rare treat: a scholarly biography that is a good read.

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JANE H. PEASE and WILLIAM H. PEASE. *A Family of Women: The Carolina Petigrus in Peace and War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 328. \$29.95.

This book is a good read. Such a claim is occasionally made for fiction but all too seldom for academic studies. Jane H. and William H. Pease have done a remarkable job of constructing a lucid and engaging narrative out of the thousands of letters and numerous diaries and memoirs written by the daughters, grand-

daughters, and female in-laws of Louise Gibert Petigrew. Ironically, they have been able to tell their tale of these women by delineating the pivotal role played by Louise's son, James, in advancing the family's fortunes and keeping kin together.

Louise, daughter of a Huguenot cleric, married a Scots-Irish farmer of modest means in the Abbeville district, with whom she had nine children. James attended Moses Waddel's acclaimed academy and, with borrowed funds, went on to South Carolina College. He passed the bar, changed the spelling of the family's name to Pettigru, and married the daughter of a lowcountry planter. Having thus successfully ensconced himself among the Charleston elite, he became equally successful at encouraging advantageous marriages for his sisters, daughters, and nieces.

The book focuses on the lives of these women, enmeshed in a society whose culture demanded the encoding of patriarchal values in schooling, courtship, marriage, household management, and child rearing. As adolescents, they finished their educations at boarding schools so that their social skills would be sufficiently advanced to permit their introduction into society, whereupon they were supposed to attract many suitors and marry for money. Since South Carolina had no divorce law, the choice of a spouse set their life course. Generally five to ten years younger than their husbands, they initially found themselves treated as children and only slowly carved out some areas of autonomy as they gained experience in supervising slaves and socializing children.

It is this search for autonomy—most often manifested in attempts to escape from difficult husbands—that makes the book a page turner. Marriages were strained by differing views on patriarchal authority. Despite their upper-class status, these women remained financially insecure because their husbands suffered from the westward shift in cotton production that took trade from antebellum Charleston, from frequent economic downturns before the Civil War, and from loss of assets following the war. The practice of purchasing more land and slaves in good times was devastating in bad times when debt payments could not be made. Alcoholism and sexual relationships with slaves further frayed many marital relationships.

Kinship provided the safety net that allowed the Petigru women to cope. James helped his sisters who remained in Abbeville turn the farm into a family estate that could succor needy kin. Generous hospitality among relatives provided respites from troubled marriages and social opportunities for adolescent daughters. But it was two of James's own daughters who took the search for autonomy furthest. Sue King published fiction and constructed a persona at odds with that of a proper Charleston matron. Caroline Carson lived in the North during the Civil War and ended her life as an artist in exile in Italy.

The family's prominence declined following the Civil War. The older generation died, most of the middle generation lost the resources necessary to

sustain elite status, and less than half of the younger generation of women found husbands. Young people left the lowcountry in search of better opportunities. Education, which had been the key to upward mobility, now became insurance against poverty by providing training for a teaching career.

This study is more than a page turner, however. Although it hews close to the quotes from Petigru women, doing so provides their perspective on important and wide-ranging historiographical issues; and, together with works on lowcountry African Americans and free whites and blacks in Charleston, permits a more thorough understanding of southern society. Both the strength and weakness of this study lie in the fact that the subjects addressed by the authors raise so many unanswered questions and offer so many unexplored linkages. On the one hand, because the study focuses on the viewpoint of the Petigru women, the perspective of their slaves, for example, remains largely peripheral. On the other hand, such an in-depth examination of elite women's values should spur the development of new hypotheses. One fruitful area might be a systematic comparison of the use of kin networks by both groups. Finally, this study demonstrates two things: inserting fictionalized material into historical narratives is not necessary to provide a good read nor is a good read by definition unscholarly.

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JOANNE POPE MELISH. *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1780-1860*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1998. Pp. xvii, 296. \$35.00.

Joanne Pope Melish's compelling account of slavery and emancipation in New England is a useful reminder that the nation's historical experience with slavery was not confined to the antebellum South. Melish makes a convincing case for the importance of slavery in the economic development of New England. She takes issue with economic historians who discount the institution on the ground that a high percentage of slaves performed nonmarket labor in slaveholding households. This nonmarket labor, Melish points out, in fact had market value by releasing whites for a wide range of economic activities that facilitated the transition from domestic-based to market-based productivity. Her main focus, however, is not the economic efficiency of slavery but rather the tragedy in race relations that attended its abolition. Melish blames the antislavery ideology of the late eighteenth century for poisoning race relations at the outset by offering New England whites the flawed vision of a free, white republic without slavery or people of color. Even as emancipation proceeded, whites rewrote the history of the region as the triumphant narrative of a free people untainted by the evil of slavery. The excision of slavery from the historical consciousness of the region cut the link between slavery in the past and the often degraded

condition of blacks in the present. It became easy and morally convenient to attribute the everyday tragedy of black existence to innate racial inferiority. The myth of an originally free, white New England became the touchstone of a regional nationalism that spread throughout the North during the sectional conflicts of the antebellum period. Northern claims of moral superiority over the racially mixed slaveholding South meshed neatly with this doctored history. By disowning their complicity in the historical experience of slavery, northerners could blame the South not only for the institution that disgraced the nation but for the racial problems of the North.

Although Melish generally makes judicious use of her sources, some of her conclusions seem questionable. If she is correct that white New Englanders abolished slavery in order to rid the region of both blacks and slavery, why did Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island pass laws protecting blacks from being sold out of state after abolition had begun? Such measures were not consistent with the vision of a white New England. Melish probably misjudges the motives of Rhode Island slaveholders who failed to file claims under the reimbursement provision of the abolition statute for the cost of raising the children of their slaves during the first year. She attributes their failure to seek reimbursement to "the paternalistic assumption of the slaveholder's obligation to care for the children of his slaves" (p. 94). A more likely explanation is that they did not seek reimbursement because they did not want to make the child's age a matter of public record that would later preclude them from claiming that the child had been born prior to the statute. At one point, Melish reads her own preconceptions into the sources to speculate that David Vinton, a Providence shopkeeper, "may have pressed unwanted sexual attention" on his black servant Sophia (p. 112). The record discloses only that Sophia refused to continue working for Vinton, perhaps because he had failed to pay her wages; but there is nothing to support the speculation that he had sexually harassed her. The law does not protect the dead from libel, but history should have higher standards. Finally, Melish throughout attributes racism almost completely to slavery. She may be correct, but the reverse seems more likely, given the ubiquity of racism among people with no historical experience with slavery. Racism, like many pervasive evils, may not be rooted in our institutions but in the darker regions of the limbic system.

It would be a mistake, however, to dwell excessively on flaws and shortcomings far outweighed by the book's many excellent qualities. The issues raised are minor, essentially differences of interpretation, and do not detract from the overall merit of this impressive study. Melish has written a really important book, arguably the best account of the subject since Lorenzo J. Greene's seminal study of New England slavery more than half a century ago (see Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1776* [1942]). Indeed, their studies are complementary, Melish's beginning

where Greene left off, and should be read in tandem. Painstakingly researched, filled with new information and astute analysis, this book is a major contribution to our knowledge of New England slavery and a valuable addition to the understanding of race relations in the United States.

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ANTHONY GRONOWICZ. *Race and Class Politics in New York City before the Civil War*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 1998. Pp. xix, 277. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$16.96.

With this book, Anthony Gronowicz joins a long line of historians who have seen New York City as the cockpit of Jacksonian politics. His aim is to illuminate the interconnectedness of race, class, and party in American history, and in particular to deromanticize the vaunted "artisan republicanism" of New York's white male skilled workers.

In Gronowicz's New York, as in Edmund Morgan's Virginia, white male equality was built on a foundation of racial subjugation. The city first gained prosperity through its colonial slave trade. Even as slavery later disappeared in New York and its black population levelled off, the city remained yoked to the South through the burgeoning traffic in cotton and textiles and its ideological buttress of racism.

Gronowicz takes direct aim at Sean Wilentz's celebration in *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* [1984] of an egalitarian, politically autonomous, working-class ethos centered in the skilled trades. Far from being revolutionary spearheads, says Gronowicz, New York artisans had not even favored independence. As small proprietors suffering "the psychological corruption born of having others do work for which one claimed both material and personal credit," they embraced a republicanism that excluded "women, non-Europeans, and the dependent poor" (p. 15). Later, artisans and Irish immigrants found a political home in Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy, where the outlook they imbibed was deeply racist and sexist. Gronowicz exposes New York's Jacksonian labor leaders, along with Wilentz's working-class laureate Walt Whitman, as aggressive white supremacists and proslavery apologists.

Capitalists who controlled the Federalist-Whig-Republican parties (really the same party, but with different names) were less overtly bigoted but no more egalitarian. They viewed everyone beneath them, white and black, as deserving an equal subservience. In the antebellum period, these capitalists cemented their class rule by seizing control of the means of production through banks while simultaneously creating a consumer culture that bought off workers and diverted their attention. Democrats sometimes attacked banks, but they also helped solidify the new order by channeling white working-class anger into racist screeds

against black scapegoats. Meanwhile, the gulf between rich and poor grew wider. The sorry climax came in 1863, when Irish workers primed by Democratic race-baiting exploded in violence against the city's defenseless blacks instead of against their own capitalist oppressors.

If this sounds tendentious, it is. Gronowicz is more skillful at skewering other historians' myths than at developing his own case. His narrative, which leaps back and forth in mid-paragraph between subjects and places, is at once eclectic, provocative, confused, and often simply incoherent. It reads as an exposé rather than an exposition, with facts flung down to illustrate a case already presumed rather than ordered in sequence to sustain an argument. Non sequiturs and anachronisms abound. Gronowicz's explanatory scheme is so relentless that correct chronology hardly seems to matter. Frederick Law Olmsted builds Central Park before 1850. Anti-Masons and De Witt Clinton's People's Party are both active in 1819, while "by the end of 1853," Republican Party councils, restricted to men having no Catholic friends or associates, are operating in "every Northern state" (p. 134). Gronowicz is equally carefree with sources. Of the quotations from one oft-cited document, the published diary of merchant Philip Hone, several are misdated, others have minor errors (including changing John Bull to John Locke), one is a composite sentence from two entries ten years apart, and another, whose original I could not locate, uses language ("their elitist principles") not current in Hone's day (p. 101).

African Americans and abolitionists excepted, no one in this book comes off as well-intentioned or sincere, except in their selfishness and bigotry. Capitalists are Machiavellian, politicians are cynical and corrupt, and workers are deluded. The Republican Party's true impetus was not to limit slavery but to consolidate the rule of northern "bankers and industrialists" over the planters who controlled the rival Democrats. The Civil War accomplished their aim. "Since the capitalist continues to exercise this prerogative today, at the helm, as the all-seeing eye at the top of the pyramid on our dollar bills, no further change has taken place in the fundamental character of the two dominant parties. Man is made to cower before Mammon" (pp. 170-71). This is Gronowicz's conclusion. It might as well be his premise.

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STEPHEN M. FRANK. *Life with Father: Parenthood and Masculinity in the Nineteenth-Century American North*. (Gender Relations in the American Experience.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 240. \$34.95.

The notion of distinct male and female social spheres in nineteenth-century America has suffered severe erosion for several years now. True, fundamental

differences between the sexes were assumed, and in the broadest arrangement of society men and women were assigned separate places, but the closer we look, the more the boundaries between the two spheres blur. The new understanding has come from several sources, including a closer look at the dailiness of men's lives. Stephen M. Frank has taken this line of investigation a step further. His concise and nicely argued study of fatherhood further compromises the line between behavior, responsibilities, and perceptions in the domestic lives of men and women.

Frank's focus is on white middle-class families of northern cities and countryside from 1800 to the Civil War-era. He does not dispute the larger transition of men's and women's roles—the one to breadwinner and the other to family caretaker and keeper of the hearth. His attention is to the adjustments within those roles, which in many ways makes this a study of the evolving shadings of manliness. The definition of manhood rested on providing for the family, but that sustenance went beyond bringing home the bacon to giving affection and loving concern to children and wives. Marriage increasingly was seen as an abrupt departure from the male social universe of clubs and cigar-smoking fellowship; the home was to be not a temporary haven from a man's central pursuits but a focus of his emotional engagement. This close commitment was said to strengthen the traditional male dominance, not weaken it. If you wish your wife "to have your opinion her law," a mother advised her son, never "rule by lordly . . . power" but "be faithful kind and affectionate" so "married life may be the happiest part of life" (p. 92).

Frank's description of that "happiest part" is one of his book's strengths. He takes us into the parlors and to the firesides and dinner tables where fathers presided, read to their families, and reviewed their children's days. Sunday emerged as a time of domestic rituals, some with religious purpose but in many cases not, with the father as central figure. Simultaneously, an acceptance of greater maternal authority in day-to-day childrearing freed husbands to be more boisterous playmates with sons and daughters. These years saw a flourishing of the fatherly romp. Fathers took a surprisingly active role in nursing sick children, who would recall their ministrations in terms little different from those of their mothers. The sentimentalized death of the young became an occasion for males to express their newly legitimate feelings of tender vulnerability. Frank's portrait of home life, with a close parity of parents' physical and emotional duties, suggests that the basics of the modern standard of the companionate marriage and ideal father were firmly in place a good bit earlier than others have claimed.

The paternal role in the transition from childhood to young adulthood, a rocky passage in every era, changed as well. Open affection for girls grew into warm relations between father and maturing daughter, with the former taking pride in the latter's accomplishments in education and other proper worldly pursuits.

The situation with sons was trickier. Obligated to send their sons well prepared into the competitive, rapidly changing commercial world, fathers insisted more sternly than ever that young men follow their lead without question and give them unwavering obedience and respect. The result often was a simmering filial resentment and a deepening tension between masculine generations.

Frank has faced the same limits of evidence bedeviling every student of family life during these years. Although he includes farmers and rural life, and draws useful distinctions between their experience and that of the city, his discussion is weighted heavily in favor of the urban middle class. Much of the material from children comes in the form of reminiscences written years later and so is refracted by time's passage and the writers' adult concerns. As always, the true picture of family life, that most universal human experience, is partially obscured by the testimony's silences and coded language. Frank works sensibly and thoughtfully within these limits. The result is a splendid addition to our understanding of the American family and how it has come to be.

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AMY DRU STANLEY. *From Bondage to Contract: Wage Labor, Marriage, and the Market in the Age of Slave Emancipation*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xvi, 277. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$17.95.

The focus of this excellent and provocative study are the individuals and groups that found in the ideas of contract "common principles for expressing their differing visions of freedom and slavery": Yankee hirelings, statesmen, feminists, social scientific thinkers, and former slaves (p. x). As the debate over slavery and emancipation rooted contract principles in everyday thought and speech, it raised several questions that pointed out the ambiguities and contradictions of contract freedom. Were hirelings slaves because their labor was for sale? Were wives slaves because, by law, both their persons and labor belonged to their husbands? Must husbands lose their rights as masters when wives sold their labor as a market commodity?

To address these issues, Amy Dru Stanley begins with a long introductory chapter documenting the twisting path from the common law and the liberal political thought of the seventeenth century to notions of contract "in the age of slave emancipation." She then describes the efforts by reformers and others to locate the working man, his wife, and family in the postslavery age of capitalist relations and an expanding market in free labor. In chapters on "The Labor Question and Sale of Self," "Beggars Can't be Choosers," "The Testing Grounds of Home Life," "Wage and Marriage Bonds," and "The Purchase of Women," she identifies an undeniable link between the ideas and rhetoric of antislavery and those of postslavery labor

reformers and feminists. With the downfall of slavery, the ambiguities became more evident as the Civil War legislation elevated contract into a sovereign right of citizenship, extended free men's established contract rights to the former bondsmen, but left wives of both only to the protection offered by the marriage contract. As public debate turned from the problem of chattel slavery to the contracts of wage labor and marriage that were guaranteed by emancipation, one constant remained: "contract freedom assured men property not only in themselves but in their wives" (p. 59).

Like political economy, Stanley points out, the labor law of the late nineteenth century "no longer located the wage contract's unfreedoms in household relations of personal dependency, but simply in the sale of labor" (p. 83). Furthermore, as the act of laboring increasingly dissociated the worker from a finished, useful commodity, it became plain that time alone was for sale under the wage contract. The question was whether time was a property that could be alienated from the self; that is, "were hirelings as free as other men to bide their time, save their time, and spend their time?" (p. 90).

Another postwar concern was propertyless persons who chose to eke out a living outside the bonds of contract. In the South, northern liberators punished as vagrants black men who refused to enter into wage contracts and set them to work. In the North, reformers tussled with the problem of white beggars. Neither a hireling nor his "polar opposite," the slave, the beggar was a dependent person who had no permanent home and who neither bought nor sold but preyed on others (p. 105). Free persons (especially the recently freed) could not choose to beg instead of agreeing to sell their labor for a wage, no matter how low. Thus, Stanley suggests, by converting the dependence of sturdy beggars into a crime, vagrancy laws provided the perfect solution: the means "to hold them fast within the world of exchange" (p. 137).

In both law and popular thought, then, the prostitute was equated with the beggar, classified as a dependent vagabond who did nothing valuable and bothered passersby. Unlike the beggar, however, she complied with the spirit of the market and, at the same time, "negated the law of marriage, which restricted exchanging sex for subsistence to husband and wife and entitled men to women's bodies" (p. 218). But, like the wife who earned wages, the streetwalker exposed the conflict between contract freedom and relations of dominion and dependence at home.

The solutions to the many "ambiguities and contradictions" reached by reformers in the Northeast were not universal, however. In the crucible of Reconstruction, there were noticeable racial and regional variations. In the agricultural regions of the South, for example, it soon became clear that the freedwomen's "field work was . . . integral to the Yankee emancipation program" and that "the agenda of emancipators [would] converge with the efforts of former masters to

reclaim the labor of entire black households" (p. 141). As Stanley points out, few in the North were concerned with freedpeople's households in the South" (p. 173). One is left wondering how the Yankee hireling would compare with white mill working families where there existed a premium on female labor, or poor black families in the South for whom sharecropping was, necessarily, a family enterprise.

LARRY E. HUDSON, JR.
University of Rochester

ALLEN C. GUELZO. *Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 1999. Pp. xii, 516. \$29.00.

This is a new biography of the man who is said to have more biographies than anyone else except Napoleon Bonaparte and Jesus Christ. It is a thoughtful, original book written in muscular prose. Allen C. Guelzo emphasizes Lincoln as a professional attorney and nineteenth-century man of ideas. By doing so, he has contributed a new perspective on this much-analyzed figure. The book has appropriately been awarded the Lincoln Prize. It should achieve a substantial readership beyond academia and reflect credit on the small but high-quality publishing house that produced it.

Guelzo casts Lincoln as an enthusiastic participant in, and proponent of, the commercial and technological changes of the "market revolution." Lincoln's Whig politics included support for internal improvements like dredging the Sangamon River in Illinois. Guelzo's Lincoln was a critic of Jeffersonian agrarianism and the myth of the self-sufficient yeoman farmer. Lincoln strongly believed that commerce and industry would make America a better place to live than a purely agrarian society could possibly be. His personal life as well as his political program illustrates this commitment. He rejected the subsistence farming of his father in favor of the legal profession and provincialism in favor of cosmopolitanism. Guelzo has much more to say about Lincoln's law practice than have other biographers, and he shows how Lincoln characteristically did his legal work for corporations serving the market revolution, especially the Illinois Central Railroad.

This book devotes commendable attention to Lincoln as a thinker and as a person who lived in a society where ideas were widely available and taken seriously. Beside political economy and law, Lincoln's intellectual life conspicuously included theology. Religious organizations were in the forefront of those taking advantage of the improvements in communication associated with the market revolution. The Victorian generation into which Lincoln was born was acutely aware of religious ideas, disseminated them widely, and relished religious controversy. Most of the biographers who have emphasized Lincoln's religious opinions have done so in order to try to make him out as some kind of Christian. Guelzo is refreshingly candid in showing that Lincoln was a freethinker who never

joined a church but who did wrestle all his life with theological problems, especially those relating to determinism, free will, providence, and fate. Guelzo identifies Lincoln as a member of a generation of Victorian intellectuals who regretted their loss of faith. The description rings true.

This book emphasizes Lincoln's prepresidential years more than most biographies. The presidency is interpreted as the unfolding of the implications of Lincoln's early commitments. His opposition to slavery is explained as one facet of his belief in market capitalism. Lincoln wanted people to be able to "make something of themselves," to fulfil their potential in whatever way their talents indicated. Obviously slavery was a denial of this opportunity—but so was any externally imposed regimen. For example, a youth should not have to labor in his father's calling. An urban, commercial society was better than an agrarian one because it provided more varied occupational options.

In comparison with other Lincoln biographers, Guelzo makes more profitable use of the reminiscences of William Henry Herndon and others who knew Lincoln personally. Although he never specifically addresses David Herbert Donald's biography of Lincoln, Guelzo offers a sharp contrast to it. Donald's Lincoln is a pawn of forces beyond his control; Guelzo's Lincoln is in conscious pursuit of definite goals.

One may argue with some of Guelzo's interpretations. In identifying Lincoln's views closely with the classical economists, Guelzo never calls attention to the fact that, unlike Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill, Lincoln and the American Whigs believed in "big government." They needed government to build the transportation infrastructure and public educational system that their kind of capitalism required. Nevertheless, Guelzo's biography represents a stimulating, highly readable reinterpretation of Lincoln for our generation. It is particularly valuable as a corrective to certain popular misconceptions of the great president as a simple backwoods rail-splitter, a kind of nineteenth-century Li'l Abner Yokum. This was an image Lincoln's supporters found politically helpful, but the real Lincoln was more the man Guelzo portrays: a serious thinker and a top corporation lawyer.

DANIEL WALKER HOWE
Oxford University

SCOTT REYNOLDS NELSON, *Iron Confederacies: Southern Railways, Klan Violence, and Reconstruction*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. x, 257. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$18.95.

In this frustratingly brief yet boldly ambitious study, Scott Reynolds Nelson attempts to provide a new perspective from which to view and define the post-Civil War American South. His focus is the southern railroad network, particularly the corridor that ran from the capital of the Confederate South, Richmond, to the capital of the New South, Atlanta. Nelson

contends that the "Iron Confederacy," as he calls the railroad network, not only proved the most enduring legacy of the political Confederacy but also shaped the history of Reconstruction and Redemption in significant ways still little understood. If the end result sometimes falls short of the author's intentions, the book nonetheless offers a refreshing and challenging interpretation that richly deserves consideration.

Before the Civil War, as Nelson notes, there was no southern railway system. Competitive antebellum railroads, funded through a combination of private and public monies, aimed to enrich home states at the expense of neighbors. Directors and legislators avoided interstate connections as dangerous to local profits and prestige. The demands of the Civil War cruelly exposed the flaws of such thinking and forced an initially reluctant Confederate government to cobble together a national system. Although that government collapsed in 1865, its interstate railroad system survived, albeit in need of repair. Taking advantage of weaker and often compliant Reconstruction governments, Upper South entrepreneurs created the Seaboard Inland Air Line to profit from the iron corridor. A shadowy organization that aimed to speed freight to and from the North over more than a dozen independent local railroads, the Air Line connected New South merchants with northeastern wholesalers. In so doing, it amassed both profits and power, often making or breaking businesses and politicians.

The Seaboard Air Line also confronted challengers who coveted its markets and products. Beginning in 1868, Thomas A. Scott and his Pennsylvania Railroad attempted to gain control of the various lines utilized by the Air Line and consolidate them into a nationwide system. Hoping to block Scott, the Air Line and its supporters responded by depicting Scott as a Yankee interloper who would augment the power of northern corporations and southern blacks at the expense of the white South. Wrapping themselves figuratively in both the Confederate flag and the robes of the Ku Klux Klan, Scott's antagonists initially succeeded in blocking his plans but also pried open a Pandora's box. Unaware of the depth of common white anger during Reconstruction, the Air Line's supporters unleashed a wave of racial violence that reached its nadir in 1869 and 1870 along the same Atlanta-to-Richmond corridor Scott longed to control. Klansmen there often targeted black railroad workers, whose skills and wages made them at least semi-autonomous and politically active.

Scott eventually beat the Air Line at its own game by creating in 1871 the Southern Railway Security Company, a holding company that slowly, over the decade, gained control of the railroads so vital to the Air Line's operations. Scott additionally purchased southern newspapers and used them to depict his Southern Railway as the true heir to the Confederacy. At the same time, he formed alliances with many of the same southern conservatives who had earlier opposed him, in the hope that their presence would offer credence to

the fiction that the Southern Railway line truly was a regional manifestation. Together, they helped fossilize the South as a colonial economy with a foundation built on cotton, tobacco, and racial oppression. Thus, instead of empowering real change, the Air Line and the Southern Railway tragically helped inhibit it.

The breadth of Nelson's vision ultimately is both a strength and a weakness. Although he touches on several crucial topics, his book remains essentially an essay that will leave readers hungry for more elucidation. There probably is a potential book in every slim chapter. One also craves more context. Nelson correctly points out that railroads were not the main catalyst for Reconstruction violence, but sometimes he makes it seem that way. Nonetheless, Nelson's truly innovative insights, solid research, and narrative skill make his book a significant and welcome contribution that will stimulate years of important discussion on the nature of Reconstruction.

KENNETH W. NOE
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WILLIAM SERAILE. *Fire in His Heart: Bishop Benjamin Tucker Tanner and the A.M.E. Church*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 242. \$32.50.

It is often written that biographers become so close to their subject that they identify with the ideas and views of the persons about whom they are writing. Their work is so sympathetic to the subject of the biography that it lacks balance. Unfortunately, that is the case with William Seraile's book on Benjamin Tucker Tanner, an African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church bishop. Seraile has written a biography of Tanner that focuses on his life as preacher, editor of the *Christian Recorder* and *A.M.E. Review*, and bishop in the A.M.E. Church. Seraile's strongest contributions in this book are the historical facts and issues demonstrating Tanner's zeal for scholarship and Christian religious faith. His weakest efforts emerge during parts of the book that attempt to pit Tanner against another A.M.E. bishop, Henry McNeal Turner. In each instance, whether the issue is African emigration, which Tanner opposed and Turner favored, or public outcry against the atrocities that African Americans faced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Seraile invariably characterizes Tanner as good and Turner as bad. Aside from the author's bias in favor of his subject, the book also suffers because Seraile has failed to read all of the relevant literature on the *Christian Recorder*, one of his primary sources. Tanner's diaries are also used, but many years are missing in these papers, so Seraile used *Recorder* articles and letters to fill in the interrupted years and gain more insight into Tanner's motives and thoughts.

Seraile's work, perhaps reflecting Tanner's personality, is inconsistent on issues of racial pride and racial progress. At one point, Seraile writes that "Tanner had little understanding of and less patience with African

culture" (p. 14). In the preface, however, and throughout the book, Seraile argues that Tanner believed in racial pride and that "coloreds"—Tanner disliked the word "Negro," especially when capitalized, and came to use Afro-Americans in 1903—should be proud of their heritage. Still, in another part of the book he writes that Tanner believed that African-American culture was inferior to that of the Anglo-Saxons. Additionally, Seraile points out that Tanner's ideas are "muddled at times," but so are his. Although Seraile attempts to show that he is enlightened and favors equality for all, he uses black stereotypes to make a point. For instance, in an effort to point up the differences between the "tame and pragmatic" Tanner and "the bluster and threats" of Turner, Seraile draws on the Zip Coon stereotype to put their views into context. Seraile writes "but he [Tanner] wanted them [African Americans] to believe that these and more were within reach if they [African Americans] would learn to stop dressing like *peacocks* [italics mine] and attempting to impress others with their spending power" (p. 82).

Further, Seraile fails to explain Tanner's notions and ideas about using the word "Negro." At first, Seraile notes that he opposed using the term. Nevertheless, in several articles written later in his life, Tanner used the word and it appears in capital letters. How did this evolution occur? What led to this epiphany? The author neither attempts to answer these questions nor brings them to the reader's attention.

Seraile's efforts to equate Tanner with such stalwart African-American intellectuals as Carter G. Woodson, George Williams, and W. E. B. Du Bois, is equally misplaced. Seraile notes that Tanner knew little of Africa's past, save for Biblical references and figures. Nevertheless, he argues, ineffectually, that Tanner was a "pioneer figure in black intellectual scholarship." How Seraile came to this conclusion is unclear, since Tanner did not write an autobiography and most of his writings are on religious themes. Seraile argues that Tanner and Booker T. Washington shared similar ideas and views on topics ranging from black education to ways to achieve black racial progress. Seraile, however, fails to point out the discrepancies between Tanner's ideas on education and those of Washington. Tanner believed in liberal arts study, whereas Washington held that African Americans should receive an "industrial" education, which was tantamount to learning how to become a better butler, maid, gardener, or some other domestic helper.

Finally, Seraile's inadequate and biased selection of secondary sources renders this work almost useless as a historical document. It is clear that Seraile not only shares the accommodationist and gradualist philosophy of Washington but has used Tanner as the vehicle through which to express it.

GILBERT A. WILLIAMS
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SANDY DWAYNE MARTIN. *For God and Race: The Religious and Political Leadership of AMEZ Bishop James Walker Hood*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xxiv, 248. \$39.95.

In recent years scholars have written important books on the lives of activist black religious leaders. Among these illuminating studies are Stephen Ward Angell's *Bishop Henry McNeal Turner and African American Religion in the South* (1992); Annetta Louise Gomez-Jefferson's *In Darkness With God: The Life of Joseph Gomez, a Bishop in the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (1998); Moses Nathaniel Moore's *Orishatukeh Faduma: Liberal Theology and Evangelical Pan-Africanism, 1857-1946* (1996); and William Seraile's *Voice of Dissent: Theophilus Gould Steward (1843-1924) and Black America* (1991) and *Fire In His Heart: Bishop Benjamin Tucker Tanner and the A.M.E. Church* (1998).

Added to this list is Sandy Dwayne Martin's current book. Martin wrote about James Walker Hood to rescue him from the "margins of historical importance" (p. 200). Hood provided both religious and political leadership during Reconstruction as chair of North Carolina's Freedmen's State Convention in 1865; as a member of that state's Reconstruction convention 1867-1868; and as a magistrate, deputy collector of the Internal Revenue Service, and assistant state superintendent of education. He withdrew from active politics after becoming a bishop in 1872, preferring to leave specific political activism to lay persons. Still, Martin writes that Hood's papers reveal an interaction with the nation's presidents, governors, and other political figures. Unfortunately, Martin does not elaborate on this point. Hood did not espouse one specific political philosophy but at different times advocated a "progressive," "moderate," and "conservative" stance to advance the cause of black Americans. Nevertheless, "conservative" best describes the bishop who sought to advance racial progress by working with the South's better class of whites. This philosophy led to controversy in 1886, when the bishop suggested that the failure of the federal government to compensate slaveholders for their lost human property incited white southerners to cheat blacks out of their civil and political rights.

Bishop Hood supported the United States in the 1898 war with Spain because it offered the church an opportunity for mission work in the Catholic (which many did not consider truly Christian) Spanish former colonies. Going further than others, Hood saw in the war's aftermath the coming of a "millennial period of justice, peace, racial brotherhood, and righteousness over all the earth prior to the second coming of Jesus Christ" (p. 133). Martin notes that Hood did not condemn European colonialism and imperialism as the root of World War I but instead focused on the discrimination faced by African-American soldiers. It would have been useful for Martin to have compared Hood's assessment of the causes of the war with the

views of W. E. B. Du Bois, A. Philip Randolph, Francis J. Grimké, and others. Martin does not provide a complete analysis of Hood's political views but rather cites several case studies of Hood's reaction to the 1908 and 1912 presidential elections as representative of his views. This leaves unexamined what Hood thought about the presidential administrations of Benjamin Harrison, William McKinley, and Theodore Roosevelt.

In religious matters, Bishop Hood displayed his "progressive" side when he supported in principle the 1898 ordination of Mary J. Small as an elder, which made her eligible to perform the sacraments and even become a bishop. This liberality on Hood's part was attributed to the bishop's "close, intimate contacts with women preachers and spiritual leaders and was conditioned to the possibility of God's calling them to preach and using them to lead others," suggests Martin (p. 174). Martin also provides insights into Hood's thinking on the elusive issue of merger with other branches of Methodism. This issue was also a hot subject in the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) church, which Martin touches on while ignoring A.M.E. Bishop Benjamin T. Tanner, who was arguably the A.M.E. Church's strongest supporter of merger.

Hood was forced to retire in 1916 due to "his acerbic attack on Zionites who differed with him" (p. 192). Martin's account of Hood is interesting, highly readable, and a contribution to black religious studies, but it is weak in several respects. His case-study approach leaves many gaps in Hood's political and religious life, and too often Martin provides sketchy accounts of significant events. Organizationally, Martin divides his chapters into subheadings with a summary of every chapter; he also summarizes the entire book in the final chapter. This may be pleasing to general readers and undergraduates, but historians and scholars of church history would have preferred that Martin did more to meet his objective "to recover for scholarly appreciation Hood's entire public career as a major religious and political leader" (p. 97).

WILLIAM SERAILE
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City University of New York

INGRID OVERACKER. *The African American Church Community in Rochester, New York, 1900-1940*. Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 1998. Pp. x, 230. \$49.50.

Despite a burgeoning scholarly literature on African-American religion in the United States, relatively few studies have focused on African-American churches in specific cities. These include Claude F. Jacobs and Andrew J. Kaslow's *The Spiritual Churches of New Orleans: Origins, Beliefs, and Ritual of an African-American Religion* (1991); Robert Gregg's *Sparks from the Anvil of Oppression: Philadelphia's African Methodists and Southern Migration, 1890-1940* (1993); and Clarence Taylor's *The Black Churches of Brooklyn*

(1994). Whereas New Orleans, Philadelphia, and Brooklyn have had substantial African-American communities over the course of the twentieth century, Rochester's African-American community has been relatively small. Indeed, by 1940, Rochester had only 3,262 African Americans in a citywide population of 324,975. Due to its small size and the concentration of African-American workers in the service sector during the first four decades of the twentieth century, the city's African-American community manifested relatively little class stratification.

In her discussion of the role that Rochester's African-American church community played in the social life of blacks in a city that had been Frederick Douglass's home and the seat of the abolition and various other reform movements, Ingrid Overacker relies on information that she gleaned in interviews with members of four local congregations: Memorial African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (est. 1827), Trinity Presbyterian Church (est. 1902), Mt. Olivet Baptist Church, and St. Simon's Episcopal Church. Whereas Memorial and Mt. Olivet are affiliated with historic African-American denominations, Trinity and St. Simon's belong to white-controlled denominations. All of the congregations that the author uses to depict the "African American church community" undoubtedly represent only a slice of the religious diversity in Rochester, even up until 1940. Overacker fails to make even fleeting reference to various other religious groups, such as Holiness-Pentecostal and Spiritual churches, that may have existed in Rochester during the period of her study. Nevertheless, she provides us with a valuable historical and insightful overview of African American mainstream congregations in a relatively progressive, medium-sized northeastern city.

In contrast to most other studies of African-American religion, in chapter two, "Women of Faith and Service," the author gives special attention to the role that women have played in the religious and social life of Rochester's African-American mainstream churches. She asserts that African-American women in Rochester's churches "claimed respectability for themselves and worked to instill behaviors that would exhibit respectability to the outside world" (p. 107). Chapter three, "Education," focuses on the role of mainstream congregations in the promotion of educational achievements for blacks in Rochester. Chapter four, "Economic Self-Development," examines their role in creating business and job opportunities that confined African Americans by and large to the lower tier of the split-labor market. Chapter six, "Political and Civil Rights Movement," discusses the political strategies that African-American church people employed in their struggle against institutional racism and discrimination in a city whose white community tended to pride itself for its self-perceived racial tolerance.

At the theoretical level, Overacker challenges the assertion on the part of various scholars, including Joseph R. Washington, Gayraud S. Wilmore, and C. Eric Lincoln, that African-American mainstream

churches tended to adopt an accommodationist stance toward and eschewed social and political protest against the larger society during the first half of the twentieth century. She asserts that the African-American church community in Rochester served as an institutional vehicle of social reform from the Progressive era to the beginning of World War II. In her concluding chapter, the author states: "The African American church in Rochester housed, articulated, nurtured, and sustained the faith of people who strove, in their daily lives, to live out the mandates of a liberating and redemptive God" (p. 210).

In reality, black mainstream churches have historically juxtaposed elements of protest and accommodation to the larger society. Nevertheless, they, including the ones examined by the author, frame their protest in such a way that the basic structure of the American political economy remains unchallenged. Although their protest efforts express vehement opposition to racism, they generally ignore the intricate relationship between racism and capitalism, thereby implicitly (and often explicitly) accepting dominant values and goals such as material success, individual achievement, personal responsibility for failure, economic competition, and class stratification. As a consequence, most African-American mainstream churches tend to function inadvertently as agencies of ideological hegemony that legitimize the existing social system.

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PAUL REDDIN. *Wild West Shows*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 312. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$21.95.

Paul Reddin offers four well-researched case studies beginning with George Catlin in the 1830s and ending with Tom Mix a century later as the Wild West show phenomenon was fading from the American scene. Reddin's choices, including his other two case studies—Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West and the Miller Brothers' 101 Ranch Wild West—are conventional, with the exception of Catlin. Before there were Wild West shows, Catlin enlivened exhibitions of his "Indian Gallery" of portraits and scenes painted on his western travels with lectures, a display of Indian artifacts, and, at various times, ersatz Indians and real Indians who enhanced the carnival atmosphere by performing dances and scalping demonstrations. Since Catlin left the United States in 1839 to exhibit abroad and since he briefly fronted for a Texas land scheme, he serves Reddin as a precursor to the later Wild West showmen, all of whom made European tours and speculated in western land as well.

That said, Catlin fits uncomfortably into Reddin's model. Whereas Cody, the Miller brothers, and Mix overlapped in the half century during which they performed (1880 to 1930) Catlin stood alone. He died in 1872, just as Cody was beginning his stage career in

dreadful western melodramas that would not evolve into his prototypical Wild West show for another decade. Moreover, Catlin was first and foremost an artist who sought an audience for his paintings by providing entertainment; the others were entertainers with nothing else to sell. By focusing on Catlin as a showman, Reddin can conclude that he is today a "forgotten man" (p. 51), a judgment that neglects Catlin's transcendent artistic legacy. Perhaps he was "a showman at heart" (p. 51). But this will not account for the contradictory impulses that militated against his financial success. No doubt he crassly exploited Indians in order to promote his gallery; but in an age of Manifest Destiny, he never abandoned their cause for white heroes with more commercial appeal. In that sense, Catlin was utterly consistent in his antiprogressive message. The Wild West showmen learned to tailor their message to changing audiences and shifting tastes; Catlin did not. Unlike Cody and the others, he could never manage the trick of mourning the past and celebrating progress.

Buffalo Bill's Wild West better exemplifies the Wild West show tradition, and Reddin's treatment of it is exemplary. There are no unearned generalizations here as Reddin methodically documents Cody's travels and the variant responses to what was billed as "America's national entertainment." The English, for example, viewed America with proprietorial pride and celebrated Buffalo Bill as one of their own; the French were given to airs, but were charmed by Guillaume Bison. The Spanish were indifferent; their horsemen could outcowboy any cowboy. The Italians were hostile and preferred their own circus tradition, while the Germans were impressed by the military efficiency with which the show set up camp and smitten with the Indians. Americans, in turn, learned to scoff at European pretensions, pity European poverty, and wave the American flag all the harder—even as Cody adapted his program to different national tastes, making Buffalo Bill's Wild West by 1892 also a "Congress of Rough Riders of the World." Originally Cody celebrated the frontier experience as a clash of cultures, a gladiatorial contest, in which he was the triumphant hero. In time, he also became America's ambassador abroad, a fresh breeze off the plains spreading homespun ideals and frank and manly western sentiments.

For all its solid merits—its depth of research, its measured, precise pace, its reasonable tone, and its wealth of detail—this book does not have a major point to make. Reddin notes that Catlin honored the vanishing Indian, Cody, white pioneering, the Miller Brothers, cattle kings and the theme of empire, and Mix, the upright cowboy hero. He is content to note the interplay between American values and the Wild West shows, assigning primacy to the former since the Wild West shows were so responsive to trends. He also notes the pivotal role the show played in shaping impressions of western life. His book's considerable virtue is its thoroughness. Drawing on an impressive body of manuscript and newspaper sources, and ac-

cepting those sources at face value, Reddin demonstrates that contemporaries required no modern academic intervention to recognize Wild West shows as conscious constructs.

If some books are thoroughbreds and others pacers, this book is a plowhorse. Patient and hard-working, it covers the ground.

BRIAN W. DIPPIE

University of Victoria

WILLIAM WYCKOFF. *Creating Colorado: The Making of a Western American Landscape, 1860–1940*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 336. \$30.00.

William Wyckoff attempts to juxtapose Colorado's development with that of the entire American West. He claims that the region is "defined by the rapidity and the timing of its Euro-American occupancy . . . that reflected a set of dominant technologies and institutions present in America between 1860 and 1920" (p. x). Second, the region is defined by the combination of peoples who settled there. Finally, the West's landscape is unique. "The persisting presence of wild nature, the space between areas of settlement, the clarity of the sky, and the dryness in the air" elicited unique responses from human inhabitants (p. x).

Wyckoff, a geographer, explores the development of Colorado from three perspectives. The first is a traditional assessment of place through time. Second is the evolution of "time through place." He suggests that "an emphasis on place can offer a powerful interpretive framework through which to study the impacts of large-scale economic, political, and cultural influences on societies both past and present" (p. 13). The book is divided into eight chapters. After explaining his approach, Wyckoff examines pre-1860 geographies. He then explores change emerging between 1860 and 1920 in five different parts of the state: mountains, piedmont heartland, eastern plains, southern periphery, and western slope. He concludes with a chapter on the evolution of these geographies between 1920 and 1940.

Wyckoff attempts to examine Colorado's emergence by developing five separate themes. The first "effective settlement" exerted a preponderant influence, and early arrivals indelibly shaped the subsequent "settlement system, social geography, and cultural landscape" (p. 9). Colorado became not only a meeting ground but a melting pot of many cultures. Capitalism and "liberal individualism" were the "dominant ideological impulses" in the state's history; Colorado "vividly bore both the fruits and scars of laissez-faire capitalism" (p. 10). While the initial fortunes were made in mineral extraction, "Colorado's resource base . . . proved more fickle and fragile than was initially advertised" (p. 11). Finally, political institutions were critical in shaping human geography. Federal investments in forts, mail routes, railroads, highways, and

regional headquarters all played major roles in shaping the state prior to World War II.

Some readers may object to the author's partition of the state into five subregions. In particular, his contention that "the northwest corner of Colorado was an economic and cultural outpost of Wyoming" (p. 243) may raise the hackles of certain Centennial State chauvinists. However, this reviewer found it both revealing and helpful. Most state histories emphasize the precious metals sweepstakes, conflict between Anglos and Native Americans, the evolution of railroads, and the sprawling development of Front Range. Most virtually ignore the agricultural valleys in southwestern Colorado. The eastern plains have, if anything, attracted even less attention from historians. The strength of this book is the close attention the author pays to "backwater" areas of the state, particularly the growth, hopes, and decline of countless small towns on the eastern plains. Wyckoff briefly explores the impact of radio and movie theaters on small town culture, providing some good insights. In addition, readers will be grateful for a text that is jargon-free.

Wyckoff offers little new even to casual readers of Colorado history, however, let alone serious scholars. Much of the text is iteration of the obvious, particularly when Wyckoff deals with the economic, demographic, social, and spatial development of Denver, Colorado Springs, and Pueblo. The same is true in his treatment of mining camps and "company" towns. Rapid exploitation of mineral resources wrought ecological havoc. Importation of foreign-born, non-English-speaking workers from many different countries helped capitalists control labor in the mining regions. Although Wyckoff includes some excellent photographs and occasionally useful maps, captions are often inadequate. A few maps are so poorly reproduced and contain such tiny, cramped lettering that they are virtually useless (pp. 190, 209, 220). In conclusion, Wyckoff's conceptual framework is useful, but his insights could be more penetrating.

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CARY MICHAEL CARNEY. *Native American Higher Education in the United States*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction. 1999. Pp. xii, 193. \$32.95.

After returning from a fund-raising trip to Scotland and England on behalf of the proposed Dartmouth College, Samson Occom, eighteenth-century Mohegan minister, learned that most of the college's students would be English. Convinced he had been betrayed, Occom complained to a friend, who wrote of Occom's concern that "the English had crowded out the Indian youth." In colonial America, such injustice toward Native Americans was not uncommon. By contrast, in the 1990s, 26,000 students attended thirty-one tribal colleges across North America's Indian Country. The majority of these students were Indian; most of the

tribal colleges are located on or near Indian lands and are run by tribal educators.

In the ten generations since Occom's betrayal, the profile of Indian higher education has been recast. Tribal scholarships, tribal colleges, private grants, and federal funding have coalesced in the last half of the twentieth century, providing a variety of Native educational opportunities that stretch beyond the imagining of the Mohegan cultural broker. The changes that have paced Native higher education from the colonial world forward encompass a story filled with high drama: tragedy, insensitivity, endurance, and hope. Ideally, this tale should be related by a master storyteller, gifted with understanding.

The present study falls short of this ideal. Cary Michael Carney's approach is reminiscent of an encyclopedia compiler, and the ensuing work offers the strengths and the shortcomings of this genre. It encompasses the significant experiments in Native higher education from the colonial era forward, ranging from Harvard College, to Dine College, the first tribal college in the United States. Yet these institutions seldom appear inside the storyteller's web; nor are they woven under the guise of the historian's craft.

Carney's major contribution is to provide a succinct overview of the subject. His organizational strategy, however, will befuddle students of American history. Dividing American history into three eras, he begins, logically, with the colonial period. A background section on the precontact Native equivalent of colleges would, however, have been appropriate. (There is half a page on this topic.) The middle section is more puzzling. Persuaded that the U.S. remained indifferent to Native higher education until recently, Carney frames this section, dubbed "The Federal Period," by beginning with the American Revolution and closing with the 1960s. The final section, "The Self-Determination Period," covers the 1960s forward. The author then offers a brief assessment of the contrast between Native and African-American higher education, which, while not uninteresting, appears to have been grafted on as an afterthought.

Although the book mentions in passing World War II's influence on local educational control, the prevailing power of this event suggests that it could be highlighted as the major catalyst for Native educational change in the twentieth century. Out of the war came the G.I. Bill, massive Indian urbanization, Indian veterans' awareness of the importance of schooling, veterans' leadership in tribal affairs and ensuing tribal scholarships, the tribal college movement, and the 1970s federal Indian education legislation. The most significant expansion of Indian higher education springs from the continuing impact of the war.

Carney's hypothesis, which provides the justification for the book's structure, is basically sound, but it is a bit overdrawn and fails to allow for sufficient complexity. He argues that throughout most of American history the federal government elected to control Native education centrally, refusing to allow for signif-

icant involvement by local communities. This position ignores two realities. First, from its beginning the federal government was caught in the contentious issue of federal control vs. states rights. More significant for federal Indian policy was the question of federal vs. state Indian relations, an issue only partially resolved by *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832). Asserting control over Indian education became one ploy of the federal government in this ongoing struggle. Second, the assumption that federal control uniformly prevailed does not allow for the variety of conditions in Indian Country or the influence of Indians themselves. The Five Tribes' schools in Indian Territory, mentioned in the text, illustrate the uniqueness of tribal educational experiments and the validity of local innovation.

As a cursory overview of Native higher education, this book has some merit, but the errors that have crept in encourage a cautious reliance on the material.

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SCOTT RINEY. *The Rapid City Indian School, 1898–1933*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999. Pp. x, 278. \$29.95.

During a period when American Indian lands, cultures, and physical survival were at stake, writes Scott Riney, tribal peoples “often sought out the [Rapid City Indian] school and initiated interactions with it in pursuit of their own goals” (p. 221). Riney rejects an action-response understanding of schooling, convincingly demonstrating that complex, often Indian-initiated interactions took place between tribal parents, children, and white educators at the boarding school in South Dakota. Scholars such as K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Clyde Ellis have similarly examined conditions at single Indian schools; others, such as Sally McBeth, David Wallace Adams, Brenda J. Child, and the present reviewer, have scanned larger groups of schools. Riney’s study is a valuable contribution to the former category, yet it extends our understanding of both what was particular and typical in the broader picture.

Established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in 1898 to assimilate mostly Lakota (Sioux) people into American life, Rapid City lasted until 1933. Enrolling 232 students by 1909, it was one of the smaller off-reservation boarding schools (Carlisle, Pennsylvania, then enrolled over 1,000), but in policies and practices Rapid City was generally typical of contemporaneous BIA institutions. It employed both white and Indian staff, and provided a “half-and-half” curriculum of academic and vocational instruction—through English—that almost ignored Indian cultural values. The school imposed a militaristic and sometimes brutal discipline. Yet, as Riney readily admits, many ex-pupils looked back appreciatively on their years there. Indian responses to this school, and to others, were highly individual.

Based on a variety of archival and published primary sources, including letters from pupils and parents, the book proceeds thematically. Riney examines pragmatic Indian motivations for enrollment and emphasizes the sometimes successful manipulation of authorities by parents. He considers the provision of food and clothing and the always problematic issue of pupil health. An excellent chapter analyzes tensions between the mandated and the actual curriculum, ending with a nice ironic touch: since the goal was to destroy Indian cultures, “a mediocre school was better than one that worked entirely as planned” (p. 100). Another chapter examines the yearly rhythm, from the opening of classes, to extracurricular activities (especially sports), to the holidays. Not all pupils left during the summer, however, as the school sought to quarantine its charges from “corrupting” home environments. Like other scholars, Riney highlights the strategies devised by pupils to resist control or to escape it through flight. Indian parents, however, were often as disturbed by runaways as were school authorities. The final chapter presents a little-noted characteristic of such establishments: staff attempts to control and sometimes to assist Indians living beyond the school itself.

Riney thus builds a rich account of these changing interactions, showing the myriad qualities of white and Indian participants. While critical of the BIA crusade, he acknowledges the dedication of many staff members, so often stymied by financial restrictions. He effectively draws on similar studies to compare Rapid City and other BIA schools. (But why list *titles* repeatedly in the text? To the notes with such distractions!) Although focused on the school as institution, this is also Indian-centered history, showing tribal people and authorities locked in a symbiotic relationship that neither side dominated. Indian voices certainly feature; from Riney’s description of his sources, I suspect he might have included more. He accepts Frederick E. Hoxie’s claim that BIA racism increased during these decades, yet he neglects the counterarguments of historians such as Francis Paul Prucha and myself.

Although Riney does not surprise us in any major way, he delights with fresh insights: increasing clothes-consciousness among female pupils, for example, may have discouraged poorer girls from attending. Occasionally sweeping in his judgments—was BIA Commissioner Thomas Jefferson Morgan only “[a]n enemy of Indians”? (p. 20)—Riney generally achieves fairness. “The Rapid City Indian School was a place of suffering and joy alike,” he wisely concludes, “of defeat as well as achievement” (p. 224). BIA educators and Indians brought very different group and individual needs to this school, succeeding in some of their goals and failing in others—as happened throughout a system designed to “kill” the Indian and “save” the person.

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HOWARD P. CHUDACOFF *The Age of the Bachelor: Creating an American Subculture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 341. \$29.95.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, a growing number of young men in the United States chose to delay marriage several years beyond the norm or to forgo marriage altogether. In 1890, 41.7 percent of all American males over fifteen years of age were single and an estimated sixty-seven percent of all males between fifteen and thirty-four years of age were single (p. 48). In his new book, Howard P. Chudacoff identifies this surge in men's disinclination to marry as the "age of the bachelor." He offers a social history of this cohort of single men, provides an analysis of the subculture that they created, and explores the ways in which bachelor experience was part of the larger social construction of maleness and masculinity (p. 16).

A chapter on the lives of bachelors in early American history chronicles the social antipathy to and legal discrimination against single men, who were seen as a potential threat to the social order. The last chapter explores the decline and resurgence of bachelorhood from the 1940s to the 1990s. The primary chapters focus on bachelorhood in the years between 1890 and 1920. Strictly demographic or economic theories fail to explain the rise in bachelorhood; rather, Chudacoff suggests, the explanation lies in "a plethora of social and personal motivations" that could be "subsumed under a rubric of desirability." He hypothesizes that "the availability of alternatives to marriage, such as opportunities for economic, social and sexual independence," influenced men "to forego or delay marriage as a means of attaining personal satisfaction" (p. 65). Drawing especially on data from Chicago, Boston, and San Francisco, Chudacoff provides a vivid and detailed description of the domestic lives of bachelors. Living situations ranged from the bunk cells occupied by Chinese immigrant workers in San Francisco to elite residential gentlemen's clubs, from single men living within extended nuclear family households to every possible size and quality of boarding house. Contrary to the image of the single man sinking into lonely solitude, many living arrangements for bachelors seemed to offer the potential for quasi-kin relationships (p. 104). A chapter on "Institutional life" examines commercial establishments such as saloons, barbershops, and pool rooms that served multiple purposes for men in general and single men in particular. A good saloon provided hearty midday meals and other food free of charge to patrons, created a gathering place for social, business, and political conversation, and in some cases offered upstairs rooms as a venue for prostitutes or for gay men to meet. A good barber shop offered everything from a quick shave to minor surgery, a chance to read the *National Police Gazette* or to catch up on boxing news, and an opportunity to trade a bawdy story or two. Unmarried men also created a new market for personal services such as bath houses, laundries, restaurants, and cafeterias. In

urban settings, bachelors with time on their hands in off-work hours patronized amusements that catered to young single people of both sexes such as theaters, dance halls, and penny arcades. Chudacoff explores how bachelors gathered together in all-male organizations ranging from gangs, clubs, and fraternal orders to the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and religious groups. A chapter on popular culture describes everything from participatory team sports and neighborhood cockfights to paid spectator events such as boxing matches featuring the celebrated pugilist, John L. Sullivan. This chapter also includes a fine, detailed analysis of periodicals that catered to men, most importantly the popular and sensational *National Police Gazette*.

Solid primary research and the effective use of secondary sources make this book informative and substantive social history. Colorful anecdotes, a lively, accessible writing style, and wonderful illustrations make it engaging narrative history. Most of the interpretation is reserved for the next to the last chapter, entitled "Bachelor Culture and Male Culture." Here it is clear how much Chudacoff's analysis benefits from and contributes to the studies of male culture and history of recent years. Chudacoff interprets bachelor culture as an extension of the rough-and-tumble boy culture that developed in the nineteenth century as father's work moved away from the home and boys were left either to comply with or to escape a constraining domestic social order dominated by mothers. He explains the growth and appeal of the bachelor lifestyle as a subset of male culture, as married and single men defined their masculinity in part in terms of their ability to create a life among their peers away from women and away from the constraints that married domestic life had come to represent.

The most original contribution is Chudacoff's depiction of the interactive relationship of market forces, commercial culture, and the bachelor subculture. The market met the needs of men living on their own by providing a range of services, institutions, and products. The success and appeal of these services made the bachelor life not only possible but desirable, which in turn expanded and enriched the subculture. Throughout, Chudacoff touches on the contest between a dominant bourgeois culture determined to regulate behavior and the forces of resistance to its authority. Here we see the paradoxical and perhaps unintended subversive role that commercial culture and market forces can play in undermining and helping to provide alternatives to mainstream values.

Chudacoff successfully demonstrates why bachelorhood was a significant phenomenon deserving focused study. At the same time, we see the limitations of studying male and female experience separately. In showing how manhood is socially constructed, we miss seeing how that definition of manhood relies on a particular (often pejorative) social construction of womanhood. We miss the irony in the fact that bachelor culture defined the constraining threat to male

autonomy as “female” in an age when there were many constraints on both male *and* female autonomy and when only a generation before, the role of keeper of the moral order had been “reassigned” to woman as “manhood” came to be defined more narrowly in terms of the pursuit of success in the material world.

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PAUL ISRAEL. *Edison: A Life of Invention*. New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1998. Pp. viii, 552. \$30.00.

During the late 1970s, the inventor Thomas A. Edison entered the ranks of historical Americans with major projects dedicated to editing and publishing their papers. Faced with the task of evaluating more than five million pages of documents, the Edison project at Rutgers University has so far produced a selected microfilm edition and four letterpress volumes, the latest of which extends the record through 1878, when the “wizard of Menlo Park,” then barely forty, was engaged in perfecting a system for distributing electric light. During Edison’s lifetime, technological innovation moved from a haphazard affair of mechanically inclined tinkers and risk-taking entrepreneurs to an organized process involving large conservative corporations and university-trained scientists. Just as radical are recent transformations in storing and distributing information that must have the Edison project staff wondering what media their successors will use to publish the records of the inventor’s final decades. In the meantime, Paul Israel, a historian of technology with twenty years of editorial experience on the project, has drawn on his exhaustive archival knowledge—both minutely detailed and broadly encyclopedic—to write the definitive biography of Edison as an inventor.

As presented by Israel, the general outlines of Edison’s career are neither unfamiliar nor unexpected. The jacket blurb claims “revelatory” significance for the author’s rejection of the myth of the inventor as lone genius in favor of a portrayal of Edison as a capitalist entrepreneur and as the proprietor of a research laboratory. In fact, as the author knows, this revisionist approach informed Matthew Josephson’s *Edison* (1959). However, Israel acquaints us with all aspects of Edison’s professional career in far greater detail than any previous biographer. Carefully reconstructing his subject’s childhood, the author suggests that Edison’s stubborn independence and philosophical freethinking may have derived from his father’s participation in William Lyon MacKenzie’s unsuccessful uprising in Lower Canada in 1837, an event that drove the Edisons to seek refuge in the United States. Although Israel repeats most of the familiar stories, such as chemistry experiments exploding in a baggage car, he does a fine job of evoking the milieu of the itinerant telegraphers among whom Edison lived and learned during the 1860s: men whose camaraderie and

makeshift living arrangements inspired the physical surroundings and working conditions that the inventor later created in his successive laboratories. The author also vividly portrays the field of telegraphy as an emerging high-tech industry (the Silicon Valley of the 1870s, in fact) marked by flashy venture capitalists, frequent start-ups and bankruptcies, competing systems, incompatible technical standards, a casual attitude toward contracts, and a formless anarchy that allowed an overconfident, self-educated telegrapher with practical ideas to attract financial backers.

Tracing Edison’s telegraphic inventions and his negotiation of the banking mazes of Marshall Lefferts and Jay Gould, Israel brings Edison to the financial independence that allowed him to establish a private laboratory where he orchestrated the design of artifacts and processes, some famous, others nearly forgotten: the autographic pen and duplicating press (source of the mimeograph machine), the telephone transmitting diaphragm, the phonograph (described as “the most important [invention] of Edison’s career” [p. 142]), the incandescent light bulb and the electrical distributing system that commercialized it, the kinesiograph and other developments in motion pictures, a process for extracting low-grade iron ore by pulverizing rocks and attracting iron powder to electromagnets, the use of sand waste from this extraction process in Portland cement, and an attempt to perfect and sell storage batteries for electric automobiles. Israel carefully weaves his narrative in and around the technical, the industrial, the financial, the personal, and, above all, the inventive process. A reader comes away with a sense of the controlled chaos of the many ongoing projects at Menlo Park or West Orange at any given time. However, Israel leaves the reader to verify, through examination of frequent sketches from Edison’s notebooks, a mostly unexplained central assertion that the inventor was inspired by analogies of form and function as he moved from one technology or invention to another. Although Israel devotes two chapters to Edison’s private life, a subject more fully explored by Neil Baldwin in *Edison: Inventing the Century* (1995), this is primarily a narrative of Edison’s professional career. Perhaps it is enough to know that he nicknamed his first children “Dot” and “Dash,” that he later referred to his daughter as “George,” and that when his second wife Mina briefly assisted him in the laboratory early in their marriage, he playfully called her “Billy”—a nickname that stuck. As Israel frequently observes, Edison carried the rough-and-tumble man’s-world attitudes of early American artisans into the era of corporate research and development. That shift, already noted above, provides this biography with its structure. The book’s major weakness, however, is its omission of any preface or appendix sorting out either the interpretations of prior Edison biographers or the various theoretical approaches to the historical study of invention. Although Israel provides thumbnail sketches of cultural context when needed, this work is primarily a transparent narra-

tive—exhaustively complete—based mostly on primary sources.

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PAUL C. GUTJAH. *An American Bible: A History of the Good Book in the United States, 1777–1880*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 256. \$39.50.

The first American edition of the New Testament in English appeared in 1777. For the first half century, the English-language Bible stood at the center of American print culture. No other book equaled it in sales or cultural prestige. By 1880, Americans had access to nearly two thousand different editions, and the publication of the Revised Version in 1881 was arguably the publishing event of the century. Yet in 1880, one could also hear laments that the Bible no longer occupied the place it once held in the national culture. Paul C. Gutjahr attempts to explain why the proliferation of Bibles coincided with the book's diminishing presence as a source of cultural meaning. His argument is that the proliferation itself—and the means by which it was accomplished—provide a large part of the explanation.

The attempt of the American Bible Society in 1816 to place a Bible in every household stimulated the first great wave of publication. This project was stunningly successful, but mass production—and the diversity of subsequent Bible editions—might have made the book seem less special and undermined the sense of it as a cohesive unchanging text. The efforts of publishers to distinguish their editions by means of illustrations, maps, attractive bindings, and special pages for family records helped create a new genteel market of people who wanted family Bibles for their parlors, and it also served the increasing need to confirm the Bible's historicity with the evidence that maps and illustrations seemed to provide. But the illustrations could oversimplify the meaning of the text, and their often sensuous content could also appeal to impulses not entirely religious.

Even the efforts to replace the Protestant King James Version with a better translation, or to provide an alternative to the Catholic Douay Bible, had the ironic consequence of implicitly subverting confidence that the biblical text was cohesive and unchanging. The entanglement of the Bible in the institutional struggles of the nineteenth century created further problems. When groups like the Unitarians, Disciples of Christ, Baptists, and Mormons proposed their own translations to verify their beliefs, the wording of the Bible became a subject of cultural conflict. When Protestants and Catholics clashed over which version should be read in the schools, the book threatened to upset social stability. And when enterprising authors began to provide simpler, more accessible routes of entry to presumed biblical truths and images, whether through sentimental lives of Jesus or bestselling novels with

biblical settings, the market revealed that numerous Americans preferred simplicity to the esoteric complexity of the biblical text itself. As much as anything else, the sheer growth of the publishing industry, which produced an ever-swelling deluge of books, created a cultural environment in which the Bible had to compete for attention with a mass of reading material of every conceivable sort.

Gutjahr focuses on the Bible as physical artifact, and part of his book's value lies in its lucid explanations of production techniques and means of distribution, but he also nicely locates biblical translation and printing within both the literary culture and the institutional struggles of the nineteenth century. Recognizing that the reasons for the changing cultural importance of the Bible were more complex than his argument alone can encompass, he does not presume to have offered a full explanation. Although he briefly discusses Charles Darwin and Auguste Comte, he does not try to gauge the extent to which natural science contributed to the diminution of biblical authority. He does not explore the possible consequences of the use of the Bible to defend slavery; or the growing popular awareness of historical criticism; or the increasing tendency on the part of liberals in the old mainline Protestant denominations to accord authority to religious experience instead of a literally interpreted Bible. But his disciplined and imaginative focus on the Bible as a cultural artifact gives us a fresh perspective and offers genuinely new insight. This is an exceedingly valuable book, well-argued and marked by extensive research, and it provides a highly useful model for the study of American print culture.

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PETER J. THUESEN. *In Discordance with the Scriptures: American Protestant Battles over Translating the Bible*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 238. \$27.50.

Book-burnings, incendiary attacks from Christian separatists, and even an investigation by the House Un-American Activities Committee greeted the primarily mainline Protestant scholars who translated, sponsored, and published the Revised Standard Version (RSV) of the Bible in 1952. Critics charged that the "fellow travelers" who prepared this "Red Bible" had cast doubt upon the virgin birth, challenged the divinity of Christ, downplayed the miraculous, and vanquished prophetic connections from the sacred scriptures. Conservatives suspiciously eyed this "modernist" translation, believing that it weakened Christianity and faithlessly departed from the fundamentals. The few historians who have noted this peculiar controversy in American church history have tended either to relegate it to a Cold War footnote as exemplifying 1950s anticommunist hysteria or to characterize it as a last gasp of the fundamentalist/modernist debates that began in the 1920s. Peter J.

Thuesen, who takes both religion and translation seriously, has rescued the RSV from the prevailing historiography. He clearly and conclusively demonstrates in this tightly written monograph that broader cultural and intellectual issues permeated the debate and that the "RSV moment" in American Christianity significantly altered the religious landscape in ironic and unexpected ways.

For Thuesen, the roots of the RSV controversy date to the Reformation itself and illustrate the historical inability of Christians to resolve fundamental issues concerning authority and interpretation. As Protestant reformers challenged Roman Catholic ecclesiastical authorities, they elevated book over church to an extent that sometimes bordered on bibliolatry. By the late nineteenth century, nearly all Anglo-Protestants who considered such matters glorified the Word above all else, viewed the sacred scriptures as significant source materials for validating historical facts, and interpreted English Bible translation as a scientific and objective process capable of producing a perfect text based on more ancient and authoritative sources. The search for scriptural purity soon began to drive a wedge between competing ideological elements within the Protestant family. Thuesen briefly treats the disputes that erupted over the Revised Version of 1881, as conservative Christians questioned the motivations of more theologically liberal and ecumenically minded translators, but the author focuses primarily on the RSV itself.

Thuesen draws heavily on the archives of the Revised Standard Committee at Princeton Theological Seminary to trace the controversial decisions, interpretive disputes, and collaborative ventures between academicians and mainline churchmen that characterized the RSV project. By the 1950s, antagonistic parties had emerged within American Protestantism, and the RSV became the center of a broader political dispute. Perhaps most significantly, both liberals and conservatives came to realize that the Word itself could not stand alone, and they looked to external ecclesiastical bodies to validate translations. Liberals placed their faith in the National Council of Churches, which sponsored the RSV translation, and conservatives relied on such organizations as the National Association of Evangelicals, the International Bible Society, and Dallas Theological Seminary for an authorized version that remained evangelically orthodox in its translation principles and procedures. By the late 1970s, different camps within American Protestantism read different Bibles, and one's choice of version constituted both a faith statement and a political position. Protestants had, in effect, developed their own competing variants of those classically Catholic creations: the *imprimatur* and *nihil obstat*.

This book provides an excellent and accessible account of the process and politics of Bible translation and vigorously argues that the outcome of the RSV debate fundamentally altered American Protestant culture. Thuesen's emphasis on textual controversy,

however, left me wondering how people actually viewed and read their Bibles. Clearly, disputes over such passages as Isaiah 7:14 resonate with many Christians and provoke heated debate. Still, historians such as Paul C. Gutjahr and Colleen McDannell have demonstrated that the Bible itself constitutes much more than mere text. One might argue that such supplementary material as biblical illustrations, Holy Land maps, and Scofield reference notes undermined the authority of *sola scriptura* long before the appearance of the RSV. Further, one of the most noteworthy twentieth-century developments in Bible translation involves the proliferation of common language versions, a topic barely addressed here. Overall, though, Thuesen provides important insights into a topic too often ignored by scholars and reminds us that biblical issues and interpretations retain their capacity to inspire, engage, and inflame American passions, even in the late twentieth century.

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DIANE WINSTON. *Red-Hot and Righteous: The Urban Religion of the Salvation Army*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. 290. \$27.95.

After Santa Claus, the least divisive symbol of the Christmas season in the United States may be the Salvation Army collection pot, suspended from a tripod and staffed by a uniformed bell ringer. This simple display, which first appeared in 1891 to finance a free Christmas dinner for the poor, attracts the trusting benevolence of Americans of all faiths and of no faith. During the 1990s, the Salvation Army was the nation's single largest charitable fundraiser, surpassing the Red Cross, Catholic Charities, and the United Jewish Appeal. That's not bad for an organization that began in New York City in 1880 as an unruly, unconventional band of English Protestants militantly determined to save souls for Christ. Whatever its subsequent evolution, the Salvation Army remains among American religious groups an organization unlike any other.

Diane Winston has given us a wonderful account of the Salvation Army in New York City in the years from 1880 to 1950. An admirable blend of narrative, biography, and astute analysis, her book explores gender, class, and racial issues that affected the Army's shifting policies. The Army, in England and the United States, was largely the creation of William and Catherine Booth and their children. Ballington Booth, William's and Catherine's son, and his wife Maud took over the American Army in 1887. The mantle passed to Ballington's sister Emma and her husband Frederick in 1896, and then in 1904 to the most famous of the Army's American leaders, Evangeline Booth. She reigned supreme until 1934 when, among other things, she was feted with a ticker-tape parade up Broadway.

Winston carefully delineates the styles of the various Booths and their spouses. They gave different gender attributes to the Army's band of "lassies." (Maud's

image of women warriors was abandoned for home-centered depictions.) They defined the mission to the poor in contrasting ways. They had different strategies for building bridges between the Army's ranks of redeemed urban sinners and its sympathetic wealthy patrons. They shared one thing, however: a relish for the theatrical. They designed the Army to compete successfully with the commercial culture of New York City. They staged parades with brass bands. They advertised. They learned from vaudeville, and their meetings in Madison Square Garden used tableaux, popular music numbers, and movies. Hollywood and Broadway took notice and featured this lively religious group in many productions. *Guys and Dolls* was one of the last popular treatments of the Army that spread its influence far beyond the number of its actual adherents.

In Winston's account, the Salvation Army gradually changes from a street corner religion intent on saving souls for Christ into a philanthropic organization. A nonsectarian although discernibly Christian religion did not disappear in the same way that it did in the YMCA/YWCA movement. However, it became less central to the Army's work and to its appeal. Winston does not narrate this shift as a tale of decline and failed commitment. The change was rather implicit in the way the Army sought from the outset "a protean, performative dimension of evangelical selfhood" (p. 4). The Army boasted early of its determination to "secularize religion." By that it meant the intention to bring religion into secular space. The ambiguity of the phrase mattered, however. As the Army gained a public purpose beyond witnessing for Christ, it accommodated its methods in competition with institutions of a similar public purpose. If the Army was to gain a reputation for useful service among the urban poor—useful being defined by an observing middle class whose financial support was crucial—it had to work effectively among populations who were largely non-Protestant, often non-Christian, and sometimes non-religious.

In this last respect, the Army behaved much like other religious groups that maintained missions among the urban poor. Most of them learned that the cure for prostitution and drunkenness was not conversion to Christianity, not in the short run. What made the Army different was its permanent installation near those spaces where the urban masses gathered for promiscuous pleasures. The Army stayed in the streets of the neighborhoods where the poor and the newly arrived lived. Its leaders maintained social connections with the "better classes," but an Army volunteer could not work in the missions during the week and worship at the Madison Avenue Salvation Army Church on Sunday. The Salvation Army may not completely deserve its reputation for integrity and selflessness, but it has surely deserved this fine, immensely informative book.

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TROY MESSENGER. *Holy Leisure: Recreation and Religion in God's Square Mile*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 171. \$29.95.

The religious resort of Ocean Grove, which still operates today, was founded on the New Jersey shore in 1869 by a small group of leaders active in the Holiness movement of the Methodist Church. Ocean Grove was a "Jerusalem-by-the-sea—a Holy City set apart from the quotidian—dedicated to perfection through holy leisure" (p. 5). Marketed as a destination for religious vacationers, Ocean Grove grew rapidly from the very beginning. The summer tents were quickly joined by rustic yet attractive Victorian cottages. The wild shore was carefully landscaped, with manicured boulevards and beach pavilions, into an orderly grid. Church leaders maintained public order as well. Those participants who desired more profane amusements could visit neighboring Asbury Park. The result was a model Christian setting for holy leisure, where body and soul could both find refreshment.

Just as Ocean Grove ordered special space for holiness, so, too, did it order daily activities. Trumpet blasts announced the hourly schedule during the two weeks or so of religious revival. The other summer days were likewise structured. Besides the temporary suspension of routine daily homelife, the sense of time was also altered by identifying the tent accommodations with the ancient Jewish festival of Succoth. The summer rest at Ocean Grove was also portrayed as a foretaste of the millennium.

Whereas the first part of Troy Messenger's book explores Ocean Grove's physical and temporal setting, the second part considers the programs and pastimes. Ocean Grove's seaside location was a deliberate attempt to create a physical and spiritual sanctuary. Participants could retreat into a community dominated by shared values for recreation and worship. Thus, Ocean Grove and similar retreats offered a brief experience of a perfected, holy society. Traditional gender roles meant that men and women experienced religious resorts somewhat differently. Yet, the Christian resort also saw a partial convergence. Male recreation such as gambling and drinking was supplanted by more family-oriented but unspecified pastimes. The conversion experience for women, by contrast, granted them a special moral authority.

The final chapter examines Ocean Grove as a "Jerusalem by the sea." A scale model of Jerusalem was built in a central space, part of a late nineteenth-century fascination with biblical geography. Not only did the scale model serve as a valuable Sunday School teaching tool, but Ocean Grove hosted speakers dressed in costume and organized bazaars selling eastern goods. Every Labor Day, the scale model served as a focal point in the closing procession through the grounds. Although Messenger claims that the scale model was part of Ocean Grove's recreational purpose, the evidence suggests that it more properly belongs to the instructional realm. While this

chapter does not fully sustain the thesis of holy leisure, it does demonstrate a conscious effort to return via ritual experience to the perfect condition of early Christian society.

This study of Ocean Grove works better as a religious than as a historical work. The research relies primarily on published primary and secondary sources, which are too often taken at face value. Particularly frustrating is the author's refusal to confront class dynamics, except to claim that although the urban middle classes dominated, poor families were not priced out of Ocean Grove. Messenger eschews suburban imagery, but the street grid notwithstanding, the homogeneity, respectability, and comfort of Ocean Grove raise contrary impressions. One result is a tendency by the author to conflate Christian with middle-class values. Moreover, the reader never hears from the laity, and women participants are conspicuously missing—even in the chapter on gender. Unfortunate also are the frequent comparisons to "frontier" camp meetings, based on seriously outdated secondary descriptions and often taken out of context.

Although Ocean Grove is a worthy subject and the formative period of an institution often captures subtle truths about a changing society, this study is only partially successful. The grounds reflected the society that created them, but the second part of the thesis (that people were in some way altered by the experience) remains implied rather than proven. Ocean Grove does not seem much different than any other reputable seaside resort in its restorative effect.

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EDITH L. BLUMHOFER, RUSSELL P. SPITTLER, and GRANT A. WACKER, editors. *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999. Pp. xiii, 273. \$42.50.

The three editors of this volume, Edith L. Blumhofer, Russell P. Spittler, and Grant A. Wacker, constitute an increasingly important coterie of researchers and writers on the phenomenon of American Pentecostalism. All have common backgrounds in the Assemblies of God and thus write from a more Reformed perspective in contrast to those who place more stress on the Wesleyan-Holiness roots of the movement. Spittler, a New Testament scholar, provides the opening chapter. Wacker, a historian of American religion, was raised in the home of an Assemblies of God preacher but as a youth left the movement to become a Methodist. He provides an important chapter on critics of early American Pentecostalism. Although Blumhofer does not contribute a chapter, her oversight and direction is evident throughout the book, which was conceived and funded by the Lilly Endowment as a project of the Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals (ISAE) in Wheaton, Illinois, which Blumhofer formerly headed. Blumhofer is best known for *Aimee Semple McPherson: Everybody's Sister* (1993) and her

two-volume *The Assemblies of God: A Chapter in American Pentecostalism* (1989).

The book is divided into three parts. The first part consists of a single chapter by Spittler called an "Overview of Pentecostal Spirituality," which concerns itself with the spiritual tensions in the church at Corinth. His attempts to relate this to the current scene of Protestants and Pentecostals seems to fall short and contributes to the unevenness of the book.

The second section, called "Defining Boundaries: Encounters between Pentecostals and Other Protestants," begins with Wacker's essay on the "Travail of a Broken Family." Here Wacker displays his genius as a historian. His colorful phrases chronicling the vicious criticism of the Pentecostals by their fundamentalist and Holiness antagonists provides the most interesting prose in the entire book. Daniel Bay's chapter on the struggles of early Pentecostal missionaries in Hong Kong shows how America exported its theological squabbles to other lands. A chapter by Kurt Berends deals with a New Hampshire community that not only rejected a local Pentecostal church but burned it to the ground. The chapter by Douglas Jacobsen on the "Scholastic Theology" of the Assemblies of God from 1930–1955 deals with the denomination's first systematic theologians, Myer Pearlman and Ernest Swing Williams. These two, more than any others, pointed the Pentecostals toward identification with the evangelical successors to the discredited fundamentalists, thus leading to the "evangelicalization of Pentecostal theology" after World War II.

The third section, titled "Rethinking Boundaries," deals with the problems associated with the rise of the "neo-Pentecostal" and charismatic movements in the mainline churches after 1960. The first chapter, "Spirit-Filled Movements in Contemporary America" by Corwin E. Smidt *et al.*, gives a survey of the size, social status, and extent of the charismatic movement in the American Protestant and Catholic churches as of 1992. While pointing to large and diverse movements, it also shows that more Americans feel "distant" from Pentecostals and charismatics than feel "close" to them.

An interesting chapter in this section deals with the rise of Women's Aglow Fellowship ("A Network of Praying Women" by R. Marie Griffith). Here we learn that Women's Aglow began under the influence of Dennis and Rita Bennett near Seattle, Washington, and spread from there to the far reaches of the world. Although Women's Aglow drew from all the mainline churches, this study shows that most of their members ultimately wound up in Pentecostal congregations.

Three chapters in this section deal with renewal movements and disruptions in mainline Protestant churches. Two of these outlined the problems caused by the renewal in American and Southern Baptist churches. The first, Albert Frederick Schenkel's "New Wine and Baptist Wineskins," contrasts the warm reception accorded to charismatics by the American Baptists to the frosty and often outright hostile opposition of Southern Baptists. Helen Lee Turner's "Pen-

tecostal Currents in the SBC" draws a surprising parallel between the new Southern Baptist fundamentalist leadership and their "Pentecostal" views on "Divine Intervention, Prophetic Preachers, and Charismatic Worship." According to Turner, even recent Baptist architecture reflects popular charismatic trends, as do music and worship styles of many Southern Baptist congregations.

A chapter on Methodist renewal, "Irreconcilable Differences" by Nancy Eisland, tells the story of the Hinton United Methodist Church near Atlanta, Georgia, which split over charismatic worship after many attempts to remain within the Methodist system. The influences of such Methodist-approved organizations as the Trinity Foundation led by Mark Rutland, and the United Methodist Renewal Service Fellowship (UMRSF) led by Gary Moore, helped fuel the renewal that was finally rejected by the North Georgia Annual Conference after "traditional" Methodists complained to the bishop.

In a charming chapter titled "At Arm's Length," Frederick W. Jordan chronicles the stresses placed on the congregation of Pittsburgh's prestigious First Presbyterian Church and its pastor, Robert Lamont, during the decade (1966–1976) when Kathryn Kuhlman had use of the sanctuary. The Presbyterians had been early leaders in the charismatic renewal through the leadership of Brick Bradford and others. Theirs was the first American Protestant church to issue a positive study of the early neo-Pentecostals in 1976. A unique problem for Presbyterians involved the use of First Presbyterian for Kuhlman's "miracle services." In the end, the church and Kuhlman worked together "at arm's length," giving much-needed respectability to Kuhlman and the entire Pentecostal/charismatic movement.

The fourth and last section consists of one essay, which alone is worth the price of the book. Written by Augustus Cerillo, this essay is entitled "Studying Pentecostalism: A Historiographical Overview." In what is probably the best annotated bibliography ever written on Pentecostalism, Cerillo deftly traces the histories of American Pentecostalism from the earliest denominational books with "providential" interpretations of the movement's origins through recent histories that delve more into the socioeconomic and cultural influences on the movement.

In summary, this collection of essays is a most valuable addition to the literature on American Pentecostal and charismatic movements. Although important charismatic currents such as the Episcopal and Lutheran movements are not included, the book should nevertheless be in the libraries of all who desire to know more about Pentecostalism as it comes to the end of its first century.

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BERYL SATTER, *Each Mind a Kingdom: American Women, Sexual Purity, and the New Thought Movement,*

1875–1920. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California press. 1999. Pp. xii, 382. \$39.95.

If this book were just a history of the New Thought movement, an eclectic and understudied collection of predominantly female healers and social reformers, it would be a welcome contribution to historical literature; however, the juxtapositions in the subtitle are the heart of its ambitious and complex argument. Beryl Satter's central point is that turn of the century New Thought was a pivotal site for a gendered discourse about Anglo-Saxon civilization and the relative roles of masculine aggression and feminine purity in its realization. Late nineteenth-century visions for social reform, Satter argues, drew on a century-long contest between middle-class white women and their male counterparts. One alternative, loosely described as Social Darwinist, endorsed masculine rationality as the key to cultural amelioration and saw female aggression as detrimental to the progress of the race. The other model, centered in women's reform groups, upheld female purity as the key to social perfection and denigrated masculinity as intrinsically selfish. Satter argues that the often arcane discourse of New Thought about mind, matter, and spirit was in fact part of this larger, gendered debate about the future of Anglo-Saxon civilization.

The central problematic in New Thought was the conquest of matter by the power of mind, although theorists disagreed sharply over means. Christian Science taught that a properly trained devotee could cure illness by denying the reality of the affliction. Gendering matter as masculine and mind as feminine, Mary Baker Eddy posed female spirituality as intrinsically superior to male materialism, echoing but not improving on the traditional rhetoric of female reformers. Her movement survived because of her genius for bureaucratization, Satter suggests, not because of its intellectual innovation.

New Thought was far less successful institutionally but more influential in the long run. Its devotees did not necessarily deny the reality of matter but sought to manipulate it through the superior power of mind. As Satter shows, this model opened the possibility of an effective, desiring female self—a prospect entirely at odds with both the Darwinian model and the passive Victorian ideal of feminine "influence." Thus Emma Curtis Hopkins encouraged her female students to open themselves to an infusion of divine power—which she described with masculine imagery—by cultivating an inner silence. In this popular formulation, women were literally "of two minds": one part of the self experienced desire as the other embraced passivity. Subsequent theorists like Helen Van-Anderson and Ursula Gestefeld grappled with the sexual implications of desiring womanhood, attempting to balance Victorian repugnance for feminine lust with the need to validate feminine drive. Later theorists were less conflicted. Helen Wilmans, for example, fully accepted twentieth-century consumerism, arguing that both

women and men could access the animal will behind the drive for success.

By the 1920s, the female leadership of the New Thought movement had constructed a model of womanhood fully capable of materialistic as well as sexual desire. But as Satter explains, this ideal was soon absorbed by the emerging discourse of popular psychology, and the desiring woman became sexualized. New Thought became "masculinized," and its chief beneficiaries were the aspiring white-collar businessmen who found inspiration in the "positive thinking" of Norman Vincent Peale and his crasser contemporaries.

Satter's attention to gendered language in New Thought seems long overdue, and her analysis of its ambiguous and slippery discourse is genuinely compelling. Questions remain, of course. Satter's focus on leaders tells little about the rank and file, although her claims about the efficacy of New Thought in the lives of women beg for their stories as well. Readers familiar with other healing movements like Pentecostalism might also wish for more nuanced exploration of New Thought's relationship with its more "orthodox" religious competitors; Satter tends to characterize mainstream Protestantism through the dismissive comments of her subjects. But certainly there were affinities. Methodists like Frances Willard were thoroughly comfortable with the language of spiritual transformation, although they used it with a particular member of the Trinity in mind. But at bottom, Satter's analysis compels attention to New Thought as far more than a marginal religion; its female devotees were clearly striking a chord that resonated deeply through their culture, and indeed has continued to do so.

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LOUISE MICHELE NEWMAN, *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. Pp. vii, 261. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Criticism of the U.S. woman suffrage movement for racism and elitism is not new, but the typical explanation for these failings is individual prejudices or tactical expediency. This book takes a different approach. Reviewing the intellectual history of racist ideology among white feminists from the 1870s to the 1930s, Louise Michele Newman highlights the joint emergence of evolutionism, imperialism, and the woman rights movement and concludes that racism is "an integral, constitutive element in feminism's overall understanding of citizenship, democracy, political self-possession, and equality" (p. 183). Feminists embraced evolutionism because it challenged the traditional view that women's sphere reflected divine will or "Nature's plan," moving the debate over gender equality from the pulpit to the ballot box. But evolutionism also put up new barriers to equality by declaring sexual differentiation a mark of social and racial progress and

delineating an evolutionary scale that placed white men at the top and women and so-called "primitive" groups below, a convenient theory for the justification of imperialistic ambitions.

Newman investigates the writings of successive decades of white feminists who responded to the contradictions of evolutionary theory, often by comparing themselves favorably with nonwhite and lower-class groups and demonstrating their worthiness for the responsibilities of public life by asserting their parity with white men. Evolutionism influenced the well-known shift of the woman suffrage movement away from natural rights and toward "expediency" rationales, she argues, by elevating the campaign to a civilizing mission that would save "the race" while simultaneously narrowing its intended beneficiaries to white, middle-class Anglo-Protestants. Other privileged women used the interconnected discourses of evolutionism, racism, and women's rights to liberate themselves from the cult of true womanhood through work as missionaries, explorers, and ethnographers of nonwhite cultures; Mary French-Sheldon's explorations of "savage Africa" in the role of "White Queen" is one vivid example recounted here. The book ends with the work of Margaret Mead, who helped accomplish a paradigm shift in anthropology from evolutionism to cultural relativism yet nonetheless, suggests Newman, retained vestiges of Victorian ideology as she sought authority and recognition through her research on nonwhite peoples.

The strongest evidence for the author's thesis is found in the writings of feminist activists who argued against the evolutionist principle of sexual differentiation for their own class but supported it for women of lesser means. Newman contrasts feminists' assertions of sameness in arguing for women's higher education with endorsements of difference in seeking protective labor legislation for women industrial workers. The notion that separate spheres represented progress for lower-class women was one attempt to resolve the contradictions of evolutionism that supported both women's liberation and their continued subjugation. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, whose theories on women and work were considered radical at the end of the nineteenth century, is reevaluated as a reactionary who labeled the home a primitive institution from which women must be released for the attainment of (white) racial progress and who endorsed assimilation to the dominant patriarchal culture as a necessary step in the evolution of "primitive" black and foreign-born Americans. Concludes Newman, such examples demonstrate "the simultaneous emergence of feminist ideology and assimilationism as two components of a culturally comprehensive racial politics" (p. 134).

For those interested in the history of ideas, the thorough analysis of the influence of evolutionism on early feminist writing offers many new insights. This is not, however, a history of the early women's rights movement; rather, it is an amalgam of writings by nonfeminists, feminist fellow-travelers, and a few true

believers. The organized movement for women's rights receives little attention, particularly in its most active phase from 1890 to 1920, and the comparison between women suffragists and their opponents overstates their ideological kinship through writings that predate the emergence of organized antisuffragism. The asserted link to contemporary liberal feminism is likewise tenuously drawn. Although perhaps too ambitious in its goals and too quick to interpret ambiguous discourse as supportive evidence for its primary thesis, Newman's book provides a compelling look backward at the limitations of feminism as an ideology of human liberation.

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ELIZABETH HAYES TURNER. *Women, Culture, and Community: Religion and Reform in Galveston, 1880–1920*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. Pp. x, 371. \$19.95.

Galveston, Texas, is usually featured in American urban history as the source of the city commission form of government that was invented in the wake of a devastating hurricane that destroyed much of the city in 1900. The city commission was one of those "progressive" innovations that sought corporate efficiency at the expense of such inconveniences as popular elections in order to place power in the hands of the "best people." Elizabeth Hayes Turner's finely researched book shows that the Galveston storm was a major turning point for the progressive women of Galveston as well, and with some of the same contradictory implications. Next to studies by Anne Firor Scott and Anastatia Sims that treat women's voluntary associations on the national and state level, Turner offers an in-depth examination of one community with important implications for our general understanding of this subject.

Before the storm, the women of Galveston had confined themselves primarily to church activities and various benevolent institutions. Church ladies concerned themselves above all with the interior decor of their churches. In new benevolent institutions, orphanages, kindergartens, and Ladies Aid Societies, "lady managers" gained administrative experience and established an authority in public affairs involving the poor and destitute. The emergence of women's clubs, whether devoted to culture or to service, also provided vital training grounds for clubwomen. Out of these groups would come a corps of women equipped with the organizational skills and civic consciousness that prepared them to assume the larger roles the events of 1900 had suddenly opened to them. The emergence of Galveston's progressive women paralleled that of other urban areas, but the storm acted as a catalyst that upset the more tradition-bound roles that defined southern womanhood. The Women's Health Protec-

tive Association, founded soon after the big storm, took up issues that extended naturally from traditional women's roles, such as pure milk and city beautification. In turn, their engagement with such public policy issues flowed into a more direct political movement to gain votes for women. The Galveston Equal Suffrage Association sprang from the same cadre of activists and the same concerns that had pulled women from churches and benevolent societies into the public sphere.

Turner is interested in identifying the social characteristics of the leaders, particularly their religious affiliation, and the special feminine nature of the women's movement. Her leading activists were all wealthy, white, Protestant women linked to the male business and civic elite. They belonged to the Episcopalian and Presbyterian churches for the most part, but denominational affiliation seems to have been more significant as a marker of class than a theological influence on reform. Those outside the white Protestant upper class organized their own benevolent societies and clubs. Jewish, Catholic, and African-American women generally adopted quite similar models of organization, but these signified their excluded status. Turner's chapter on African-American women provides a rare glimpse inside their world.

That white elite women shared with their male counterparts similar class interests and values is undeniable, but Turner is concerned with showing the different nature of the women's reform movement. Men used political power to protect or privilege the material interests of their families, or their class or race, over others. Elite women "were more interested in issues of aesthetics, health, and protection of the community at large." Their reform impulse sprang from their roles in the home and church and therefore was "imbued with values that fostered nurturing of dependents and care for the unprotected" (pp. 196–97). This gender dichotomy may be overdrawn, but it points to a certain complementary division of labor among the urban elite, in which women offset and softened some of the harsher features of the economic world their male counterparts ruled.

Some of the most interesting and original parts of Turner's book reveal women who went against type. Her fascinating portrait of the United Daughters of the Confederacy shows them playing a leading role implanting the "true" version of southern history in school curricula. The excerpts from their "Catechism" provide a glimpse of how white women helped to construct a culture of southern white identity that combined pride in regional heritage with white supremacy. The movement to glorify the Lost Cause coincided by no accident with the rise of Jim Crow's new regime. Turner pulls no punches when it comes to showing the complicit role of white women in these and other unprogressive "reforms" of the era, and if this contradicts her otherwise laudatory view of women

activists, it makes her book and her women subjects more plausible.

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JAMES BOYLAN, *Revolutionary Lives: Anna Strunsky and William English Walling*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1998. Pp. vi, 334. \$34.95.

In her novel, *The Heart's Country* (1914), labor journalist Mary Heaton Vorse created a fictional character, Roberta, who concluded that women would be judged far differently than men: "I fancy that women will have another bar of judgment and that the question asked of us there will be: Have you loved well?" For Vorse as for Anna Strunsky Walling, modern dancer Isadora Duncan, anarchist Emma Goldman, salon hostess Mabel Dodge, and many other notable radical women of the 1910s, loving well was critical to their identity, and their accomplishments in the realm of politics and culture paled when compared to their emotional dependence upon men. In the era of the "new woman," these women still paid homage to the Victorian ideal of subsuming the self in love.

In a thoroughly researched, complex, and nuanced joint biography of Anna Strunsky and William English Walling, James Boylan has captured the rich ambiguity and conflict of this tumultuous age and of the men and women who truly believed in its revolutionary potential. His book is a valentine to Anna Strunsky Walling, whose unpublished volume by the same name was an account of her experiences in Tsarist Russia in the wake of the abortive 1905 revolution. Although the book never found a publisher, Boylan considers it "Anna Strunsky's most fully realized, most mature writing," in fact, "a vivid, engaged prototype of journalism as romantic literature" (p. 248). The unpublished book also evokes Strunsky's unfulfilled promise as a woman and as a writer, relegated to the margin by a more prolific, politically rigid, and domineering spouse and by her own emotional ambiguity, feeling nostalgia and regret for a failed romance with Jack London, victimized by difficult pregnancies and the full burden of child care, and bound by love and loyalty to a man too obtuse to understand or appreciate her.

Boylan's title also is ironic. Despite their status before World War I as "among the most glorious of the American left's Beautiful People: 'millionaire Socialists,' rivaled only by the Lincoln-esque James Graham Phelps Stokes and his immigrant journalist bride, Rose Pastor" (p. 1), the Wallings played out their radicalism in bourgeois settings, and English ultimately repudiated many of his socialist peers and denounced them publicly in order to court political power and respectability. Theirs was an unlikely union. She was a Russian Jewish immigrant by birth, as an adult a passionate, sensitive woman, a journalist who frequented bohemian cafés but who retained a core of traditional values. He was an aristocratic southern millionaire, gentlemanly and reserved, yet drawn inex-

orably to radical politics in his youth. Strunsky's life had the aura of an Edith Wharton novel as she, like Lily Bart, fell victim to appearances. Her early literary collaboration with London was tinged with romantic longing and unconsummated desire. However, she was spurned for another woman when he unexpectedly took Charmian Kittredge to be his second wife. Years later, Strunsky was to be charged unfairly in a divorce suit by London's first wife, Bessie, with alienating Jack's affection while the actual culprit, Charmian, got off scot free. Ironically, the poem Strunsky wrote as an epitaph to her relationship with London was written on "Bloody Sunday," the day that the Russian Revolution of 1905 began.

Boylan's achievement is remarkable, for he breathes life and understanding into what in a less prescient observer would be merely a tedious tale of the internecine disputes of the socialist movement and of its unraveling in the wake of World War I. Despite their current obscurity, Strunsky and Walling lived their lives on the cusp of historical change, English creating a revolutionary news bureau in Tsarist Russia, Strunsky reporting on a 1906 pogrom in Homel that involved the massacre of hundreds of her fellow Jews and the torching of their homes and stores, both of them rushing to report on the 1908 race riot in Springfield, Illinois, that spurred the creation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Their marriage dissolved as the world was split asunder by war and revolution. As English gravitated toward power by joining the right-wing socialists who supported American entry into World War I and came to oppose Bolshevism as resolutely as he once had embraced Russian revolutionary activity under the tsars, Anna clung to her pacifism and, along with her sister Rose, placed her faith in the latest incarnation of the Russian revolutionary spirit. Even when English abandoned her, she clung to their love and sought to memorialize both him and London. Like Dee Garrison's masterful *Mary Heaton Vorse: The Life of an American Insurgent* (1989), Boylan's book charts the plight of a radical woman who embraced a revolutionary ideal only to have it founder, as it did for so many of their generation, on the shoals of romantic love.

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ELIZABETH ROSE, *A Mother's Job: The History of Day Care, 1890-1960*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 275. \$45.00.

In her exhaustively researched history of day care, Elizabeth Rose explores one of the great public-private divides in American society: between mothers who worked outside of the home and those who did not. This cleft in the terrain of women's history is further bifurcated by decisions mothers made about who would care for their children and whether this care would take place within the public space of a preschool or child care program or the private sphere

of a home. Although day nurseries were intended to be a home-like middle ground, Rose shows that they were not perceived as an acceptable alternative to private childrearing by and for white mothers and children, even, or especially, by the women who sponsored them. African-American mothers, both society women and poor women, did support day nurseries, however, in part because of the acceptance of working mothers within the African-American community and the understanding that most African-American mothers had to work.

Rose is particularly good at contrasting the motives of the affluent women who sponsored day nurseries and the lower-class mothers who used them. Using annual reports of the Philadelphia Association of Day Nurseries (PADN), founded in 1898, she documents that seventy percent of the Association's officers were listed in Philadelphia's Social Register (p. 24). For many of these elite society women, board membership was a family duty as well as an opportunity for socializing and confirming social rank. Rose uses the apt phrase "accidental philanthropy" (p. 17) to describe the mixture of noblesse oblige, casual benevolence, and ambivalent support characteristic of board members' attitudes toward their charity work. Although some PADN members raised considerable sums and visited day nurseries regularly, they were concerned about undermining working mothers' sense of maternal responsibility and never became active in the political lobbying necessary to advance the day nursery movement.

The mothers who sent their children to PADN day nurseries were also ambivalent about working. Most of the women who applied to PADN day nurseries were single mothers; those who were married seemed to have wished that they could live off of their husbands' salaries. But unlike PADN's upper-class board members, these mothers did not think working necessarily detracted from their mothering. As Rose shows through documentation from rich case records, these women were aware that they, too, had choices, albeit relatively limited ones. A Mrs. Sturn said in 1919 that while a bad mother "put her children away" in an orphanage or foster home, she was a "good" mother who worked to "make a living for my children" (p. 46). From the 1920s onward, increasing numbers of poor single mothers also had the choice to raise their children at home, supported by mothers' pensions.

Although much of the strength of Rose's book stems from her extensive research in Philadelphia, this is not a narrow local study. Rose chronicles the history of the array of preschool institutions that provided child care in twentieth-century America. Day nurseries were part of a triad that included kindergartens and nursery schools. Emphasizing that kindergartens and nursery schools were perceived as educational, not custodial programs, Rose deemphasizes the decline of day nurseries and rise of mothers' pensions on which Sonya Michel focuses in *Children's Interests/Mothers' Rights: The Shaping of America's Child Care Policy* (1999).

Rose shows instead how, in Philadelphia, these three types of programs came together and apart in fluid but class-biased ways. She argues that nursery schools paved the way for the acceptance of day care, by convincing mothers that extrafamilial education was both beneficial and necessary for young children. Her account of working-class mothers storming city hall in 1948 to insist that federally supported nursery schools in the Philadelphia public school system be continued after the war is one of the untold success stories in the history of the day care movement.

I wish Rose had said more about the politics of child care and preschool organizations. The charity work of day nursery associations like the PADN differed sharply from the political mobilizing of the National Kindergarten Association and the academic research orientation of the National Association for Nursery Education. She does not tell the long saga of the often acrimonious competition among these organizations, a divided professional history that partly explains why many Americans still think a mother's job should be mothering. Rose's important new book shows how some working-class mothers finally got the child care programs they needed, by demanding them from local politicians, not waiting for other mothers, maternalist social reformers, or the federal government to give them to them.

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SONYA MICHEL. *Children's Interests/Mothers' Rights: The Shaping of America's Child Care Policy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 410. \$35.00.

"Why, despite a long history of mothers entering the workforce . . . does universal child care, organized and supported by the government, remain an elusive social good in the United States?" (p. 1). Sonya Michel's impressive history of child care in the U.S. provides thick and textured answers to this question. The narrative traces the development of child care systems across two centuries, from the Philadelphia day nursery founded by philanthropic women in 1798 to the for-profit child care centers of the present day. The analysis that guides the narrative situates child care history within welfare state history and shows that the U.S. reluctance to provide public child care can be attributed in part to the liberal and antistatist ideological habits that impeded U.S. welfare state development more generally. At the foreground of Michel's analysis, however, is the decisive role played by gender ideology in stigmatizing, and thus limiting, care arrangements for children outside their mothers' homes.

Michel is centrally concerned with the relationship between access to child care and women's equality. She talks about child care as a core provision of a comprehensive welfare state, not only because universal public care enhances decommodification but because it attenuates gender inequality as well. According to Michel, publicly provided child care not only compensates for

the workings of the market, it also enables women to enter the market as equals. Without it, the "discriminatory effects of motherhood" toll heavily against women, injuring their opportunities and rewards in the labor market in comparison to men's. Moreover, without guaranteed, reliable, quality child care, the discriminatory effects of motherhood punish poor mothers most severely, thereby deepening class and race inequalities among women.

Despite the high stakes of universal child care for women's equality, advances in child care policy in the U.S. have never been justified in terms of women's rights. Whether in settlement house nurseries or even in wartime child care centers, well into the twentieth century the decision to provide care most often turned on the needs of children whose mothers allegedly had failed them in some way by leaving the home for the labor market. Rather than provide social support for employed mothers, child care systems, both public and private, generally sought to compensate children for the loss of mother care. Developed in spite of mothers rather than for them, universal child care remains a stranger not only to the U.S. welfare state but also to women's citizenship. Michel shows that although child care has received increased attention during the past forty years, the result has been a public sector patchwork of tax credits, tax incentives, and welfare provisions for child care coupled with a private sector patchwork of voluntary and for-profit institutional care along with family and nanny care. Guaranteed universal care is not part of this mix.

Michel's meticulous discussion of divisions within the child care constituency—over custodial versus developmental care, for example—illuminates the context and the reasons for the U.S. pattern of provision. Ultimately, though, Michel's account points to the differentiation in attitudes toward maternal employment based on mothers' class position to explain the weakness of claims for universal, public care. "Ironically," Michel observes, "the rationale for public child care near the end of the twentieth century has advanced little beyond" that offered two centuries ago: namely, "to help indigent women help themselves" (p. 279). Even with the rise of second-wave feminism beginning in the late 1960s and the concomittant increase in maternal employment outside the home, public child care has remained most strongly linked to reforming poor mothers and their children rather than to promoting all women's autonomy and security as citizens.

This important book combines masterful narrative of the history of child care services in the U.S. within a theoretically rich comparative and feminist analytic framework. It is an invaluable resource for students of social policy and gender equality.

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ANDREA TONE. *The Business of Benevolence: Industrial Paternalism in Progressive America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 264. \$39.95.

American employers manage a vast private welfare state. No other nation parallels this reliance on business to deliver benefits that elsewhere are considered entitlements of citizenship. The consequences are enormous: an incomplete, shrinking, public/private welfare state that runs along the fault lines of class, race, and gender. How did this situation come about? Andrea Tone joins a number of scholars who have begun to answer this question by constructing a new historiography of America's private welfare state.

Tone argues that three interconnected themes pervade the business of benevolence—first labeled "welfare work," and, later, "welfare capitalism"—between its origin early in the twentieth century and the close of its first era in the 1920s. They are "the antistatist politics of welfare work; the gendering of workplace reforms; and the responses of labor, both organized and rank and file" (p. 7). Employers invented "welfare work" to preempt the state regulation of workplaces and stem the tide of unionization that accompanied the great burst of industrial growth in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Given its distinctive name only in 1904, "welfare work" soon became a national movement.

Employers also hoped to garner good publicity with a public increasingly appalled by revelations of the harsh, unhealthful conditions in which the products they purchased and the food they consumed were manufactured. "Welfare work" was, in part, a public relations ploy geared to reassure consumers and boost sales. Highlighting this link between welfare work and consumption is one of Tone's most original contributions; the other is her emphasis on gender.

Before the 1920s, more than half the beneficiaries of welfare work were women. Programs for women, which radiated an aura of charity and dependence, "defined femininity through chastity, physical vulnerability, domesticity, and marriageability." They included rest periods to protect women from hard industrial labor and homemaking classes designed to promote their fitness as "mothers and wives of tomorrow" (p. 142). Employers emphasized welfare programs for women because they thought women better suited for them than men. They also hoped to reduce the high turnover of female employees and to deflect the call for legislation designed to protect women workers. By contrast, programs for men, which emphasized masculine independence, reinforced men's status as household heads and principal earners. "Long and loyal labor 'earned' male workers a good pension, a financial bonus, even a home," privileges that solidified their position as family providers (p. 141).

With fears of radicalism enhanced after World War I, the spread of welfare capitalism accelerated, and its focus shifted away from social, educational, and athletic programs and toward insurance, pensions, com-

pany stock, and homeownership—financial benefits that male breadwinners “earned.” In the same years, men replaced women as the majority of beneficiaries. “By the end of the 1920s, welfare benefits had become almost exclusively a male preserve,” administered no longer by women “welfare secretaries” but by male “personnel managers,” members of a rapidly growing profession.

Ordinary workers’ response to welfare capitalism oscillated between acceptance and resistance. Glad for whatever benefits were offered, they understood employers’ motives and the limits of their largesse. Sometimes, they even managed to subvert programs in modest ways that served their own desires. Like Elizabeth Cohen, Tone argues that employers unwittingly created a “moral capitalism” that led workers to regard benefits as entitlements. Organized labor’s attitude toward welfare capitalism also swung between poles, from the accommodationist position of Samuel Gompers, representing the American Federation of Labor (AFL), to the hostility of left-leaning unions, which understood something current-day historians have confirmed: the growth of the private welfare state retarded the introduction of universal social benefits.

Never distracted by employer rhetoric, Tone highlights the contrast between official hype and actual provision. Welfare programs never covered more than a minority of American workers. Where they did exist, the frequent restriction of benefits to native, white workers, their withdrawal during economic downturns, and the refusal of employers to extend welfare work by reducing hours or raising wages all undermined their official purposes. For employers benevolence, very clearly, was a business.

And so it remains. Employers still have no legal obligation to offer benefits to their workers, and in recent years they have cut back on them, leaving a smaller share of American workers covered by private pensions or health insurance. Anyone who wants to understand the origins of the distinctively American delegation of some of the key rights of social citizenship to the precarious benevolence of the private sector would do well to start with Tone’s splendid book.

MICHAEL B. KATZ
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PATRICIA WEST. *Domesticating History: The Political Origins of America’s House Museums*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1999. Pp. xiii, 241. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$17.95.

Patricia West’s theses about American house museums both appear in her title. First, they originated in the efforts of women, who ventured forth from the home to preserve and present exemplary homes of others, thus “domesticating” history. Second, house museums, whether created by women or by men, “are and always have been about politics” (p. xii).

This crisp little book explores its territory through

four case studies: George Washington’s Mount Vernon, purchased for the public through an extraordinary nationwide women’s campaign in the 1850s; Orchard House, Louisa May Alcott’s home in Concord, Massachusetts, opened as a museum by the Concord Women’s Club in 1912; Monticello, purchased in the 1920s by a group of mostly Democratic bigwigs, mostly men, after an earlier women’s effort appealed unsuccessfully to Congress; and the Booker T. Washington National Monument, established by Congress in 1956. West chose these cases to illuminate her political theme. Mount Vernon became a rallying point for national unity as the country slipped toward civil war. Orchard House served a similar role among Massachusetts women polarized over suffrage. The Monticello effort was part of a deliberate canonization of Jefferson as patron saint for a splintered Democratic Party. And Booker T. Washington’s birthplace was embraced by whites and blacks looking for neutral ground after the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) ruling. In each case, political meanings were ambiguous: historic houses were blank screens on which partisans could project whatever content they liked.

Those projections could do strange things to history. The realities of slavery were obscured at Mount Vernon to avoid offending northerners, and again at the Booker T. Washington site a century later, to avoid offending white southerners. Radical Thomas Jefferson was made over during the Red Scare as a traditionalist. The Orchard House preservers constructed a history for the house as the setting of *Little Women* (1868), rather than the actual home of “a wild old transcendentalist and a passionate suffragist” and “their daughter, an unmarried working woman” (p. 91). Preservationists also rewrote the history of their own efforts, most notably in the “creation myth” fashioned by the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, which “did what it could to repress historical memory of the profound political entanglements through which it passed” (p. 37).

Although West focuses on politics, she also presents a competing hypothesis. Americans began creating house museums during the same period when they began mass producing household goods and houses. However ambiguous political messages might be, the museum house as an institution of consumer culture spoke clearly: it provided a prototype for producers and consumers alike and provided external validation to make consumption meaningful. Department stores and women’s magazines promoted the morally superior old styles exhibited in museum houses, so that “the consumer could purchase a critique of consumerism” (p. 90). Women, as the household’s designated consumers, may have turned preservationist less for politics than to secure “a particular kind of model home” (p. 42).

The basic story of gender in the history of house museums has been told, most extensively by James Michael Lindgren (*Preserving the Old Dominion: Historic Preservation and Virginia Traditionalism* [1993];

Preserving Historic New England: Preservation, Progressivism and the Remaking of Memory [1995]). Women volunteers made a success of the movement, then after the turn of the century its activities were professionalized and women largely elbowed out of its leadership for a generation or more. West confirms this outline but offers a more nuanced account. Women successfully ventured into the male realms of politics and finance (despite the handicap of hiding their competence). Men frequently acted in amateur roles and from sentimental motives. After the turn of the century, professionalization and government involvement came about in part through the efforts of women. While these changes most visibly displaced women, they also created conflicts for men whose outlooks were commemorative rather than curatorial, and women eventually took their place among the professionals. House museums are a subset of preservation; a broader history looking at the preservation of public buildings and public spaces would show men and women both involved from the beginning and would further elaborate on the complexity West has described.

The book ought to be useful to practitioners of public history. West herself directs a house museum (Martin Van Buren's). She reassures those involved in interpreting history that their entanglements with politics are normal and that they already possess the best tool for responding: "that keen device, historical perspective" (p. xiii).

MICHAEL HOLLERAN
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JACK GLAZIER, *Dispersing the Ghetto: The Relocation of Jewish Immigrants across America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998. Pp. x, 245. \$39.95.

Although local effects of Industrial Removal Office (IRO) dispersals have been noted in several studies of turn-of-the-twentieth-century Jewish immigrant settlers in different American cities, this is the first book to focus on the ideology and operations of the IRO national office and its relations with local Jewish communities across the country. Sponsored by the Jewish Colonization Association headquartered in Paris, the IRO was founded in 1901 as part of the emergent Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Society devoted to assisting prospective Jewish farmers and to encouraging Jewish settlement beyond New York and other port cities. Organized and managed primarily by earlier arrived German Jews who feared that their recently acquired (and still insecure) middle-class status in America might be threatened by the newcomers but who wanted, nevertheless, to facilitate their coreligionists' successful economic and cultural integration into American society, the IRO directed the resettlement of East European Jewish immigrants to the towns and cities of the nation's interior.

By the end of 1917, when its operations came to a

near halt, the IRO had dispatched some 80,000 immigrants to more than 1,000 cities and towns. Although the number represented but a fraction of the steadily increasing Jewish immigrant population in New York and fell far short of the IRO demographic redistribution goals, by triggering a chain migration of resettlers who privately joined relatives and friends dispatched by the organization, the IRO undoubtedly contributed to the dispersal of the New York Jewish ghetto.

Drawing on a variety of sources, including a large IRO archive at the Jewish Historical Society in Waltham, Massachusetts, local community records, and contemporary Jewish press reports, Jack Glazier has produced a competently researched and engagingly narrated study. Statistical tables in the appendix with the sociodemographic characteristics and destinations of immigrants assisted by the IRO and informative notes convincingly illustrate the arguments in the text.

The book's special strength—and the appeal to historians of other immigrant groups of the era—lies in two features framing the discussion. Glazier examines IRO activities in the broader context of contemporaneous American immigration policy and public debates about the prospects for new immigrant adaptation (chapter two) and the internal Jewish debates involving both German American and East European immigrant leaders, press, and institutions on issues motivating the organization (chapters one and three). The second feature is an admirably succinct analysis of the ambivalent "push" (toward) and "pull" (away) motives of both partners involved in the IRO operations—German Jewish managers and East European individual and collective recipients of dispersal services—and of the multiple tensions that informed their relationship (chapter four).

The concluding chapter of the book is an essay on present-day (post-1965) immigration in the United States. Intended by Glazier as a comparison of turn-of-the-twentieth-century and contemporary immigration issues, this chapter is the least integrated into the bulk of the study. As a list of important differences between past and present immigration becomes longer (much greater ethnic/racial diversity today with large volume of illegal migration and an influx of political refugees and of highly skilled immigrant professionals) and more contrasts are highlighted between past and present civic-political climate in the host American society (significantly greater legal and sociocultural acceptance of pluralism today), it becomes less obvious what all this has to do with the operations of the IRO at the beginning of this century. A more effective strategy would have been to compare the IRO's public stand in the immigration debate and its involvement on behalf of Jewish immigrants in the period 1901–1917 with the activities of contemporary equivalents such as, for example, The League of Latin American Citizens (LULAC) or the Organization of Chinese Americans (OCA) during the 1980s and 1990s.

This qualification notwithstanding, Glazier's book

is a solid piece of work and an interesting read, and I recommend it to all immigration historians.

EWA MORAWSKA
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MARK A. RAIDER. *The Emergence of American Zionism*. New York: New York University Press. 1998. Pp. xvii, 296. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$20.00.

Although only a minority of Jews in the United States had any official ties to the Zionist movement in the interwar and wartime era, Zionism cast a long shadow on the American Jewish cultural and political scene. One group in particular, Mark A. Raider argues, was especially instrumental in shaping popular images of the Zionist project among American Jews before World War II: the socialists known as Labor Zionists. Marching under the banner of the Poalei Zion Party, a fledgling New York City organization established in 1905 by East European immigrant Jewish socialists, Labor Zionists championed the cause of beleaguered Jewish workers seeking to build a socialist home in Palestine. Though numerically small—with 7,000 members nationwide by 1918 compared with the nearly 150,000-strong non-socialist Zionist organization of America—Poalei Zion and its sympathizers developed extensive ties to other left-leaning, working-class immigrant organizations and, according to Raider, came to exercise considerable influence on the mainstream American Zionist movement.

Contesting older histories that claimed Zionism had no strong ideological foundations in the United States and arguing against scholars who have asserted that American Jews only embraced Zionism in the aftermath of World War II, Raider insists that in the decades following World War I, Labor Zionists laid the social and moral groundwork for the idea of a Jewish “homeland” in Palestine. Yet Raider also traces the deep ideological and political divisions among Jews (Zionist and anti-Zionist) in the United States. Not only did Labor Zionists clash with non-Zionist socialists who, as staunch internationalists, rejected Jewish nationalism, they also met strong opposition among middle-class Jewish assimilationists and among conservative Jewish religious leaders, both Zionist and non-Zionist.

These conflicts aside, Raider argues, Labor Zionists influenced the direction of American Jewish thought by promoting the romantic ideal of the Jewish “pioneer” in Palestine. Portraying Palestine as a “haven” for downtrodden East European Jews, a “model” of Jewish “industry,” and a new “frontier” of Jewish rebirth, Labor Zionists meshed socialist propaganda with home-grown American notions of self-reliance and romantic myths of a brawny pioneer past. Indeed, looking at a cover from the 1937 *United Palestine Appeal Yearbook*, with its socialist-style iconography of a hardy male and female pioneer carrying the agricultural bounty of the bright new homeland, one would be hard pressed to distinguish it from the frontier and

pioneer Americana in New Deal public art. Raider has fascinating discussions of the “folk” images of muscular, hardworking, and dedicated Jewish pioneers that appeared in 1930s Labor Zionist magazines and poster art and in propaganda films like *Land of Promise*, *Dream of My People*, *Romance of a New Palestine*, and *Sabra*. He introduces us to the world of Labor Zionist youth groups and grass-roots socialist Zionist organizations like the “Pioneer Women,” an offshoot of Poalei Zion composed of Yiddish-speaking socialists who combined class consciousness, feminism, and Zionism to advance “economic emancipation” and “national rehabilitation” of the “Jewish masses.” Raising money to settle new Jewish workers in Palestine, Pioneer Women undertook an extensive propaganda campaign to convince Jewish women to take a more deliberate role in working for social justice.

But grassroots campaigns among working-class socialist Zionists would not have been nearly as influential, Raider maintains, had it not been for the intervention of creative Jewish thinkers like Horace Kallen, Mordecai M. Kaplan, and Maurice Samuel as well as other writers, scholars, journalists, and artists who translated Labor Zionism into concepts that were consistent with the ideals of liberal democracy. Appearing on the Jewish lecture circuit and writing for publications like *Menorah Journal*, *Reconstructionist*, *Jewish Spectator*, *New Palestine*, and *Jewish Frontier*, they turned Labor Zionism into what Raider calls “a social and political vision attuned to the reality of American Jews and the needs of Labor Palestine” (p. 149).

But what was “the reality of American Jews,” and what were the “needs” of Labor Palestine? And how did those needs conflict with Arab rights? These questions are raised but not fully analyzed. Although Raider does a fine job of showing the varied and complex nature of Zionist political culture, he rests his analysis of the meaning and impact of Labor Zionism on vague and oversimplified conceptions of American Jewish life. Despite these flaws and the book’s very disjointed organization, it does provide fresh and provocative material on the cultural, social, and intellectual origins of Zionism in the critical decades leading up to World War II.

SUSAN A. GLENN
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LINDA MIZEJEWSKI. *Ziegfeld Girl: Image and Icon in Culture and Cinema*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 241. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

Popular culture, a worthy field of endeavor for a long time, existed in a separate sphere from cultural studies until recently. The expansion of the latter field, in the spirit of democracy, has incorporated any and all aspects of culture as its domain. Although separate disciplinary lines remain drawn, both areas share an interest and a belief that popular and elite cultural figures, activities, and attitudes offer a window into the

larger community. All aspects of culture reveal important information about itself as well as the larger culture. Studies of entertainers and entertainments provide readers with insight into themes and values affecting all Americans.

Linda Mizejewski's study of the women who sashayed across the stage in the Ziegfeld Follies from 1907–1931 is a contribution to both fields as well as to women's studies. The Ziegfeld girl represents an interesting social type, a collective image of the new woman entertainer in the early part of the twentieth century. Dozens of Ziegfeld girls walked across the stage in elaborate costumes, sometimes dancing and sometimes singing but mostly being. Mizejewski considers the various images attached to the Ziegfeld girl: from new woman early in the century to fashion plate to show girl in the late 1920s. A chapter on Hollywood's treatment of the subject is also included. The book sets the women within the larger context of American culture of the period. There are, after all, many histories that intersect with show business history, including women's history, social and cultural history, and business history. Ziegfeld's personal biography, his view of women, and the culture's values regarding women all are considered in this study.

The intersections often offer the most cogent explanation for phenomena such as the Ziegfeld Follies. Advertising and public relations, for example, became major businesses in the period precisely to fill the need of selling the new entertainments, the new commodities, and the new services that were rapidly becoming available in industrial, entrepreneurial America. Viewing women as commodities, as things upon which to hang the latest fashion, became a successful way of selling goods, images, and new life styles. In the 1939 movie, *The Women*, there is a long fashion show scene where one model tells the Norma Shearer character that a woman's body is her major asset and she had better take good care of it. This insight surely accompanied all of the slender women performers on the growing stages of urban America in the early 1900s.

Woman's beauty was defined largely by the white men who controlled show business. In the twentieth century, popular entertainments and advertisements became the venues through which the ideal and aesthetic images of woman's physical appearance were communicated, and it is in this context that the Ziegfeld girl became one purveyor of the ideal. She had a lot of competition in the hurly burly world of show business. Although "white was right" (and even in African-American vaudeville and theater, mulatto women had greater access to the stage than dark-skinned women) and slender figures were preferable to more substantial women, heavysset women in both the white and black entertainment worlds succeeded in musicals and comedy. To parade across the stage showing off beautiful clothes required the slender figure, but not to belt out a song or tell a funny story. So Bessie Smith and Sophie Tucker had very successful careers as singers and storytellers, but not as dancers

or fashion plates. Zany types like Eva Tanguay and Mae West were not conventionally beautiful but carved out extraordinary careers because of the sheer power of their personalities. The Ziegfeld girls, in fact, were a collectivity with no single one emerging as a distinct personality.

The Ziegfeld girl, then, represents one ideal type of woman, a fantasy that shared space with other views of women both in entertainment and in other spheres of life. As American women walked into public spaces more and more, the variety of acceptable images and behaviors for them increased, although the slim woman's body, large eyes, chiseled nose, and white skin remained desirable ideals. This book offers readers an interesting study of one image of American women held by the male entrepreneurs controlling American entertainment.

JUNE SOCHEN

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FRANK NINKOVICH. *The Wilsonian Century: U.S. Foreign Policy since 1900*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999. Pp. 320. \$27.50.

DANIEL D. STID. *The President as Statesman: Woodrow Wilson and the Constitution*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998. Pp. xi, 231. \$35.00.

The original (if not quite persuasive) thesis of Frank Ninkovich's book is that the apparent victory of liberal capitalism on a global scale at the end of the twentieth century is not, as often thought, the advent of Wilsonianism but the end of it. One wishes he had written a book with a sustained argument along those lines. Instead, he provides us with a useful but fairly conventional overview of U.S. foreign policy since 1900, punctuated by analytical musings that are neither properly integrated into the narrative nor always clearly governing it. The intention is contextualization. Yet the history is not empirically "rich" enough to be gripping, and the analysis is too casual.

This is a pity, because Ninkovich's is among the most acute intellects in the field. He calls this volume, with an unfortunate metaphor, a "reformatted" version of his previous book, *Modernity and Power: A History of the Domino Theory in the Twentieth Century* (1994), wherein he had cast, unsuccessfully, the same story in terms of the ups and downs of the "domino theory." Here, by contrast, it is "Wilsonianism" he traces. His use of the former concept was unconventional. His understanding of the latter is equally so. What interests Ninkovich to the point of obsession is the darker side of "modernity," the catastrophic potential of a newly industrialized and interdependent world at the turn of the last century. It was, he argues, Woodrow Wilson's achievement to have diagnosed that condition and to have offered a possible cure. The counterpoint here is "normal internationalism": a rosy view of advancing civilization, peace, and trade that dominated before Wilson proffered his "crisis internation-

alism" and is now today again prevailing wisdom. The rest of the century then becomes a story about the political vicissitudes of Wilson's diagnosis, if not his cure. The public never quite grasped Wilson's "internationalism of fear" because it only made sense in an atmosphere of acute crisis. In modified form, it thus became "a way of muddling through" until the return of "normal internationalism" in the 1990s. For Ninkovich, Cold War geopolitics is then, oddly but suggestively, the institutionalization of permutating "Wilsonianism," the universal League of Nations having been replaced by U.S. policy conducted on a global scale in the name of credibility.

Ninkovich does not much engage with other scholars or provide any extensive documentation. It is, indeed, a fairly stylized—not to say condensed—Wilson who is called upon to provide the chief props of the narrative. For the initial three years, Wilson's understanding of World War I is said to have been superficial, still imprisoned in normality. At a certain moment, he gained insight, and the ensuing history can thus be measured in relation to that insight. How and why is not clear. This, notably, is a history of how the world has been interpreted, a history of what goes on inside the heads of U.S. statesmen. As a determined philosophical idealist, Ninkovich is concerned to combat all manner of approaches based on interest and objectivity. Such a position has drawbacks: there is no real account of any social or geopolitical forces, nor of any structure. Ninkovich refuses accordingly to say whether Wilson—his Wilson—was actually "right." Yet Ninkovich's sentiment is obviously that modernity did indeed involve these risks. So Wilson, in the end, is lauded for having diagnosed something real, for having been "the first statesman to understand the self-destructive side of modern international relations" (p. 49).

Whatever one thinks about that proposition, it is possible, alternatively, to see Wilson's sudden conversion to the transformation of the international order in terms of his strong Calvinist self-understanding of leadership and chosenness: not only the United States as uniquely appointed to fill a historically crucial role at a crucial moment but himself as the uniquely placed mediator in that process of deliverance. Despite his concern with the inner workings of minds, however, Ninkovich evinces little interest in religion. So, it turns out, does Daniel D. Stid. His book is of more modest scope. It delineates, very competently, Wilson's views on politics as they pertained to constitutional arrangements; and he then describes what happened to these views when the scholar became a politician and statesman. The focus is, quite appropriately, on Wilson's Anglophilic interest in parliamentary government and the possibility of reforming the U.S. system on that principle. As Stid underlines, Wilson was a follower of William Ewart Gladstone, an admiration peculiarly combined with a strong Burkean impulse as mediated by more recent (and superficially understood) doctrines of Darwinian adaption and evolution. The con-

crete question, for Wilson as well as Stid, is the separation of powers and whether this aspect of the U.S. system is constitutionally adequate in qualitatively novel circumstances (or, to use Ninkovich's term, modernity). One is reminded forcefully by Stid's account how little Wilson, a leading political scientist of the era, actually pondered foreign relations before he became president. Most of his reflections on the topic narrowly concerned the presidential prerogatives in relation to Congress, where he took the emphatic position that the president was the sole representative of the nation abroad and should be recognized as such at home. When, after the Spanish-American War, he did begin to think about foreign relations, it was characteristically in terms of possible effects of the recent imperial surge on the political system. About the international system itself and the U.S. role in it, he said almost nothing. Stid, in any case, follows Wilson into the familiar, climactic moment of the League fight, when the president lost track of an earlier scholarly lesson of his to the effect that the Senate had the power to be obstructive and might well warrant therefore a good deal of attention and massaging. None of this is new, but it is valuable to have it presented in the frame of Wilson's own history of constitutional and political thought.

Early on (1889), Wilson wrote in his journal a revealing rhetorical question about himself: "Why may not the present age write, through me, its political autobiography?" (p. 35). This outrageously conceited notion is perhaps also what made Wilson a world-historical figure.

ANDERS STEPHANSON
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MICHAEL A. BUTLER. *Cautious Visionary: Cordell Hull and Trade Reform, 1933–1937*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 240. \$39.00.

Cordell Hull devoted his professional life to promoting free trade. Michael A. Butler traces the triumph of Hull's ideas in the passage of the Trade Agreements Act of 1934, his most important achievement as secretary of state. Hull joined Franklin D. Roosevelt's cabinet after a distinguished career in the House (1907–1930) and Senate (1931–1933). When he first arrived in Congress, Hull determined to make his way in politics by mastering several arcane but important issues. In addition to the tariff, he took a great interest in taxes and the budget. Detailed knowledge of these issues landed the clearly ambitious Tennessean a seat on the House Ways and Means Committee in 1916. He also took an active part in the national Democratic Party, serving as its chairman between 1921 and 1923. Even after he left that office, Hull remained a key figure in party circles.

Indeed, Roosevelt appointed Hull secretary of state as a gesture to the southern wing of the party. He certainly did not bring him into the cabinet because of his free trade views. FDR saw the Depression as

fundamentally a domestic problem and paid little heed to Hull's interpretation of the crisis as a result of imperfections in the arrangements of international economic life. Nevertheless, Hull planned to use a conference scheduled for London in June 1933 to promote changes in the monetary and protectionist policies that most governments had adopted in response to the Depression. Roosevelt publicly scuttled these plans in a message sent to the conference, which deeply embarrassed his secretary of state. Even though the meeting turned into a fiasco, it steered Hull in how to deal with Roosevelt's chaotic ways of handling serious policy issues. The secretary had some leverage over the president. Had Hull resigned over the failure in London, which he almost decided to do, the president would have faced problems with the southern wing of his party and its committee chairmen in Congress. Following the London conference, Hull used his knowledge of Congress, the bureaucracy, and the press to great effect. He bested rivals Raymond Moley and George N. Peek—advisers initially close to the President—who advocated protectionist policies. Ultimately, Hull's political skills secured passage of the Trade Agreements Act of 1934 and won the bureaucratic battles over its implementation. Butler's argument for Hull's enduring significance is that the successful implementation of this legislation was the first step in constructing the political and economic order that emerged at Bretton Woods.

Butler has produced a compact study of a complicated, important issue. It is a book based on research in the papers of key figures of the period. By focusing on the personalities and tactics involved in passing the Trade Agreements Act, he reminds us how gritty the policy process was during the Roosevelt years. There are, however, two complaints to register about this work. First, Butler overemphasizes the novelty of Hull's position; he was by no means the only prominent American official trying to foster freer trade in either the 1920s or 1930s. Second, although Butler has drawn Hull's ideas and career clearly, he does not provide a deeply textured portrait of the man. This is, of course, primarily a study of policy, not a biography. But even as a study of a career and its greatest achievement, there are gaps. Hull, for example, decided to leave politics in 1929, only to rethink the decision when a Senate seat opened up in Tennessee. But there is not a satisfactory explanation in the first place of his decision to leave the House after an influential career. On balance, however, these are minor criticisms of what is in many ways a revealing study of one of the great changes in the U.S. government's policy toward the world. It also does much to show that Hull was more than the colorless and beleaguered figure that he appeared to be to the public at the time, and subsequently to historians.

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JAY A. GERTZMAN. *Bookleggers and Smuthounds: The Trade in Erotica, 1920–1940*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1999. Pp. 418. \$35.00.

Jay A. Gertzman's study of the publication of erotica between 1920 and 1940 and the various efforts to censor this growing trade is a work of freshness and readability that breaks genuinely new ground. Gertzman's basic thesis is that "publishers of erotica and the moralists who attacked them during the early twentieth century had (as they continue to have) a subtle symbiotic relationship" (p. 1). Erotica distributors needed "to keep intact the association of sex with obscenity and shameful silence" in order to sell their wares, while they "provided antivice crusaders with the public enemy they needed to show how fascination with sex was indeed a moral offence exploited by people with contempt for purity" (p. 1).

Gertzman develops this thesis in an engaging and lively narrative that captures the tension and the drama of the story. In a series of wide-ranging chapters, he builds the idea of the publishers of erotica as "pariah capitalists." This is a thoroughly worthwhile concept that situates this aspect of the commercialization of sex firmly in the context of the dilemma of the Eastern European Jewish immigrant, who, fascinatingly, was responsible for so much of the trade in erotica. Desperate for acceptance as part of the bourgeoisie, these Jewish erotica distributors conformed to philosopher Hannah Arendt's description of the "Jewish parvenu" as "someone who has accepted whatever set of economic and moral imperatives is necessary to become part of the bourgeois community" (p. 47). They thus gave people what they thought they wanted: that is, sexually explicit books, magazines, and photographs. Gertzman insists that, despite the pariah status of the distributors, their story is part of "the larger story of American literature" (p. 85) at this time, however much distance publishers like Knopf and Random House chose to keep from them. After all, erotica distributor Samuel Roth could argue that he had offered James Joyce and D. H. Lawrence to the public when they had been unavailable elsewhere. Gertzman here controversially argues that the New York book trade, ever concerned with respectability, created a "false dichotomy" between responsible bookmen and smutmongering pariahs (p. 86).

In the late 1920s and 1930s, various court decisions relaxed definitions of obscenity. This in many ways reduced the authority of traditional vice crusaders like Anthony Comstock and the contemporary John Saxton Sumner, whom Gertzman portrays almost affectionately. Yet the power of the Catholic Church and particularly of the U.S. Post Office remained strong. Gertzman includes an excellent discussion of the federal government's efforts to clamp down on mail order, perhaps following encouragement from the church. Gertzman almost squirms with indignation at the prosecution of the distributors of erotica and at raids

on the homes of consumers. His own uncle, Benjamin Gertzman, a bookseller, was the victim of a raid.

Gertzman's best chapter is a study of one of the leading distributors, Roth, who suffered incarceration on several occasions. Gertzman powerfully links Roth's involvement in erotica to his hatred of his own Jewishness. This manifested itself in an extraordinary attack on Jewish people, *Jews Must Live* (1932), a work that contained chapters with titles like "Do Jews Emit a Peculiar Odor?" The book is full of caricatures, depicting "sneering, black-garbed Jewish men with long noses, beetle brows, pot bellies, bald heads, and cold sharp eyes" (p. 259). Alarming, *Jews Must Live* was used by Julius Streicher, the early fermenter of Nazi anti-Semitism in Germany. It was as if Roth was desperately seeking acceptance as an American bourgeois by rejecting his own people. Gertzman here brilliantly makes the connection between ethnic persecution and the development of the commercialization of sex.

Gertzman's work is therefore a vitally important contribution to our understanding of the early twentieth-century sexual revolution, which adds a new area beyond the multifarious studies of movie censorship and complements Rochelle Gurstein's *The Repeal of Reticence* (1997) as a study of book censorship. But, there are areas that needed developing. Gertzman should have considered more the readership of interwar erotica. To be sure, it was varied, but it was still largely male. In a sense, questions of gender are tangential to his story, but his gentle sympathy with the erotica distributors, and the impression he gives that he regards them as harmless, would be more convincing if he addressed feminist criticisms in more detail than he does: for example, it is far too simplistic to link together "Women Against Pornography" with Phyllis Schlafly, as he does in the final chapter.

Further, Gertzman, is not always comfortable in his period. He is vague about the origins of the expression "Sex O'Clock in America," which historians will place in 1913, certainly not the 1920s. More serious, however, is a tendency to overplay the parallels between his period and the present. He states that there has been "a surprising lack of change between the 1920s and today" (p. 290). He argues that "the language of the preceding decades is echoed quite precisely, in today's culture wars" (p. 291). Yet contemporary battles over the internet and pedophilia are a far cry from the struggles over books and erotica of the 1920s and 1930s. Even considering other artifacts, such as the movies and ads, this is the case. Then, sexuality remained still hidden. Now, the repeal of reticence is almost complete. What is at stake, surely, is the protection of all of us, but especially our children. Thus Gertzman is far too sympathetic towards modern-day "smut peddlers" like Larry Flynt and Hugh Hefner, who are playing in a quite different league to the likes of Roth. Gertzman is absolutely right to stress the destructiveness and hurtfulness of censorship. But, at the millennial turn, this is hardly the point: censor-

ship is now impossible and futile, even if its history remains a source of fascination.

KEVIN WHITE
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MARY F. COREY. *The World through a Monocle: The New Yorker at Midcentury*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 251. \$25.95.

In 1925, Harold Ross founded the *New Yorker*. He directed his magazine to the new, college-educated middle class that set the pace of American life following World War I. Through short stories, feature articles, cartoons, poetry, and advertising, Ross tutored his readers on the nuances of refined and responsible leadership. According to Mary F. Corey, in the decade and a half following World War II, the *New Yorker* became a national magazine—the touchstone of upper middle-class liberalism, creating a "global village," the voice of the American liberal community. Versed in contemporary literary theory, Corey dutifully read the *New Yorker* to probe its liberal subtext, tying it to the context of postwar politics. Her analysis focused on race, gender, class, the other, and hegemony. A fine stylist, Corey has written a carefully nuanced book—restrained, but firm in its judgments.

From Corey's *fin de siècle* perspective, the *New Yorker* began bravely after World War II with the publication of John Hersey's "Hiroshima" (1946), which laid bare the personal tragedy of nuclear war. Corey gave the magazine equally high marks for its publication of Mary McCarthy's "Groves of Academe" (1951), a scorching indictment of McCarthyism. In the wake of Gunnar Myrdal's *American Dilemma* (1962), the *New Yorker* chose "quiet liberalism," which meant the removal of all racist cartoons and racial stereotyping but also the elimination of virtually all images and references to African Americans. Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* (1952) was nowhere more invisible than in the *New Yorker* of the early 1950s. On gender, the *New Yorker* consistently rejected the postwar revival of female domesticity, associating it with what it considered the cultural wasteland of suburbia. Still, according to Corey, the magazine remained resolutely sexist as it portrayed males as victims of money-hungry, social-climbing, bossy wives and female lovers. Internationally it supported the United Nations and only became anticommunist with the Chinese Revolution and the Korean War. Corey gently scolded the magazine and its readers for their class biases. She argued that the *New Yorker* and its readers defined the boundaries of American civilization in terms of their own white, agnostic, upper middle-class lives in which they balanced moral commitment with postwar affluence. *New Yorker* writers portrayed everyone else as either mean-spirited reactionaries, tacky red necks, or hopeless ignoramuses.

Few would dispute Corey's reading of the *New Yorker*. She uncovered a few surprises, described several amusing cartoons, and related a handful of inter-

esting anecdotes. For the most part, however, her graceful renderings only confirm what most would have guessed and anyone would have known by reading a single, random issue. Race, gender, other, class, and hegemony are important issues, but alone they fail to do justice to the *New Yorker*, nor do they address its primary function: the patronage of American writing. Corey told us almost nothing about the magazine's most important editor, William Shawn; mentioned only in passing a dozen or so of its best writers, including E. B. White; and failed to explain how it functioned as a magazine, how it negotiated the events of the 1950s, or how it nurtured and shaped American writing. From 1945 to 1960, no other institution, no other publisher, no other magazine had a greater impact on American writers. In those years, American writing enjoyed a flowering equal to abstract expressionism, bebop, modern dance, the Beat poets, modernist architecture, and Off Broadway. Despite Corey's access to the magazine's business papers, her reading of the *New Yorker* was just that. She read the magazine with an eye for the atomic bomb, McCarthyism, sexism, racism, and class. Except for a dozen or so pages, there is little that did not derive from published sources: either the magazine itself, John Updike's *Complete Book of Covers from the New Yorker*, or the standard secondary sources on post-World War I American culture.

Throughout the book, Corey implies that her reading encompasses the *New Yorker* from 1945 to 1960. She makes frequent references to changes in American life through the early 1960s and even quotes from Tom Wolfe's searing 1965 diatribe on the *New Yorker* as if it applied to her research. Corey's reading, however, ended in 1953 with Ross's death, a dozen years before Wolfe's essay—twelve of the most eventful years in American cultural history. Corey terminated her primary research prior to the impact of the baby boom, prior to the start of the interstate highway system, prior to the Salk vaccine, prior to Jack Kerouac's *On the Road* (1957), prior to Rock and Roll, prior to the end of the Korean War, prior to *Brown v. Board of Education*, prior to the Cuban Revolution, prior to the Kennedy-Nixon campaign, prior to ninety percent of the events that shaped postwar America before the tumultuous 1960s.

The book's title is as descriptive of Corey's study as it is of the *New Yorker* itself. Within the context of contemporary historical scholarship, however, Corey wrote an interesting, insightful, and spritely book. She uncovered the *New Yorker's* project and sketched the cultural and political landscape of its early postwar subscribers—an important, if small and unrepresentative, group of Americans. At several points, she ties her subtext to the political context. Although predictable, her conclusions are important: the necessary beginning for a substantive history of the postwar *New Yorker*. Moreover, within her chosen scholarly genre, authors are expected to use jargon, analyze the prescribed categories of gender, class, race, hegemony,

and other, write in the first person plural, judge the past by current moral standards, and limit their research to literary texts broadly defined.

A decade ago, this literary-inspired discourse energized American historical scholarship. It forced us to address important issues and to acknowledge that our imperial history often paraded about without clothes. It asked us critically to reexamine accepted categories, methodologies, and even chronologies that frequently rested on unexamined political assumptions shot through with racism, sexism, classism, and imperialism. Corey's book is a well-crafted example of the postmodern critique. It is also a well-written example of its all too frequent assertion of the obvious, its at times selective research, and its increasingly ahistorical judgments of the past, all couched in a gentle didactic tone, flavored with a restrained, tasteful moralism. We should not discard our stylish postmodern monocles, but in our determination to remain fashionable we should not forsake the fundamental underpinnings of our craft such as compelling narrative, detailed research, and the elements of style. While it is comforting to read the past exclusively in our own terms, it is also self-serving and predictable.

WILLIAM B. SCOTT
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LISLE A. ROSE. *The Cold War Comes to Main Street: America in 1950*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1999. Pp. x, 404. \$39.95.

The title of Lisle A. Rose's newest book on the Cold War promises to focus on those who made their livelihoods in the shops and offices that lined the Main Streets across the land, far away from the center of the national security/welfare state emerging in the nation's capital in the postwar years. Unfortunately, the book fails to meet that promise, as it concentrates (yet again) on the powerful and the infamous: in other words, on those who chose to reside and work within what is now called "the Beltway." So much for the book that Rose did not write; what of the one he did?

Rose presents an intriguing argument: between late 1949 and December 1950, the Cold War "came home," by which he means that during this year the prevailing postwar mood of "cautious optimism" about the future turned into a widespread, irrational fear of the power possessed by communist opponents, both internal and external. In time, the aura of distrust that was so central to the political style of conservative anticommunists spread to other areas of American life, destroying the faith Americans had in one another and in their government. "By the end of 1950," he writes, "McCarthy and his small but strident band of political and religious zealots had established a tone, a temper, a habit of thought, an expectation of impending calamity, and an assumption of outright treason within our public institutions that has shaped and debilitated national life to the present" (p. 6). 1950, then, is a

critical year, a major turning point, and hence worthy of the closest examination.

Rose, a long-time employee of the U.S. State Department and chronicler of the Cold War, identifies three events (or a connected series of events) as the catalysts for the fundamental shift he sees in contemporary polling data: first, the Russian nuclear explosion in the summer of 1949, which led to public debate over thermonuclear bombs and was followed by an equally public series of charges of atomic espionage; then, the loud McCarthy campaign the following spring accusing those in the highest offices, especially in the State Department, with either countenancing or committing treason; and last, the outbreak of the Korean War in the summer of 1950.

While quickly acknowledging deeper roots to the domestic struggle that had resulted in the displacement of the largely small-town, Protestant conservative elites by the modern bureaucratic, and decidedly liberal, New Deal state, Rose claims a broad consensus had emerged out of the Depression and World War II that supported the creation of this liberal state and left conservatives with little support among the general population. This assertion, however, exemplifies a major problem with the book, as the argument claims too much. By implication, it papers over the very real divisions within American society, especially among those who were politically active, during the 1930s and the early postwar years. Even without domestic anti-communism, the political tone after the war was fractious, and treating the "American people" as if they were of one mind on the issues that divided them is simply an unsupportable generalization, one that fails to further our understanding of the period.

That said, it is still fair to argue, as he does, that an impulse toward an excessive domestic anticommunism was deeply buried within the partisan soul of Republican Party elites. Conservative Republicans of the period, he charges, were "far more comfortable to indulge in liberal-bashing and Red-baiting than to bestir themselves to formulate a coherent attractive ideology" (p. 50). In this reading, the conservatives often used anti-communism as a tool to bludgeon their real enemy, the liberal New Dealers who had displaced them during the preceding twenty years, rather than as a way of dealing with fundamental issues of national security.

Rose's recreation of the time is certainly lively. He has a flair for colorful description, a talent that is used most effectively in his word portraits of the cadre of self-proclaimed anti-communists who bedeviled the liberals in the Truman administration. Bourke Hickenlooper, the Republican senator from Iowa, is described as a "thin-faced, middle-aged fundamentalist conservative with tightly slicked-down hair and the sour look of a perpetually constipated small-town banker" (p. 58). Joseph McCarthy is sketched as a "short, dumpy, balding Irish-American pressed tightly into double-breasted suits and smitten with a fatal passion for alcohol . . . [he] possessed the charm and temperament

of a storm trooper . . . His bonhomie had a Hermann Göerring-like quality to it—menace thinly veiled in gusto" (p. 121).

By employing such language, Rose opens himself to the charge of falling into the very rhetorical excesses that characterized the period. While the language aligns him against the recent scholarly and journalistic efforts to rescue the reputations of those who waged the anti-communist crusade, the scholars who have continued to proclaim the innocence of its victims will find little comfort here. Rose asserts that the evidence is clear: the charges of treason and perjury against many who had served in government were justified. Additionally, the liberals of the period were spectacularly ineffective in defining the issues appropriately and presenting their case to the public.

Beyond rhetoric, there are other problems with Rose's account. By the end of the book, we still have little sense of why domestic anti-communism achieved its broad appeal, specifically how it became a reasonable explanation of perceived reality to millions of Americans, most of whom were not small-town, Protestant Republicans. Turning on occasion, as Rose does, to public opinion data generated by the teams of reporters dispatched by Henry Luce to discover what was going on in towns like Kankakee, Illinois, is not sufficient. Finally, once bullets replace ballots and verbal barrages in the period's warfare, the scene shifts from Washington D.C. to that forbidding peninsula in the Pacific, Korea, where the narrative focuses on a new story: the challenge to American military power mounted by armed communist aggression. The early war maneuvers are described in great detail, battle by bloody battle, all without a single map to help those unfamiliar with the terrain find their way. In the end, the narrative gets bogged down in the mire and mud of Korea, as had General Douglas MacArthur's Eighth Army in 1950.

Because this is a book of so many parts, it can be read most profitably as a series of lively and informed essays on loosely related topics. As do many good essayists, Rose has a very particular point of view, one that is often asserted in an engaging—or infuriating—style, the choice of adjective dependent upon one's own reading of the period or political point of view. Still, it is often a fun read, filled with characters who were genuinely larger than life—MacArthur, McCarthy, and Mao, for example—and issues that still resonate in our politics today. Rose has rendered a service by giving us a good deal to think about, not the least of which is a broader historical context in which to see the historical precedents to our recent cultural "wars."

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MARK HULSETH. *Building a Protestant Left: Christianity and Crisis Magazine, 1941–1993*. Knoxville:

University of Tennessee Press, 1999. Pp. xxxix, 374. \$38.00.

The periodical *Christianity and Crisis* owed its origin to the growing dismay of Reinhold Niebuhr and others, in the late 1930s, at the dogged anti-interventionism of *Christian Century*, liberal Protestantism's principal journalistic voice. *Christianity and Crisis* never achieved a circulation comparable with the *Christian Century*'s, or with that of *Christianity Today*, the vehicle of postwar evangelicalism. It nonetheless wielded great influence, initially as one voice of a tough-minded political realism in domestic and foreign policy, and then, from about 1966 until its demise, as a principal organizer of a new Protestant left. Mark Hulsether's book, although it traverses the entire history of the journal, is focused on this "left turn" of the late 1960s—a Vietnam-era move that, while not surprising in retrospect, was also not inscribed in the DNA of Niebuhrian political realism. (Old *Christianity and Crisis* hands such as Michael Novak and Ernest Lefever were quick to point this out, though not necessarily quick to seek friendlier surroundings.)

Hulsether suggests a number of reasons why this story is worth telling. Among these, the one general historians may want to ponder is an alleged inattention to religion in analyses of the postwar public policy establishment and of its fragmentation in the 1960s and after. One can quibble about that allegation; surely Niebuhrian influence on Cold War containment policy has been recognized, regularly or even excessively. Hulsether might concur and yet hold that such influence has been acknowledged only insofar as we have been able to wrench it from its theological base. In any case, before deciding that "religion" played no part, we should take a closer look at *Christianity and Crisis*'s involvement in the broader drama and, in particular, at the *dramatis personae*. Who, in or outside the religious communities, wrote for the journal? Who read and reacted to it?

This book enables us to do all of that. Hulsether's account of the magazine's earlier career stresses—perhaps over-stresses—the establishmentarian attitudes of its editors on international and domestic issues and the conservative or reactionary positions taken by some of its contributors. Although the journal consistently criticized sinful pride and power, in the immediate postwar period it did so "within the larger social formation of cold war liberalism" (p. 25). Its personnel, perspective, and institutional matrix were almost exclusively white and male. Its editor of that time, John C. Bennett, later recalled somewhat ruefully that readers of the early *Christianity and Crisis* were "the sort of people Republicans call moderates" (p. xviii).

By the 1970s, however, the journal's orientation had changed significantly. A Harvey Cox editorial in the Vietnam era, "Enough is Enough!" was only one of the more strident announcements of a gradual, internally contested shift from liberal-establishment loyalties to

oppositional politics and liberation theology. (Cox, writing in September 1968, urged readers to shun both major-party presidential candidates, whereupon other *Christianity and Crisis* regulars pronounced "a pox on Mr. Cox," [p. 115]). Hulsether devotes several substantial chapters to the editorial board's achievement, in this later phase, of a liberal-to-radical consensus on civil rights, international development, nuclear war, situation ethics, "the death of God," and a broad array of cultural and identity politics issues; but he also, necessarily, gives extended treatment to other matters, such as the Middle East conflict, in relation to which the journal was and remained a house divided.

When the magazine succumbed in 1993, this had less to do with such internal tensions, or with the left turn of the 1970s, than with more mundane considerations: for example, how to pay the rent. *Christianity and Crisis*'s contributions held up, as did its subscription list, but the gap between contributions and expenses widened, and no "angel" appeared. Publication was terminated in mid-April 1993.

End of story? More specifically, did the magazine's demise signal closing time in the salons and newsrooms of the new Protestant left? Hulsether's answer is a qualified no. He credits *Christianity and Crisis*, "despite numerous imperfections," with having bridged generational divisions within liberal Protestantism and eased ideological tensions "among several contentious communities committed to liberation theologies." Most important, it succeeded in bringing together "religious discourses and broader public issues" (p. xxvii). So far, the author believes, these bridges have held. He fears, however, that if the religious left cannot generate new vehicles of similar quality, such failure will be one more expression of "a sort of death wish on the part of liberal Protestantism" (p. 269).

This is a useful and entirely worthy study, focused but also wide-ranging, meticulous and detailed but highly readable, written from an acknowledged leftward perspective yet painstakingly balanced. At some points, indeed, one is faced with an excess of balancing and counterbalancing, along with premature theorizing and, often, sheer overelaboration. Since this is more the case in Hulsether's long introduction than anywhere else, a reader can be advised to skim that material and get on with the main story, which by and large is exceedingly well told.

WILLIAM R. HUTCHESON
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JAMES T. FISHER. *Dr. America: The Lives of Thomas A. Dooley, 1927–1961*. (Culture, Politics, and the Cold War.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997. Pp. x, 304. \$29.95.

In his biography, James T. Fisher situates Thomas A. Dooley—the titular "Dr. America"—within the sea changes washing over American Catholicism in the 1950s. He sees Dooley as inspiring a younger genera-

tion of Catholics (and others) to a gentle reexamination of their traditions, to a more intense commitment to public service, and to ministering to the needs of the world's poor and downtrodden. Dooley's reputation as a "Catholic folk hero," as a "youth-culture icon" (p. 5), and as a kind of saint grew as a result of his much-publicized jungle doctoring in Vietnam and Laos during what Fisher somewhat dubiously deems the last age of American hope and innocence in Southeast Asia. By positioning Dooley as a symbolic bridge between the militant anticommunist Catholicism of Joseph McCarthy and the more liberal variant of John F. Kennedy, Fisher expands on his previous work, *The Catholic Counterculture in America, 1933-1962* (1989), and at the same time contributes to recent scholarship that acknowledges not only the cultural and political ferment underneath the surface calm of the 1950s but also the more conservative contributions to such countercultural transformations.

The juxtaposition of Catholic/conservative and counterculture in Fisher's work may well give pause to those sensitive to contradiction, but Fisher does not shy away from addressing contrary characteristics, especially as embodied in the "lives" of Dooley. It was undoubtedly much easier in the closeted, secretive 1950s and early 1960s to maintain the fiction of a unified and heroic personality for Dooley; this task has become much harder given the information that has publicly emerged about Dooley in the decades since his death in 1961. The late 1970s witnessed revelations about his ties to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), while the late 1980s saw him "outed." The earlier literature on Dooley would have him either a saint or a spook, either the object of Catholic hagiography or the subject of harsher exposés of his role as an errand boy for sub rosa U.S. intelligence operatives in Southeast Asia. Fisher tries to present a more complex portrait of Dooley, one that takes into account his varied and often conflicting personae.

Fisher presents Dooley as a gay man ousted from the Navy for his homosexuality who thereafter found renewed salvation in the medical missions sponsored by private charity groups presumably linked to the CIA. He sees him as a selfless and dedicated jungle doctor who also had an uncanny knack for self-promotion, as demonstrated in his three books, in his radio broadcasts from Laos, and in his multiple television appearances. Dooley is elevated to the title "*Thanh Mo America*," the Dr. America embraced by Lao villagers in part because he was an "enlightened postcolonialist" (p. 159), who nonetheless had shaky medical credentials and doled out to Lao villagers the expired pharmaceuticals donated by drug companies. Dooley battled communism in his quiet American way in Southeast Asia, which tied him to Catholic anticommunists like McCarthy, but he also exuded a sophistication and nonsectarianism that made him, along with JFK, one of a new "breed of jet-set postghetto Catholics" (p. 169). In negotiating this tangled terrain of Dooley's lives, Fisher avoids reducing Dooley to either

extreme of saint or spook, but he also fails to construct an identity for Dooley that resolves or explains his contradictions. It may be intellectually honest—and true to the idea of Dooley as a "premature postmodernist" (p. 9), capable of continually reinventing himself—but it is not particularly satisfying that Thomas Dooley remains at the end "an enigma" (p. 237).

This biography is published under the aegis of Christian Appy's series on "Culture, Politics, and the Cold War," and a more focused and critical analysis of the interstices between those elements and Dooley might have tightened the threads of Dr. America's lives. A more thorough investigation, for example, of what it meant to be gay, Catholic, anticommunist, and a member—however peripheral—of the intelligence community would have been instructive, yet Fisher seems somewhat uncomfortable with this topic. He even entertains, albeit briefly, the suspect idea that the terminal illness—melanoma—that killed Dooley at the age of thirty-four stemmed from guilt over his homosexuality. It is also a little difficult to believe, as Fisher maintains, that Dooley remained unaware of his role in intelligence operations in Southeast Asia or as a propagandist at home. A man savvy enough to explore new territories in Catholicism and the politically dangerous ground of Catholic and international gay subcultures in the 1950s must have been more attuned to the intrusive and ideological character of his work in Vietnam and Laos.

Some of the naïveté ascribed to Dooley appears to have influenced Fisher, as when he upholds Dooley's own claims that he operated "outside of the orbit of the colonialist or imperialist mentalities no longer welcome in Southeast Asia" (p. 144). Such assertions would support a more countercultural understanding of Dooley's dedication to serving Vietnamese refugees and Lao villagers. They are not documented, however, by Vietnamese or Lao sources, nor are they very credible in light of scholarship on Orientalism and on the postcolonial disruptiveness of Euro-American medical practices in the developing world. Fisher does suggest intriguing interpretive possibilities, even if they are not fully treated, and he does position Dooley within the cultural ferment of his era. Although not about this "Tom Dooley," the Kingston Trio's hit song from the late 1950s became associated with Dr. America and helped to secure Dooley's fame as a folk hero and celebrated saint; his celebrity has faded somewhat, but his lives serve as a reminder of how countercultural impulses could shape and serve a conservative agenda.

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ROBERT J. MCMAHON. *The Limits of Empire: The United States and Southeast Asia since World War II*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 276. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.50.

Vietnam continues to simmer deep inside the American psyche, and like a bad case of post-traumatic stress syndrome, flashbacks erupt frequently into the public consciousness. In 1999, for example, when President Bill Clinton launched a massive military action in far-off Serbia, Vietnam still loomed so large in our collective horizon that he worried not about how many casualties United States forces might sustain but about whether there would be any at all, as if wars can be fought without grief. Every few months, it seems, handfuls of bones, sealed in flag-draped, military-issue mini-caskets, are flown out of Vietnam to MIA families for honor guard burials. The Vietnam Memorial in Washington, D.C., continues to be the country's most visited monument. In April 2000, Senator John McCain returned to Hanoi, the scene of his prisoner-of-war years, and earned newspaper headlines by defiantly announcing that "the wrong side won the war." Vietnam remains a recurring nightmare.

The last American combat soldiers exited South Vietnam nearly thirty years ago, and their children, grandchildren, nieces, and nephews now wonder about all the fuss, especially when newspapers print, television shows broadcast, and films continue to portray the agony. Robert J. McMahon's book is the place for them to begin. Carefully researched, elegantly written, and judiciously argued, McMahon sets a new standard in the literature of the Vietnam War. He has plowed his way through a literal mountain of secondary sources, measured them against judiciously selected state department, defense, and national security agency documents, and crafted a tour de force. A nationally recognized specialist in modern Indonesian history, McMahon places Vietnam within a broad regional context, evaluating the war against a backdrop of what was simultaneously happening in Malaysia, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Burma, and the Philippines, where European empires had crumbled under the pressures of political nationalism.

There is nothing earthshaking in his conclusions, nothing to prompt any revision of the existing consensus: it is just that he argues the case so well. In the shrill, hyperbolic Cold War climate of the late 1940s and 1950s, McMahon insists, American policy makers took the containment policy, which had been crafted in the context of postwar European power politics, and superimposed it on Southeast Asia, where internally generated nationalism, not externally imposed communism, shaped political reality. By ignoring the legacy of European imperialism, suppressing the energy of anticolonial nationalism, and keying in on anticommunism, the United States often allied itself with the wrong side in local conflicts and endowed Southeast Asia with far more national security importance than the region deserved. Such "Interrelated national security and domestic fears," McMahon writes, "conditioned the American response to all major Southeast Asian developments throughout this period" (p. 220). The United States took to empire-building, trying to carve "its own Southeast Asian empire out of the

carcass of Europe's rapidly decaying one" (p. 218), lining up allies in a conflict of its own creation.

McMahon's keen eye ferrets out terrible ironies in the Vietnam experience. The very nationalism that the United States so feared in Southeast Asia eventually brought political cohesion to the region. One can only wonder what might have been had American policy makers sided originally with anticolonial forces. Even more ironically, the American expenditure of hundreds of billions of dollars in Vietnam supplied the capital that helped fuel the so-called "Asian economic miracle" of the 1980s and 1990s. And as Southeast Asia's commercial significance for the United States has increased dramatically since 1975, its strategic importance steadily declined. Before the war and since, Vietnam has been, at best, a peripheral concern to Americans, hardly worth the oceans of blood shed there. How the world's great power could have been seduced into such great folly is certainly the greatest irony of all. McMahon captures the story so well. Hopefully, this generation of college students will have its own foreign policy assumptions shaped by his book.

JAMES S. OLSON

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GLENN FELDMAN. *Politics, Society and the Klan in Alabama, 1915–1949*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 457. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Glenn Feldman has written an extraordinarily powerful book. It is solid in scholarship, balanced in judgments, bold in argument, and deeply moving, even disturbing, to anyone willing to confront a ferocious era of southern violence with a climate of opinion that bordered on a quasi-fascist obsession with race and a willingness to tolerate unspeakable crimes against humanity. Feldman begins by arguing that the Ku Klux Klan was not composed of "aberrant extremists in their nativism and racism" but reflected a pervasive mentality among whites, many of whom had heartfelt political and economic grievances against Birmingham's "Big Mule" industrialists and their conservative planter allies who consistently treated the common folk like dirt. This "Populist-Civic" interpretation of the Klan finds the secret order deeply embedded in the social fabric of Alabama, even to the point of arguing that the Klan's social agenda—anti-Prohibition, patriotism, Protestantism, demand for better schools, social services, and, in some instances, worker's rights—was a twisted manifestation of the thwarted Progressivism of the pre-1914 South.

At first, says Feldman, Alabama's Big Mules and the planter elite looked with favor on the resurgent "second Klan" that originated in 1915. The elites were pleased when the Klan attempted to enforce "proper" attitudes and social behavior. But when the hooded order captured much of the machinery of the Democratic Party and recruited victorious politicians like Governor Bibb Graves and Senator Hugo Black (not

yet the outspoken liberal Supreme Court justice he would one day become) the Big Mules began to worry that things were getting out of control. They were right to worry and to try to jumpstart anti-Klan sentiment. On page after page, Feldman documents the frequency and savagery of Klan violence. Anyone longing to believe that Klan members were, on the whole, benign nativists and dispossessed dissidents merely fighting to protect a vanishing way of life should avoid Feldman's chapter on 1927, "The Year of the Whip." The Alabama Klans—there were various breakaway groups—dished out bestial beatings on a sickening scale. The vast majority of the victims were black males, but Klan thugs flogged whites also and did not spare women and children. In Mobile, Kluxers attacked a Catholic convent, running off the sisters and terrifying the school children. A typical "whipping" included the use of baseball bats, crowbars, or any blunt object that could inflict severe injury, often death. On one occasion, a severely retarded white orphan boy was nearly beaten to death for allegedly drinking in public. Often, as Feldman notes, the whippings included a pornographic dimension. Women were usually stripped naked before being dragged to some isolated spot and flogged. One Baptist minister, L. A. Nalls, married a white couple both of whom had been divorced. He then led them outside and administered a savage beating to the bride. As she lay humiliated and bleeding in front of her children, Nalls took up a collection. "He offered her \$3.50, a jar of ointment, and some pastoral words of wisdom: 'Sister, you were not punished in anger this evening, you were punished in a spirit of kindness and correction to set your feet aright and to show your children how a good mother should go'" (p. 147). Usually such violence went unprosecuted, because most of the state's sheriffs and law enforcement officers were either Klan members or sympathizers, but Nalls was indicted and fled to Texas.

Such accounts, repeated time and again, make for sobering, even nauseating reading. But the truth must be faced. Just as no generation must be allowed to forget the Holocaust, no generation must be sheltered from Feldman's litany of violence. Consider his horrifying account of a lynching familiar to most historians. In the 1930s, Claude Neal, an African American accused of raping and killing a white girl, was tortured to death. "The frenzied mob amputated Neal's fingers and toes, then cut off his genitals and made him eat them" (p. 269).

The horrifying murder of Claude Neal is central to Feldman's major thesis: that race was the single most important issue in understanding the Klan. Yes, Catholics, Jews, prostitutes, drunks, even retarded white children were the recipients of Klan violence, and, yes, class antagonisms were at work on both sides, but racial hatred was the deeply embedded cause not only of the violence but of the silence of the South's "best people," including Black, whose career in the Klan was longer and uglier than his apologists believe. When, for example, Grover Hall, editor of the *Montgomery*

Advertiser, began his outspoken campaign against lynchings and the Klan, he worried far more about Alabama's "good name" than about the victims of hate crimes. At the height of his crusade to end the kangaroo trials of the nine Scottsboro Boys, Hall proclaimed the defendants guilty and referred to them as "gorillas."

Feldman concludes that while the Klan had a dramatic decline in membership after 1929, over thirty new Klaverns sprang up in the early 1930s. He is convinced that a recognizable line extends from the Klan of the 1870s through the second Klan, and that the racist spirit that brought it into existence and allowed and encouraged it to flourish was still alive in the heart and soul of white Alabama when a third Klan emerged in the 1950s.

BRUCE CLAYTON
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R. DOUGLAS HURT, editor. *The Rural South since World War II*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 202. \$35.00.

These essays comprise a welcome contribution to our understanding of the transformation of the post-World War II South, addressing the tension between rural southerners' accommodation or resistance to the homogenizing elements of the larger national culture. The portrait that emerges is one of individuals exercising conscious control over their responses to the forces changing their lives rather than one of a static, fatalistic culture.

The essays are arranged to clarify the integration of economic, technological, demographic, class, racial, gender, cultural, political, and religious factors. The opening chapter by Donald L. Winters analyzes structural developments in postwar agricultural production and land tenure. He summarizes two defining trends (expanded manufacturing and construction employment; declining agricultural jobs due to mechanization and corporate consolidation) that reshaped the relationship of farmers and tenants to the land and one another. Winters concisely outlines these trends as they have affected cotton, tobacco, soybean, rice, timber, livestock, and poultry production.

Orville Vernon Burton's essay on race relations points to a "great tide of desegregation" in the rural South since the legislative and legal civil rights victories in the mid-1960s. The trend toward integration, however, has been periodically interrupted by resurgent racism, notably the coded states rights mantra of the Reagan years, the backlash against affirmative action and legislative redistricting, and the proliferation of militia and white supremacist groups. In spite of such aberrations, Burton perceives a class cohesion among rural blacks, whites, and foreign migrant workers, reinforced by school consolidation, school sports, osmotic exchanges of food and music, and "shared regional pride" (p. 55).

Sally McMillen addresses the adaptation of rural

southern women to postwar changes, emphasizing the "progressive" management of the home promoted by Agricultural Extension Services, the increased participation of women in manufacturing, and the feminization of poverty as they were shuttled into low-wage work. McMillen's essay is flawed by her tendency to generalize from thin anecdotal evidence. For example, she relies on singer Loretta Lynn's autobiography and isolated oral history comments to draw broad conclusions about childbirth, health care, and extended kinship, assertions that would have been well-served by more expansive supporting documentation. McMillen regrettably essentializes the experience of Appalachian women, ignoring the wealth of recent work on that heterogeneous mountain region's class, economic, and ethnic diversity. Her references to the penetration of the coal and timber industries in the mountains are simply ahistorical, placing these late nineteenth and early twentieth century upheavals in the 1930s and 1940s.

Bill Malone's essay on country music is nuanced, concise, and extensively documented. He illuminates the commodification of country's various forms and the organic interdependence of music and southern working class culture, judiciously examining both the sublime and banal qualities of the genre. Malone's summary of the revolution in postwar consumer purchasing, embodied in the omnipresence of jukeboxes (pp. 98–99), represents cultural history writing at its best. The remainder of the essay matches this high standard.

Ted Ownby studies the dramatic postwar growth of evangelical religion. Ownby notes the internal tensions endured by congregants facing rapidly expanding membership and material trappings. Many ask whether they can preserve "old fashioned virtues in the midst of increasing church sizes and complexity" (p. 135), seeking solace in traditional modes of religious simplicity such as camp meetings, children's church camps, and histories exalting the old ways of the church's founders. Ownby's analysis of the political impulses of evangelical churches, black and white, reflects the members' avowed right to fight organized forces of sin. Black evangelicals became crucial forces in the civil rights movement, while white evangelicals, with rare exceptions, have directed their political zeal toward social issues, attacking abortion, gambling, alcohol and drug abuse, and sexual promiscuity.

Ownby's essay leads naturally to Wayne Parent and Peter Petrakis's on the politics of the rural South. Ownby agrees with their conclusions that the emergence of the two-party South has facilitated the mobilization of conservative southern whites, who deserted the Democratic Party for anti-civil rights Republicans beginning with the 1964 Goldwater campaign. The Republicans' appropriation of the social issues dear to white conservatives begat a modern and tenuous variant of Populism. Republican leaders abandoned the radical critique of the 1890s farmers' revolt, which challenged the foundation of the corporate industrial

and financial system. To the present, they have enjoyed success by capitalizing on their linkage to traditional moral values, even as their redefined Populism ironically exalts the exploitative practices of big business. Parent and Petrakis question whether Republican success will long survive if the party continues to neglect southerners' economic interests in favor of continued exclusive concentration on social issues. Jeanne S. Hurlbert and William B. Bankston study southerners' attitudes toward such issues over a twenty-year span in the final essay, using statistical analysis to uncover the fluidity and dynamism of southern social and political attitudes. They conclude that the structural convergence of the South with other regions, embodied in interdependent economic relationships and communication networks, has not resulted in a decline in southern cultural identity.

Most readers of this or any similar work will point out omissions. Essays on informal economies, migrant workers, and rural workers in poultry plants, health care, and data processing would be welcome additions. But what is here, for the most part, is well and thoughtfully presented, offering a valuable introduction to the post-World War II transformation of an American region to scholars and the public. Graduate students looking for research topics will be greatly assisted by these essays and by a thorough concluding bibliographic narrative.

JOHN HENNEN

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TIMOTHY B. TYSON. *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. 402. \$29.95.

Timothy B. Tyson's study is a sympathetic, absorbing portrait of one of the most influential and controversial African-American leaders of the twentieth century. In this well-researched, lucid biography, Robert F. Williams emerges as a product of southern traditions as diverse as the resilient black church and the much-revered right to bear arms. His leadership of the Monroe, North Carolina chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) reveals less a man dogmatically committed to any particular ideology or program than a pragmatic activist willing to work with socialists, black nationalists, white liberals, pacifists, and even the FBI to realize a racially integrated America consistent with the democratic promise of its constitution.

During his formative years, Williams witnessed and experienced much of the racial discrimination and violence that circumscribed the lives of black southerners. Most cumbersome were the everyday strictures of racial segregation that structured whole communities around the premise that white supremacy in all aspects of life demanded a commensurate amount of black deference and powerlessness. As Tyson cogently illustrates, racism and segregation were rife with com-

plexities and contradictions, both tragic and absurd. "A white man who would never shake hands with a black man," the author observes, "would refuse to permit anyone *but* a black man to shave his face, cut his hair, or give him a shampoo. A white man might share his bed with a black woman but never his table" (p. 20). White supremacy permeated southern life in a myriad of ways, but, at bottom, it was largely about power and control. According to Tyson, a sexual politics of race rationalized even the most hideous forms of brutality, including lynching, in order to preserve a pristine, mythical whiteness and its time-honored prerogatives.

In this atmosphere, Williams eventually found it difficult to stay in Monroe and embarked upon a number of peregrinations, which had the effect of heightening his disaffection. During a stint in the army, he experienced crude forms of official discrimination. He witnessed, and was nearly engulfed by, the Detroit race riot of 1943, which involved anti-black violence on a scale he had previously not known. Finding his way back to Monroe, Williams became involved in civil rights activities during the 1950s.

Williams's presidency of the Monroe NAACP is an interesting case study in the dynamics of class, region, and politics within local and national civil rights groups. As Tyson notes, the Monroe activists were more attuned to the local conditions that had shaped their particular grievances than the generic dictates of the national office in New York. To them, nonviolent direct action, such as sit-ins, marches, and boycotts, was useful if it worked, but in the face of cauldrons of Klansmen who periodically terrorized black Monroe, a shotgun was a surer ally, for it bellowed the language of violence, and masculine self-assertion, that even the most vicious of racists respected. Williams's public advocacy of aggressive black self-defense alienated votaries of nonviolence such as Martin Luther King, Jr. In 1959, Roy Wilkins, the national head of the NAACP, removed Williams from his post when he refused to repudiate his stance. Ever defiant and with the backing of the local branch, Williams continued to refer to himself as the president of the Monroe organization, and many sympathizers continued to regard him as such.

Williams's active role in Monroe civil rights demonstrations came to an abrupt end in August 1961. Racial tensions had been soaring due to a series of attempts by Williams and others to desegregate various public institutions in the city. A bloodbath in Monroe was only averted by the escape of Williams and his family to New York, then Canada, and finally Cuba. If anyone doubted the explosive nature of race relations in Monroe, the barricades, machine guns, and dynamite that Williams' supporters were prepared to employ against a Ku Klux Klan assault spoke volumes. Exiled in Cuba, Williams and his wife, Mabel, set up Radio Free Dixie, which served as an anti-racism mouthpiece. He later sojourned in Vietnam, China, and Africa, but, according to Tyson, he still had faith that

the United States would eventually live up to its lofty rhetoric regarding democracy and human rights. When he returned to America in 1969, he seems to have tired of running and even making demands. He "gently" repudiated Black Power advocates who had used his name and image as a recruitment device and even advised the State Department on China policy. By the 1970s, he was content with a life in obscurity in Michigan, where he died in October 1996.

Radio Free Dixie is a remarkable, often harrowing, account of the civil rights movement and some of the people that made it possible. It correctly situates Williams and his contemporaries in the Cold War climate, which both facilitated and hindered their activism. Tyson's biography achieves its goal of depicting Williams as a bridge between the eras of nonviolent direct action and Black Power. There are only a few minor omissions. For example, this reader would have liked to have known more about Williams's experiences in Africa during the 1960s and his relationship with his two sons, who are hardly mentioned. However, these are pardonable oversights for a book that powerfully conveys the life and voice of one of the key personalities of the modern civil rights struggle.

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KOMOZI WOODARD. *A Nation within a Nation: Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones) and Black Power Politics*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xix, 329. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.95.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, Newark-born, Howard University-educated poet/dramatist Amiri Baraka served as teacher, role model, and spiritual guide for a generation of activists who sought to join nationalist cultural concepts and political ideas in support of black liberation. Reflecting the belief that Black America was "a cultural nation striving to seize the power to become a political nation," Baraka's politically involved art stirred social and aesthetic values into a rich gumbo of consciousness raising and cadre creation. Among the most visible results of these labors was the brief flowering of a Modern Black Convention Movement. Delegates to agenda-building conclaves such as the National Black Power Conferences of 1966-1968 and the 1972 National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Indiana, labored mightily to unite the grassroots and radical intelligentsia in common cause; to skewer internal colonialism and Third World imperialism; to develop functioning parallel institutions; and to accelerate the pace of political mobilization at both the municipal and national levels.

Still remarkably prolific in the middle years of his sixth decade, Baraka has been the subject of numerous academic studies. Several research guides are available to lead researchers through the maze of commentary on his essays, poems, and plays. This is the first

sustained, book-length treatment of Baraka's leadership role in mobilizing a hoped-for black national political community. As such, the study complements earlier literary biographies such as Kimberly Benston's *Baraka: The Renegade and the Mask* (1976) and *Amiri Baraka/LeRoi Jones: The Quest for a "Populist Modernism"* by Werner Sollors (1978). Both history and literature-based scholars will be interested in comparing Woodard's observations on specific people and events with those contained in Baraka's autobiography (1984, 1997).

Based on the author's dissertation and informed by a series of interviews conducted with Amiri and Amina Baraka, Maulana Karenga, and other key figures during the mid-1980s, the book is kept current by frequent references to recent scholarship on black cultural nationalism and by Woodard's commitment to implementing a plan of action that will help today's inner-city youth develop "meaningful alternative rituals of adulthood" (p. 266). A longtime admirer of Baraka's model for political organization, Woodard consciously recasts and updates the heady, revolutionary agenda of the 1960s, revealing the spirit, strength, and persistence of this still unrealized vision of black empowerment.

The book contains much useful information on the infrastructure and accomplishments of the conventions; on the counterhegemonic organizational entities they spawned (the Congress of African People, the African Liberation Support Committee, the Black Women's United Front, and the National Black Assembly); and on the manner in which "black faces animated by white desires" caused this "black united front" to disintegrate by 1976 (p. 252). Woodard also draws a convincing portrait of the former Everett Leroy Jones as one of the era's most influential models for ideological and political transformation. Moreover, he shares essential wisdom in noting that African-American nationalism is not intrinsically irrational and that the public rhetoric of its adherents often diverged from "the practical advice they provided for organizing actual political mobilization" (p. 109). Comparisons made between Baraka's politics of mass mobilization and the beliefs of "rival sects . . . dedicated to different levels of secrecy and mysticism" (p. 116) will not please readers of all ideological stripes but are presented without rancor.

The author's prose is utilitarian, lacking the storyteller's flair evidenced in related works such as Timothy B. Tyson's *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power* (1999). Woodard divides chapters into numerous subsections: an organizational scheme which results in a certain amount of choppi-ness and repetition. He attempts to contextualize the Modern Black Convention Movement via a hurried history of associated Black Power-era enthusiasms and gives the same rapid-fire treatment to the movement's decline. Occasionally, this historical narrowcasting makes New Jersey appear to be the center of a most convivial black nationalist universe with Baraka as its

all-wise overlord. On balance, however, the book is a well-researched, decidedly worthwhile study that enhances our understanding of Black Power stratagems and of those newly energized individuals who responded to Baraka's consciousness-raising greeting "What time is it?" with the spirited response "It's Nation time! The land is gonna change hands!"

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JEFFERSON COWIE. *Capital Moves: RCA's Seventy-Year Quest for Cheap Labor*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 273. \$29.95.

This original and timely book examines RCA's relocations of its radio and television manufacturing facilities from Camden, New Jersey to Bloomington, Indiana to Memphis, Tennessee and, ultimately, to Ciudad Juarez, Mexico. Deftly combining business, labor, and economic history, Jefferson Cowie uncovers the logic that led RCA to move to areas that it perceived as having a large pool of cheap and pliable workers. By placing what is typically thought of as the late twentieth-century phenomenon of plant closures, relocations, and globalization in historical perspective, Cowie examines the longer-term forces that drove the process of capital movement and points to surprising parallels in the experience of workers and communities in each of the four distinct locales.

This well-organized and crisply written book moves chronologically from Camden in the 1930s to Ciudad Juarez in the 1990s. The Camden story begins with a successful unionization effort led by the United Electrical Workers. Cowie demonstrates that even at this moment of victory, RCA was beginning to relocate the manufacture of goods that faced sharp competition to the Midwest. The book then examines the reasons for the appeal of Bloomington as a plant site. In a theme emphasized throughout the book, Cowie writes, "Bloomington had many of the characteristics which made the U.S.-Mexican border attractive decades later" (p. 9). Cowie argues that Bloomington not only foreshadowed Juarez, but it also evoked Camden. Over time, the workers became confident and militant, dissolving RCA's dreams of a permanently quiescent and cheap workforce. In his examination of RCA's five-year experiment in Memphis, Cowie shows that the largely African-American workforce quickly made demands that the company found unacceptable at a time of growing international competition. In this context, the tale of the company's move to Juarez is one of surprising continuity rather than rupture. The move across the border did mark a change in RCA's labor relations policies, and Cowie carefully highlights these differences, but he is intrigued by the parallels between Juarez and the American cities; characteristics such as increasing industrial density, a predominantly female labor force, unionization efforts, and strikes. In his conclusion, Cowie offers a thoughtful

meditation on the “spaces in between,” or the obstacles to solidarity among the workers of the different regions (and countries) and the tensions between the communities, specific places to which RCA became important, and the needs of global capital, which owes allegiance to no particular place.

Cowie makes a number of persuasive arguments. First, he contends that RCA's quest for cheap and passive labor had a “subversive logic” that led each new community, in spite of striking differences in regional economies and racial and ethnic composition, to develop attributes of the one left behind. Second, he shows that, at least initially, women made up the vast majority of workers at each factory. As RCA looked for workers, it deployed gendered language about the need for the apparently biologically determined “nimble fingers” of female employees. The fact that female workers were often the first to lose their jobs when the company moved, Cowie astutely notes, highlights the “need to adjust the popular image of the unemployed male steel or auto worker as the quintessential victim of deindustrialization” (p. 5). Third, Cowie shows that even at the height of the New Deal order, the “labor management accord” was anything but stable, at least in the highly competitive electronics industry. Finally, Cowie offers a compelling alternative to the “community study” model that has dominated the “new labor history.”

The book's clarity and concision make it ideal for use in the graduate and undergraduate classroom. But this is one of those rare books that would have benefited from being longer. Cowie has a cultural historian's eye for the telling detail or quotation that illuminates a theme and is sensitive to the human drama of plant movements in each community. For example, his description of how female factory employees “began to dominate public spaces” such as breweries and discotheques in Ciudad Juarez adds texture to the usual abstract story of globalization that we read in the media (p. 157). These fascinating scenes are too fleeting. The result is that everyday life in the factory, the home, and the community is not explored as carefully as other themes. This caveat aside, there is much to praise in this creative and pioneering study. In shedding light on the understudied phenomenon of plant relocation, Cowie offers a compelling reinterpretation of postwar American history.

LAWRENCE B. GLICKMAN
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SARAH S. ELKIND. *Bay Cities and Water Politics: The Battle for Resources in Boston and Oakland*. (Development of Western Resources.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1998. Pp. viii, 246. \$35.00.

At first impression, this book would seem to involve more contrast than comparison. Although Boston and Oakland share a commonality as bay cities, their growth and development differ in chronology, geography, and industry. However, Sarah S. Elkind deftly

probes beneath the distinctions to reveal some fascinating common characteristics. Both cities experienced problems in water supply and sewage disposal: each concluded that solving these problems required moving beyond municipal borders to encompass a regional system of supply and waste management. In both cases, efforts to accomplish these goals did not flow smoothly.

Boston's initial concern was to obtain a pure water supply and to deal with the malodorous runoff from the Charles River. Initial efforts to deal with these problems prompted a “moral-environmental” approach: clean up the sewage and the city's health and prosperity would benefit. As medical knowledge in the nineteenth century improved, however, the focus shifted from a moral imperative to one of efficient engineering. Boston's dominance of the bay region caused suburbs and outlying cities to suspect or oppose Boston's plans for construction of reservoirs, drains, and sewer systems. By the end of the nineteenth century, Boston's vision had moved well beyond its city limits as public demand for water exceeded even the most ambitious plans. In fact, the more industry expanded and population grew, and the more waterworks systems were put in place, the more water consumption increased. Intercity rivalry was finally resolved by creation of the Metropolitan Water Board and the Metropolitan Sewerage Commission.

Oakland's water resource development, following a generation after Boston's first experiences, might have used Boston as a role model, but local circumstances dictated otherwise. Private water companies served Oakland, and city residents preferred private service to a municipal operation that would levy taxes. Unfortunately, the private companies had their own problems, charging high rates for poor service. Neighboring cities competed with Oakland for scarce water resources. As with Boston, the ultimate solution was to create a regional agency, in this case the East Bay Municipal Utility District, to provide for the area's water and sewage needs.

How ultimate were these solutions? Elkind persuasively argues that over time what the regional agencies created was “a longer pipe” that served growing urban areas at the expense of the rural hinterland. Moreover, local governments, in acceding to region-based agencies, gave up voter control over the policies those agencies might formulate. In the long run, municipal residents became frustrated over the narrow focus the engineers gave to regional waterworks. Environmental issues found regional agencies unresponsive. It would take revitalized leadership, lawsuits, and an awareness of new priorities to see regional water agencies into a new century.

Although Elkind's focus is on Boston and Oakland, the case studies provide new insight into urban water needs. Los Angeles and the Owens Valley and San Francisco and the Hetch Hetchy Valley no longer seem so unique or western. Elkind notes that where a dynamic urban area seeks to expand through the

"longer pipe," what also results is a "bigger jungle," problems "on a vastly grander scale" (p. 171), with super-regional agencies controlling areas measured in thousands of square miles. The solution to the earlier problem has thus become an even bigger problem.

Elkind has researched her topic thoroughly and presents her findings in a readable if sometimes difficult manner, declining for the most part to deal with sewage issues explicitly. Readers may be momentarily confused to see Upton Sinclair writing *The Jungle* in 1915 (p. 161), but sometimes obvious typos can escape everyone. Voters defeated the Peripheral Canal in 1982, not "in the 1970s," and the Mono Lake court decision came in 1994, not "in the 1980s" (p. 166). These minutiae aside, Elkind has written an important book that brings new perspectives and examples to an important environmental issue.

ABRAHAM HOFFMAN
Los Angeles Valley College

ROBERT P. CREASE. *Making Physics: A Biography of Brookhaven National Laboratory, 1946–1972*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 434. \$38.00.

During and immediately after World War II, the social organization and political economy of U.S. science were transformed. From a relatively small contributor to the funding of science, the federal government became a central patron, and large-instrument, big-team, expensive research came to overshadow individual and small-group, low-tech, and relatively low-budget investigation. One part of the new system was a set of national laboratories. Financed almost entirely by the federal government, these labs were established with the aim of building and operating "forefront research facilities—mainly reactors and accelerators—that were too big for single universities to afford" (p. 1). Established in 1947, Brookhaven National Laboratory (BNL) was one of the first three U.S. national labs.

Robert P. Crease provides a history of Brookhaven. Crease does not use BNL as a vehicle for analyzing the transformation of physics and the political economy of science after World War II. Instead, in his meticulously researched volume, Crease sketches the lives of all the major players at the lab, details the many subatomic discoveries made at BNL, and describes the instruments, huge and small, developed there.

The people who spent their careers at BNL or passed through include some of the most prominent scientists and science administrators in the twentieth-century U.S. I. I. Rabi, a central player in wartime physics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Radlab and the winner of the Nobel Prize in 1944, was, according to Crease, the most important single figure in the establishment of Brookhaven, and Leland Haworth, later the head of the National Science Foundation, was Brookhaven's second director.

On the discovery front, a BNL research group was the first to publish results of a high-energy physics

experiment using a bubble chamber. Gauge symmetry, described by Crease as one of the "most important theoretical breakthroughs in high-energy physics of the second half of the twentieth century" (p. 242), came to be understood at Brookhaven. And more recently, work on BNL's Alternating Gradient Synchrotron contributed in important ways to physicists' understanding of quarks.

As to instruments, Crease describes, for example, the construction of the lab's Graphite Research Reactor (BGRR) in 1950, attributing the problems in getting this complicated technology to a usable state to an "absence of satisfactory oversight and a clear-cut division of responsibility" (p. 89). Although often bug-ridden at the outset, once running BNL-developed technologies served as landmarks in postwar U.S. science. The lab's Cosmotron, for example, "was the first accelerator able to make cosmic ray energy particles reliably and routinely" (p. 200).

Beyond individuals, discoveries, and instruments, Crease devotes attention to what might be called relational issues. Thus, for example, Crease touches on the effort spent by Phillip Morse, BNL's first director, to work out security arrangements at the lab simultaneously acceptable to the Atomic Energy Commission and BNL scientists. He describes the regular competition between Brookhaven and the other national labs to build the next best reactor or accelerator, and he portrays the early naïve public relation efforts made by the lab to ease fears of radiation in the Long Island community surrounding Brookhaven.

Crease's descriptions are patient and detailed, and I learned a great deal about many of the central discoveries in physics during the second half of the twentieth century. But some of the information he provides seems extraneous. What, for example, do we learn about the character of postwar physics by being told that the name of a scientist was misspelled on a steel plate mounted over an accelerator, that another scientist was briefly Yoko Ono's father-in-law, or that another had a boisterous laugh? Moreover, for my taste, Crease too often treats readers to a eureka view of science ("it suddenly became clear to him"), largely ignoring how disciplinary training and organizational factors affect scientists' judgments. Nevertheless, Crease's appreciation and admiration for his subject is obvious, and anyone interested in rich portraits of scientists, instruments, and discoveries will find this book a rewarding read.

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THOMAS RAYMOND WELLOCK. *Critical Masses: Opposition to Nuclear Power in California, 1958–1978*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 333. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Thomas Raymond Wellock addresses a question that looms large in American environmental, technological,

and political history: what caused the demise of nuclear power in the 1960s and 1970s? The answer, he contends, was not just inept regulation, corporate mismanagement, and rising construction costs, as some analysts have argued. In this detailed study of nuclear politics in California, Wellock demonstrates that grass-roots opposition was also instrumental in halting the expansion of nuclear power. Drawing on popular dissatisfaction with federal government bureaucracy and the ideology of unlimited economic growth, groups of local and state activists blocked prominent reactor projects and turned regulatory agencies and state legislation against the nuclear industry. Wellock bases his interpretation on extensive research in primary and secondary sources, and he makes impressive use of oral history and quantitative analysis. He has produced a complex, fascinating, compelling story, one that deserves widespread attention.

Two principal themes dominate this work and link the history of nuclear politics in California to broad social trends in American history. First, Wellock situates the Golden State's nuclear opposition in the context of a national reaction against federal government bureaucracy, corporate power, and technical elites. Manifesting a broad-based desire in America for popular democracy, the antinuclear forces countered the organizational centralization that, through much of the twentieth century, had lodged so much authority in closed regulatory agencies (such as the Atomic Energy Commission), corporate boardrooms, and the hands of scientists, engineers, and administrators. Even within the Sierra Club, which figures prominently in Wellock's account, democratic insurgents struggled against a leadership that sought compromise, sometimes through secret negotiations, with the industry. Gradually, the nuclear opponents won important victories: not only did they stop individual plants, but their efforts led to the creation of the democratic, antinuclear California Energy Commission in 1974 and the passage of antinuclear state legislation two years later. In the final chapter, Wellock provides perhaps the most telling example of the grass-roots movement against nuclear power in California. In 1978, the leftist quest for popular democracy that gave life to the antinuclear movement joined with a right-wing, anti-urban, antigovernment, and pro-agriculture populism to defeat a major project in Kern County in the Central Valley. The political left and right in 1970s America certainly had differing visions of democracy, but, as the author shows, both sprang from the same anti-authoritarian roots.

Wellock's second major theme is the spread among Californians of values inimical to nuclear energy. "Non-materialist values" (he borrows the phrase from Samuel Hays) emphasized a clean, beautiful, healthy environment over the older ideology that prized unlimited economic growth. Wellock validates the thesis of Hays and other scholars that this point of view was most prevalent among highly educated, middle-class professionals. More important, he goes to great

lengths to explain the ways that these values shaped social action on the part of various antinuclear activists, ranging from individuals, to environmental groups such as the Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth, to Creative Initiative, a quasi-religious New Age organization of middle-class professionals. And, repeatedly, Wellock documents examples of scientists and engineers who, aroused by their doubts about nuclear energy, defected to the antinuclear side.

Wellock's argument will certainly draw criticism. Scholars who favor a more top-down approach to historical analysis, or who place more emphasis on economics, might think that the author gives too much weight to popular democracy as the decisive factor in the defeat of nuclear power. But to dismiss Wellock's case study would be a mistake. This excellent book provides an outstanding example of the ways that ordinary people in recent American history revived popular democracy and countered the government agencies and corporations that had come to take for granted their power to decide what was best for society. That this work can be categorized in multiple ways—as environmental history, as the history of technology, as social and political analysis, as western American history, even as rural history—testifies to its strength and utility. But scholars should also investigate this book because Wellock writes vividly and well, sometimes with humor and always with great sensitivity toward the common people at the center of his story.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

NANCY MITCHELL. *The Danger of Dreams: German and American Imperialism in Latin America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 312. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

For readers of Nancy Mitchell's articles in *Prologue*, *Diplomatic History*, and *International History Review*, this ambitious and persuasive study of Wilhelmine policy toward Latin America and its perceived threat to the interests of the United States in the region will hold few surprises. Presented in full detail in this book, the thesis convincingly holds that U.S. leaders early in the twentieth century consistently overrated the alleged German threat in the Western Hemisphere. Based on three case studies—the Venezuela affair of 1902–1903, the activities of the German colony in Brazil early in the twentieth century, and the complexities of international maneuver following Victoriano Huerta's seizure of power in Mexico in 1913—Mitchell argues that U.S. apprehensions constituted a mirage with no basis. Despite the rhetorical excesses of German nationalism, the actual behavior of the German government under Wilhelm II was cautious and accommodating in dealings with the United States. To substantiate the claim, Mitchell provides extensive

evidence from the archives of Germany, the United States, and Great Britain.

Mitchell begins by reviewing how scholars have built a presumption of Teutonic menace into their works. For example, Samuel Flagg Bemis's classic, *The Latin American Policy of the United States* (1943), characterized as "the quintessential statement of the heroic explanation of American imperialism," stresses the importance of humanitarian motives and security needs (p. 4). Bemis's idea of "protective imperialism" attributes a benevolence to U.S. practices, setting them apart from those of self-serving Europeans, and incorporates an assumption of German designs on the Western Hemisphere. Other historians also misconstrue the issue. Frederick Marks's speculation that President Theodore Roosevelt forced the Germans to back off by serving an ultimatum during the Venezuela crisis lacks confirmation. The Germans accepted arbitration for other reasons. Similarly, Holger Herwig and David Trask attach too much significance to a German plan for war against the United States. The planning exercise, fairly trivial in effect, had scant influence on top-ranking German leaders, including the kaiser. In addition, Friedrich Katz overstates the degree of German machinations in Mexico before the onset of World War I. The Germans disliked President Woodrow Wilson's policy of nonrecognition toward Huerta's government because it undercut their interest in stability, but they had no intention of strongly opposing it. Consequently Mitchell judges as baseless Colonel Edward M. House's warning in November 1914 that German officials wanted the Monroe Doctrine to extend only to the equator so that they could exploit Brazil. The German government lacked both the will and the means. In any case, the members of the German community in Brazil, numbering perhaps not quite half a million, identified more with their adopted country than with their homeland.

In such matters, Mitchell fair mindedly acknowledges the ambiguities of archival evidence. The documents oftentimes are subject to multiple interpretations and defy exact analysis. As she notes, "Policy is . . . a hodgepodge of cables, letters, marginalia, reminiscences. One can pull quotes from the record to support almost any point of view. Policy is rarely simple or truly consistent" (p. 160). Nonetheless, her thesis holds up, as she shows, because of an absence of evidence of expansive German ambitions in the Western Hemisphere. The kaiser, however mercurial and unpredictable, posed no danger to the Panama Canal.

How then should historians account for the persistence of such suspicions among opinion makers in the United States? In a powerful conclusion, Mitchell argues that impressions of prospective German aggression, no matter how inflated or preposterous, well served U.S. leaders by masking the true incentives for their own imperialist practices. If military interventions, the establishment of protectorates in Caribbean regions, and the violation of the right of small countries to self-determination had a defensive purpose,

then such actions became more palatable to the inhabitants of the United States. Indeed, this self-deception became a vital part of the myth of United States exceptionalism. As she insists, "There have been several waves of explanations of U.S. expansionism at the turn of the century that have stressed different motives: security, humanitarianism, domestic politics, economic gain" (p. 227). These comprised the components of hegemony and empire. There was nothing very exceptional about them.

This fine book no doubt will elicit controversy and debate. It bravely states a dissenting view and effectively marshals strong arguments and an array of evidence in its support. Scholars no longer can look upon the issue in quite the same way as before. The book's title underscores the power of misperception in foreign relations and the difficulty of discerning national intentions accurately.

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ARTHUR CHARLES DAYFOOT. *The Shaping of the West Indian Church, 1492-1962*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 1999. Pp. xvii, 360. \$49.95.

The reader of this book needs first to think clearly about what it covers. As Arthur Charles Dayfoot puts it, "wherever we can identify Christ-centred worship, proclamation, teaching, fellowship, pastoral help and social concern, the Church is recognized" (p. 4). This is a good definition of the ecumenical approach that follows. But the title of the volume is misleading: this church will be studied not in the "West Indies" but in the English-speaking Caribbean. So the churches of Cuba, "Santo Domingo," and Puerto Rico, not to mention Curaçao, will not be studied here; this book is in fact about the shaping of the church only in the English-speaking Caribbean.

Even so, the subject is vast, and the twelve chapters have a rather encyclopedic feel; about one hundred pages of notes and bibliography accompany a little over two hundred pages of text. The author, a Canadian, served for years in both Trinidad and Grenada, but this is hardly noticeable in the text, which evenly covers an immense range of territory from Bermuda through the Caribbean to Guyana, taking in Belize on the way. Dayfoot summarizes accepted views rather than advancing any startling new ideas. Thus, on one central question he observes that "historians . . . have written off the established Church in the West Indies during the slavery period as a mere travesty of what a Church should be. This verdict must stand" (p. 90). All the same, even if there are no striking new arguments, the very range and thoroughness of the coverage ensure that for almost all readers there will be novel themes. On Bartolomé de Las Casas, for instance, Dayfoot is concerned to emphasize that he was merely the most outstanding champion of aboriginal rights; far from being the first and sole defender of the Indians, he was only one among "many Las Casases"

(p. 23). Sometimes the author's reflections on ecclesiastical history resonate far into general history. He observes, for instance, that *criollos* (American-born Spaniards) were rarely appointed to high office in the church because they were felt to be less reliable than the *peninsulares*, and he notes that this conflict did not die down as time went on. Indeed, he observes that "it was one of the causes of the Spanish-American revolutions of the early nineteenth century" (p. 28).

This book takes us into corners of Caribbean history long neglected. The first governor of Barbados, William Tufton, is shown struggling against the cruelty of the system of indentured labor in the 1630s and eventually losing his life when he tried to argue against his successor, the ruthless Henry Hawley. Dayfoot skillfully sets out the history of those who struggled against various aspects of the emerging system, including not only the Quakers (pp. 81–84) but also King Charles II and James II (p. 101). After the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the planters would be much less troubled by people with qualms.

Chapter eight, on "the Evangelical movement," explains the origins and progress of the Moravians with particular sympathy, and chapter nine sets out the way in which the Catholic Church returned to the "English" Caribbean. Sometimes this led to amusingly incongruous events, like the confirmation of the first Catholic bishop of Trinidad in 1820 by the head of the Anglican church, George III (p. 143).

Pages 157 to 164 interestingly set out the ways in which the evangelical missions were persecuted, but by then we have passed the heart of the book, and chapter eleven summarizes "the late colonial period (1870–1962)" in about thirty pages. In the conclusion that follows, the author ventures into some interesting generalizations, based on the huge mass of evidence that he has gathered. For instance, "If the alleged affinity of Calvinism with the rise of capitalism be believed, it would have to be remembered that the seventeenth-century Puritan movement failed as a colonizing factor in the West Indies as spectacularly as it succeeded in the New England colonies" (p. 226).

A longer section of such theorizing would have been welcome, but this would not have met the author's objective. Dayfoot has succeeded, as Robert Stewart observes on the dust jacket, in providing "an essential compendium of information on the Christian church as an institutional and social force in the making of the [anglophone] West Indies"; it will indeed become "an indispensable handbook for further research."

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CELIA MARÍA PARCERO TORRE. *La pérdida de la Habana y las reformas borbónicas en Cuba, 1760–1773*. (Estudios de Historia.) Spain: Junta de Castilla y León. 1998. Pp. 291.

Historians describing the eleven-month British occupation of Havana in 1762 often insist that English merchants engaged in a hectic trade that provoked a commercial boom and initiated an economic awakening in Cuba. In Spain, the strategic ramifications of the defeat and loss of "the key to the Caribbean" were terrible to contemplate. To obtain the return of Havana, in 1763 King Carlos III surrendered Florida and introduced Bourbon administrative, economic, and military reforms that would later be extended throughout Spanish America. In the present study, Celia María Parceró Torre reevaluates the conquest of Havana from the Spanish side and examines the impact of British rule called the *dominación* by Spanish and Cuban writers.

When Governor Juan de Prado arrived in Havana in 1761, he discovered that the defensive works of the port needed immediate attention. The fortresses of La Fuerza, San Salvador de la Punta, and El Morro formed a protective triangle that guarded the harbor entrance. While El Morro was the strongest and best equipped with heavy guns, mortars, and small arms, army engineers were well aware that it could be dominated by artillery from the nearby and almost undefended heights of La Cabaña. The inexplicable failure to fortify La Cabaña was a major factor in the Spanish defeat and in later recriminations, investigations, and the punishment of some senior commanders. The defenders believed that the port could withstand a lengthy siege and anticipated assistance from the mortifying climate and endemic yellow fever. With war against Britain almost inevitable, in 1761 the Spanish imperial government dispatched two peninsular battalions of the infantry regiments of Aragón and España and other troops to bolster the Fixed Infantry Battalion of Havana and the Cuban militias. There was also a strong naval squadron in Havana consisting of ten ships of the line, frigates, and other support vessels. In total, there were about 11,000 regular troops, militiamen, and seamen available to defend the port city.

When the powerful British invasion force appeared on June 6, 1762, arriving by way of the little-used Old Bahama Channel, the Spanish defenders were caught by surprise. The naval squadron commanded by the Marqués del Real Transporte failed to get to sea and was blockaded in port. Some warships assisted the defense, but most of the naval officers and seamen joined the land forces. The British army of about 16,000 troops, commanded by the Earl of Albemarle, assaulted the city from the land side and from artillery batteries situated on the heights of La Cabaña. As Parceró Torre points out, the Spaniards failed to prepare adequately for the attack and were unable to gain the initiative. Despite heavy casualties, they fought back from El Morro, dispatched raiders, called up militia units from outside Havana, and scuttled three warships to seal the harbor mouth. They hoped that they could prolong the siege until yellow fever incapacitated the invaders and the hurricane season

dispersed the enemy naval blockade. Parcerro Torre offers important new details from Spanish archival sources about the defense leading to the fall of El Morro on July 30, and the capitulation of Havana on August 11, 1762. Unfortunately, the full impact of the author's research is reduced since she neglected to incorporate English-language works such as David Syrett's *The Siege and Capture of Havana, 1762* (1970) and recent articles by David Marley in *Mariner's Mirror*.

Contrary to engendering an economic boom and commercial prosperity, Parcerro Torre argues that the British occupiers requisitioned property, billeted troops in private homes, and imposed excessively harsh taxation upon the populace to the point of extortion. Many families abandoned the city to seek refuge beyond British control. The author stresses hardships such as scarcity of food, turbulence outside of the city, and general disruption of Cuban trade by sea and land. With the Havana economy in depression rather than boom, many of the incoming cargoes of British manufactured goods went into warehouses and did not find ready purchasers. Parcerro Torre rejects the view of a Cuban economic take-off stimulated during the occupation. She concludes that the Bourbon reforms and economic changes predated the British conquest and gained momentum again later during the American and Haitian Revolutions. Following the restoration of Spanish rule, the construction of new fortifications and the introduction of reform programs stimulated the economy and enriched Havana merchants who invested their profits in the sugar industry. During the administration of the Conde de Ríela, Cuba became the testing ground for Bourbon reform policies and in 1765 for the first intendancy in Spanish America.

Despite recurrent spelling errors of English names such as Lieutenant General Albemarle and the absence of maps needed to clarify aspects of the military operations, this study offers a convincing reinterpretation of the conquest of Havana and of the impact of subsequent Bourbon reforms.

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FÉLIX V. MATOS RODRÍGUEZ. *Women and Urban Change in San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1820–1868*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999. Pp. xi, 180. \$49.95.

Although the scholarship on women in Latin American history has grown exponentially in the last decade, there are still many gaps to fill. Félix V. Matos Rodríguez contributes to our knowledge of an understudied city and time period. "The main concern of this book," he states at the outset, "is to see how women in mid-nineteenth-century San Juan participated, were affected by, and took advantage of the attempts to create a modern, respectable, and progressive city" (p. 2). As he points out, Puerto Rico offers an interesting counterpart to most other regions of Latin America,

where reforms aimed at creating more orderly cities were carried out by post-independence rather than colonial states. Indeed, although he emphasizes that "the economic and urban changes that San Juan was slowly experiencing weakened patriarchal structures and allowed for some unanticipated spaces of autonomy for women, particularly for elites and professional women" (pp. 2–3), those familiar with the larger Latin American historiography will likely find the opportunities for women in Puerto Rico to have been relatively restricted.

Matos Rodríguez draws on a variety of archival sources—such as census data, notarial contracts, town council records, and church bulletins—to recreate the social world within which women lived and worked. The first two chapters set the context of economic trends and urbanization in San Juan from the late eighteenth to nineteenth centuries. His analysis in chapter two of how the city's population was transformed from one with a majority of women and people of color to one predominantly white and masculine is particularly interesting. His explanation of the ending of the slave trade combined with increases in European immigration is convincing, but given recent developments in the study of race in Latin America, one wonders whether an ideology of whitening also contributed to shifts in the usages of ethnic categories during a period in which local officials were attempting to "modernize" the city.

Chapters three and four examine the economic roles and contributions of the city's elite and lower-class women respectively. This data may be new for San Juan but will not surprise historians of other regions of Latin America. Matos Rodríguez highlights significant levels of property ownership among elite women, especially widows, and the important role they played in the urban rental market. Although there were some economic opportunities for middle-class women as shopkeepers and teachers, the numbers seem low in comparison to other Latin American cities. Perhaps the many male immigrants dominated the niches that might otherwise have been filled in part by women. As one would expect, lower-class women, including slaves, worked in food preparation, street vending, laundering, and domestic service.

In the chapter on lower-class women, Matos Rodríguez highlights the preoccupation among city officials with the presence of what they perceived as immoral women in the urban public space. The authorities targeted such women in campaigns against concubinage, relocating some outside the city walls and channeling others into domestic labor, especially as the abolition of slavery raised concerns about a shortage of servants. He continues this intriguing theme of women in public into the final chapter, which examines the role of women as both the objects and leaders of reforms in education and social services (beneficence). In comparison to other areas of Latin America, even the neighboring colony of Cuba, both the establishment of state institutions and women's participation in

running them developed slowly in San Juan. By the 1860s, judging colonial reform efforts admirable but ineffective, local elites and the Catholic Church took a more active role in providing private charity and education. These ventures created a space for the establishment of early women's associations, but such organizations were still placed under the supervision of patriarchal authorities and served as allies of the elite class agenda of "social and labor control" (p. 122).

The questions of gendered struggles over public and private space, which Matos Rodríguez begins to address toward the end of the book, will interest many in women's history. Unfortunately, his sources lend themselves to analyzing neither the responses of lower-class women to the reforms that targeted them nor the ideology and aims of the elite and middling women who participated in their administration. Readers interested in a fuller development of the implications of social policy in Puerto Rico and theoretical discussions of gender should consult recent works by Teresita Martínez Vergne and Eileen Findlay. The primary contribution of this book is to provide another case study of women's place in a particular urban economy and society.

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RUPERT CHARLES LEWIS. *Walter Rodney's Intellectual and Political Thought*. Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 1998. Pp. xviii, 298. \$35.00.

Rupert Charles Lewis provides his readers with a first-rate intellectual and political biography of Walter Rodney, a major black scholar and a selfless Caribbean political activist. Lewis's work is enriched by his personal anecdotes and an intimate knowledge of Rodney, a foremost historian as well as a radical intellectual of the African historical-cum-political experience. The book superbly complements earlier published studies on the works and life of Rodney, including the following: a 1980 collection of essays in *Cheche* journal of the University of Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania; Edward A. Alpers and Pierre-Michel Fontaine's *Walter Rodney: Revolutionary and Scholar: A Tribute* (1982); the edited volume of essays by several distinguished Nigerian scholars, *And Finally They Killed Him* (1980); E. Kwayana's *Walter Rodney* (1988); Tanzania's B. Swai's essay, "Rodney on Scholarship and Activism" (1981, 1982), and Ngugi wa Thiong'o short but brilliant tribute in "The First Walter Rodney Memorial Lecture" (1985).

In Lewis's book of nine chapters, which also has a separate conclusion, a bibliography, and an extensive index, he utilizes part of his detailed introduction (pp. xiii-xviii) to pay an appropriate homage—in the form of a mini-acknowledgment—to several radical writers, who made Rodney the subject of their earlier published essays, reviews, and book chapters. Among the authors from whose works Lewis drew direct examples as well as inspiration to enrich his own study are

Biodun Jeyifo (1980); Horace Campbell (1973; 1981; 1986; 1988; 1990); Trevor Campbell (1981); and Manning Marable (1986; 1987). Apart from these writers, who either worked and studied with or had personal knowledge of Rodney, the indomitable Caribbean "cricket" and radical scholar C.L.R. James has been placed in a special category by Lewis; James "regarded Rodney as one of his intellectual sons" (p. xvi).

Lewis presents readers with the gamut of Rodney's life: from cradle (March 23, 1942) to grave, when he perished in tragic circumstances that the author, allegedly, saw as a political "assassination on 13 June 1980 by an ex-officer of the Guyana Defense Force" (p. 240). His parents, Edward Percival and Pauline Rodney had led simple lives, although his father traveled extensively, including sojourns in the Curaçao and the Dominican Republic, which enabled him to speak Spanish, Portuguese, and Papiamentu (p. 1).

As Lewis delineates flawlessly, Rodney's sharp intellectual abilities and fierce activism were shaped very early in his life when, in 1960 at the age of eighteen, he enrolled at the then University College of the West Indies, from where he earned a first class (*Summa cum laude*) degree in history. He subsequently went on in 1966, at the age of twenty-three, to receive his doctoral degree in history from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) of the University of London. Intellectually, as we learn from Lewis's study, Rodney was following the giant footsteps of the Caribbean's great scholars, including Oxford-educated and former Trinidad and Tobago Prime Minister Eric Williams, who was well-known for his published study, *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944), and Sir Arthur Lewis, a Nobel economics prize laureate, both of whom had influences on Rodney.

In November 1965, Rodney accepted an offer to lecture in West African History at the then University College of Dar-es-Salaam, where he prepared the manuscripts for several of his publications, including *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545-1800* (1970), and his celebrated book, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1971); he went to Tanzania partly because of his fascination with then President Julius K. Nyerere's socialist developmental strategies.

In 1974, Rodney decided that he, his wife Pat, and their three children would return to Guyana, his home country, to teach and get involved in local politics, mainly as "one of the leaders of the Working People's Alliance" (p. 163), an involvement that many of his mentors and friends saw as a major mistake on his part. It was through these activities that Forbes Burnham's regime targeted Rodney as a dangerous opponent, in the words of Lewis, whereby "Rodney was arrested on several occasions in the period 1979-1980, and in the last several months of his life had virtually moved from house to house to escape harassment" (p. 240).

When Burnham's People's National Congress regime restricted Rodney's movements, he still managed to escape from Guyana through Suriname to attend

the May 1980 Zimbabwe independence celebrations, which were also attended by the Guyanese leader. Burnham was unhappy to see Rodney being given red-carpet treatment in Zimbabwe, including a publicized May 16, 1980, meeting with the new Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, who reportedly "discussed plans for him (Rodney) to write a history of Zimbabwe" (p. 240).

After Rodney's 1980 death, his bereaved family suspected the active involvement of the Burnham regime in the grenade explosion that reportedly killed him. The family's consolation, however, came in 1992, when "a fair election was held in Guyana and the People's National Congress would be defeated and replaced by Cheddi Jagan's People's Progressive Party" (p. 241). According to Lewis, Rodney had been influenced ideologically by Jagan; therefore, the victory of Jagan's political party, over Burnham's was a sweet one for the Rodneys, friends, and students of the deceased scholar.

Instructively, Lewis has succeeded in demonstrating amply to his readers that Rodney's radical intellectual thought cannot—and should not—be divorced from his political thought. In this brilliant and very useful study, both are intertwined.

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GUY P. C. THOMSON. *Patriotism, Politics, and Popular Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Mexico: Juan Francisco Lucas and the Puebla Sierra*. Assisted by DAVID G. LAFRANCE. (Latin America Silhouettes.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 1999. Pp. xviii, 420. \$65.00.

One of those who answered the call of Benito Juárez and the Mexican liberals of the 1850s was Juan Francisco Lucas (1834–1917), the "Nahua Warrior" who became known as the Patriarch of the Sierra and the protector of the Indians. The Sierra is the mountainous region of the state of Puebla, between Mexico City and the gulf port of Veracruz. Here, Nahua and Totonaca mixed with the "people of reason" (*gente de razón*) who were developing coffee estates and cattle ranching in the Sierra and corn, coffee, and sugarcane in the piedmont.

In the aftermath of the 1846–1848 war with the United States, Mexican liberals sought to strengthen Mexican society by secularizing it. They launched a frontal attack on colonial Hispanic structures, aiming to limit the church role in public life, promote secular education, and redistribute corporately held land, both ecclesiastical and municipal.

As the conservative reaction to the liberal measures led to the Three Years' War (1858–1861), French intervention (1862), and the installation of Maximilian as emperor (1864–1867), both conservatives and liberals reached into the mountains seeking supplies of food and men. Here the changing social and economic order made the liberal program of doubtful issue.

Some Sierra towns and settlements became the backbone of the liberal cause, and some sent men to serve in the French army. Ultimately, Lucas and other liberal chieftains fought their way to victory and implanted the liberal policies. Explaining how the liberals could carry out their program of limiting the church and dividing up common lands among Sierra Indians devoted to religion and festivals and equally devoted to their village lands is the achievement of this book.

Guy P. C. Thomson and David G. LaFrance focus on the career of Juan Francisco Lucas. His father, José Manuel, an Indian entrepreneur, attracted the attention of liberal leaders by his success against conservative forces with Indian soldiers. When he was assassinated in 1858, the mantle of leadership passed to his twenty-four-year-old son. In the course of the political wars, Juan Francisco expanded his influence from his district to larger portions of the Sierra. He was prepared to resist liberals, too, and called his men out against Juárez in 1868 when the latter did not give the Sierra fighters their due spoils.

Although the first thought of the *gente de razón* seeing Sierra Indians going into battle under Indian leaders had been that this was the beginning of a caste war, Lucas's leadership style was consensus. He was prepared to mediate endlessly to balance obligations and rewards among Indians and non-Indians. He relied on making deals and voluntary enlistments and contributions, rather than on forced drafts of men and supplies, and generally kept within the law. In the course of these conflicts, Lucas and the liberal leaders implanted the liberal program in the Sierra, creating a state apparatus whose demands to some extent replaced the older demands in service to the church. And patronage opportunities multiplied as the liberals built schools, strengthened units of local government, and developed the National Guard as a bulwark of local liberties.

The head tax (*capitación*) was replaced by the *rebajado*, a tax on those who did not engage in active military service, applicable to both Indians and non-Indians. Forced services (*faenas*) were abolished for the church but not for certain public projects such as schools, roads, and governmental buildings; and the *gente de razón* were also expected to provide these *faenas*. Laws against religious processions were enforced irregularly, as a concession to the popularity of these events. Circumspection was also called for in selling off municipal lands. In general, there was little Sierra interest in agrarian matters.

Schools were the great hope of the liberals, a way to bring the Indians out of their world of "magic" and convert them into useful citizens. Several liberal leaders, including Lucas himself as a literacy volunteer, had started off as schoolteachers.

Underlying these historical movements was a substratum of ethnic tension that never went away, no matter which party was in power. Even a leader Indians had fought and voted for, Puebla Governor

Juan Nepomuceno Méndez, made it one of his first political acts in 1880 to abolish the popular election of political chiefs and the direct election of the town councils.

In the 1880s, as the Porfirian peace settled over Mexico, the Sierra, too, was becalmed. Porfirio Díaz courted Lucas, but the demilitarization of the Sierra went on. Lucas moved up the social ladder after marrying his second wife, María Asunción Pérez, in 1868. Through her father, he acquired two estates. But Lucas never showed great interest in amassing land, and he gave away some of his land to the municipalities for schools. When the revolution against Díaz broke out, Lucas did not come out against his old cohort until the last minute. Approaching eighty, he was still the man to see in the Sierra, but he was unable to keep the Sierra from becoming a battleground.

The great value of this book is that it looks at the playing out of the ideological struggle in the daily lives of villagers, and at how a leader could remain faithful to a political program through trying times. It is an impressive, tightly written, and massively documented work. Thomson and LaFrance carry us through these years and issues—with a cast of many—through a detailed political-military narrative, sprinkled with socioeconomic and personal detail. There are useful concluding sections at the end of each chapter. In the coming years, this study will be a required reference when assessing the impact of the liberal program. It answers the big question of why liberalism worked in the Sierra. Sierra leaders applied the laws selectively and then negotiated. In practice, the liberal program liberated.

STAN GREEN

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JOSEPH A. STOUT, JR. *Border Conflict: Villistas, Carrancistas and the Punitive Expedition, 1915–1920*. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv. 198. \$24.95.

Columbus, New Mexico, was “not much of a town in 1916” (p. 33). There were only a couple of businesses of note. Most dwellings were made of adobe without glass windows. Few of its 300 residents enjoyed indoor plumbing. In the early morning hours of March 9, 1916, however, this dusty little town entered the realm of myth and history. 250 Mexican raiders, led by revolutionary general Pancho Villa, conducted the first and only invasion of the United States by foreign military forces since the War of 1812. (*Villistas* hit two small Texas towns on May 5 as well.) The attack greatly embarrassed President Woodrow Wilson, who dispatched a “punitive expedition” under the command of Brigadier General John J. “Black Jack” Pershing. He led 4,800 U.S. soldiers into Mexico six days later to find Villa.

The Pershing or Punitive Expedition was doomed from the start as a military enterprise and very nearly became a diplomatic fiasco. If not for remarkable

restraint on both sides, Mexico and the United States could have easily stumbled into war. Wilson sent Pershing into Mexico into 100,000 square miles of rugged terrain. There were few roads and only one railroad line, which the Mexican government steadfastly refused to allow the U.S. army to use. Villa was a gifted guerrilla commander who was fighting on home ground. His bands gathered for battle and then quickly dispersed into the countryside. The population for the most part did not welcome the gringos. Pershing’s assignment to capture Villa was impossible, and, of course, he failed.

The U.S. invasion created a difficult situation for the Mexican revolutionary government headed by Venustiano Carranza, whose armies had defeated Villa and which had received tentative diplomatic recognition from the United States. Carranza, a professed nationalist, had to stand up to the United States, but at the same time he could not risk war and full-scale invasion, which would end his rule. Wilson, too, wanted to avoid war. He sought only to reclaim the honor of the United States in order to further his reelection campaign.

The closest the two sides came to war was in June 1916. On June 21, as a result of the willful blunder of Captain William T. Boyd, who provoked a more than accommodating Mexican commander, U.S. and Mexican forces clashed at Carrizal, Chihuahua. The Mexicans killed twelve U.S. soldiers, wounded ten, and captured twenty-four. Boyd died of multiple wounds. Stunned by the turn of events, both sides remained calm, however, and avoided a wider conflict.

After July 1, 1916, U.S. troops spent most of their time in camp “cleaning weapons, drilling and playing poker” (p. 121). Pershing withdrew his forces—which had swelled to 10,690 men—on February 5, 1917, slightly less than ten months after crossing the border. For its efforts, the expedition killed perhaps 125 *Villistas* and wounded eighty-five. Villa lived on to fight for a few more years, retiring to a ranch given to him by Carranza’s successor Álvaro Obregón in 1920. The Mexican revolutionary government had him assassinated in 1923.

It is a difficult undertaking to write something new about the Pershing Expedition, given the recent publication of Friedrich Katz’s monumental *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa* (1998) and the earlier appearance of Katz’s classic article on the Columbus Raid (*AHR* 83 [1978]), Charles Harris III and Louis R. Sadler’s *The Border and the Revolution* (1990), and the work of Clarence C. Clendenen. Joseph A. Stout fills in some details, particularly regarding the military activities of the *Carrancistas* (followers of Carranza; also known as Constitutionalists) against Villa in 1916 and 1917 and the machinations of the short-lived, unsuccessful joint diplomatic commission established in July 1916. Stout contends that Carranza was not so much concerned with the U.S. invasion as he was with crushing his nemesis Villa and that the two nations were never on the brink of war. “Wilson and Carranza

were sparring for diplomatic and political advantage in their respective countries" (p. xi).

Stout is at his best when discussing the internal workings of Carranza's army. Backbiting and incompetence often rendered it ineffective. To exacerbate matters, Carranza distrusted his best general, Obregón, whom he believed (quite rightly) to be plotting against him. The Constitutionalist suffered from a chronic lack of ammunition due to production and delivery problems. Villa, badly outnumbered, hunted by Carrancistas and North Americans alike, ran circles around them all.

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ERIC ZOLOV. *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 349. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

Eric Zolov explores a dimension of twentieth-century demographic politics neglected by scholars of Latin America: the post-1945 rise of a separate social space for adolescent youth propelled by expanding post-primary education, the mass media and consumerism, industrialization, and urbanization. To his analysis of this phenomenon in Mexico, he brings an understanding of international political economy as complex transnational flows influencing national societies in contradictory ways and a cultural approach to the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) state that stresses its manipulation of nationalist aesthetics.

Zolov focuses on Mexico City, where, in the mid-1950s, the introduction of U.S. rock 'n roll and Hollywood rebels Marlon Brando and James Dean threatened official aesthetics by provoking defiance of adult authority among teenagers in the proliferating middle class. In the aftermath of student, teacher, and railroad worker strikes and demonstrations between 1957 and 1959, conservative groups, parents, and the media colluded in taming rock 'n roll into an artifact of modernity to be enjoyed by the patriarchal nuclear family. Nonetheless, rock shaped a sexualizing, liberating space for youth that fostered more open gender relations and a search for self. This space expanded and broke loose after 1964 with the arrival of the Beatles, psychedelics, and international hippies. The new tourists, argues Zolov, turned the Mexican post-war state's notion of national culture on its head. Rather than viewing Indians as a folkloric backdrop for urban, modernizing Mexico, the hippies rejected the latter and found inspiration in the former. As Mexican youth joined this transnational movement, they began to revalorize those rural and indigenous components of Mexico that had been socially stigmatized in the frenzied drive toward upward mobility and "progress." *Huaraches* became the fashion of the day, and along with young men's long hair and girls' miniskirts, challenged prevailing notions of *buenas costumbres*. Listening, playing, and singing in English,

their quest to belong to a new global culture of freedom cut to the core of the national, patriarchal culture. *Cafés Cantantes* flourished as places to hear Mexican bands, to dance, drink, smoke, and "screw." When President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz closed them and expelled foreign hippies, the press applauded.

At first, university youth scorned rock as the imperialist music of a colonized elite. The Cuban Revolution drew them to Latin American music. But when police intervention in a fight between school gangs mushroomed into a mass student movement against repression and in favor of free expression and social justice, the countercultural movement known as *La Onda* became a melding force effecting an anti-authoritarian groundswell. In this cross-class movement, hip language and styles integrated working-class and poor youth, who spiced it with irreverent slang. Claiming official patriotic heroes for themselves and shouting "Death to Díaz Ordaz," the students, Zolov argues, pierced the official "revolutionary" mist that sacralized the regime. The army's massacre of students at Tlatelolco on October 2, 1968 solidified the demystification.

In the aftermath, sectors of Mexico City youth experimented with more open forms of personal behavior—often to the beat of rock and a new literary language forged by José Agustín and others. In 1970, bands (e.g. "La Revolución de Emiliano Zapata") began to record original music in English for transnational companies that outcompeted Mexican counterparts. "La Onda Chicana" searched for new collective identities and personal freedom by fusing mestizo and indigenous culture with U.S. rock. Zolov sees it as a continuation of the student movement's rupturing of the state's monopoly over symbolic capital. But university militants rejected it. Their re-envisioning of the nation critiqued imperialism and celebrated Latin America. They spurned "imperialist" rock and its lower-class practitioners. The Echeverría regime wooed them with university posts, limited press freedom, and Latin American folkloric aesthetics. When, following the 1971 Avandaro concert, the government cracked down on rock, university students did not protest and the press applauded. The backlash against rock, Zolov argues, helped Luis Echeverría Álvarez "to reclaim the state's symbolic role as cultural arbiter and defender of national borders" (p. 217).

Whether or not Zolov is right in suggesting that rock could have catalyzed a cross-class youth alliance creating a new national unity and counter-state discourse is secondary to the scholarly contribution he has made in this well-researched, provocative study of the counterculture—a phenomenon given short shrift by a generation of intellectuals in Mexico and the U.S. Based upon a rich array of government, newspaper, industry, artistic, and oral sources, his analysis is instructive in its intricate depiction of state, society, and market interaction. The book is an important building block in our understanding of the post-1945 emergence of youth as a transnational political and

cultural force and our historical analysis of the twentieth century's longest ruling political regime.

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SUSAN KELLOGG and MATTHEW RESTALL, editors. *Dead Giveaways: Indigenous Testaments of Colonial Mesoamerica and the Andes*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press. 1998. Pp. vi, 328. \$40.00.

Editors Susan Kellogg and Matthew Restall have assembled a creative sampling of the ways in which indigenous testaments in colonial Mesoamerica and the Andes can shed light on a variety of historical themes. Among these are class and gender relationships within indigenous societies, the nature and pace of cultural change, material life, socioeconomic networks, the values attributed to land and other forms of wealth, and the conflicting demands of religion and political economy. Of the ten contributors to the volume, seven (Sarah Cline, Rebecca Horn, Karen Vieira Powers, Susan Ramírez, Restall, Kevin Terraciano, and Stephanie Wood) are historians; three (Thomas Abercrombie, Robert M. Hill II, and Kellogg) are anthropologists. The essay by Cline discusses Spanish antecedents (in particular the model testament produced by Fray Alonso de Molina) to the making of Indian wills. Three essays examine Nahuatl testaments in central Mexico, another three treat Mixtec and Maya areas of southern Mesoamerica, and a final three examine Andean regions (in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia). Each chapter ends with excerpts from wills, reproduced in the original (Indian languages in the Mesoamerican cases and Spanish for the Andes) as well as in English translation.

In a micro-examination of the wills of two families in Mexico City, Kellogg elaborates on a thesis she has advanced in earlier works. Her study of testaments shows a decline in Nahua women's status from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Horn also complements her previous publications on early colonial Coyoacan by illustrating how wills elucidate interethnic ties among petty traders. Wood provides a nuanced comparison of two Nahuatl documentary genres—wills and primordial titles—that chronicles an evolving and contested relationship between community and individual claims to land in Toluca.

In examining Ñudzahui (Mixtec) expressions of piety in wills, Terraciano underscores the persistence of native beliefs and ethnic images (e.g. the association of a female creator with Mary). He also argues, in contrast to Cline and the other contributors who address the issue, that Mesoamerican testamentary practices had preconquest origins. Restall's probing analysis of the cultural and material content of Yucatec Maya wills over several centuries highlights dialogical patterns of "interculturalization" or a straddling process that was "not always a one-way progression into Hispanization" (p. 156). From a small sample of

Cakchiquel wills, Hill attempts to generalize about shifts to more corporate forms of land tenure in seventeenth-century highland Guatemala.

Of necessity, the Andean chapters of the book shift away from native literary expressiveness to textual analysis of Indian testaments recorded in Spanish. In detailing the intrigues of the Duchisela clan in colonial Riobamba (Ecuador), Powers makes skillful use of wills to show how this kin group developed strategies and hybrid forms to "invent" chiefly legitimacy and to consolidate its control of material resources while paying requisite attention to community obligations. Ramírez argues that the wills of three Andean chiefs of northern Peru exhibit a shift in native conceptions of wealth between the 1560s and the 1580s. Although certain notions of reciprocity between rulers and subjects persisted, wealth became defined more in terms of goods than people (or labor). In the final essay, Abercrombie finds some shared concerns in the testaments of Spanish encomenderos and Indian caciques in sixteenth-century Charcas. "Testators did what they could to settle two troubling issues: the destiny of their souls and the destination of the material goods their deaths left out of their hands" (p. 250). Both groups sought a reasonable balance by leaving most of their wealth to their families but also some to charity as a form of postmortem restitution for exploitative acts.

Abercrombie also reminds us that the vast majority of indigenous peoples did not make wills either because they had little or no wealth or because they had other means of passing on property and gaining immortality. This contradicts the editors' assertion that through wills, "the voices of non-elites, so often sought by social historians, become available" (p. 2). Virtually all of these essays build arguments on the basis of wills left by indigenous elites. This does not negate their value for providing information on specific issues, but it does raise some questions about whether the small samples offered in a few of the essays are representative of larger trends.

Since wills "constitute approximately half of the extant archival material written in Spanish America's indigenous languages during the colonial period" (pp. 1–2), they are an undeniably important source. Certainly they provide a specialized vocabulary of kinship, personal relationships, and material goods, as well as unique snapshots in time. Yet a number of these essays either supplement wills with other notarial, judicial, and ecclesiastical sources or draw on prior research to develop a larger, more comprehensive picture. The book's great contribution is to provide detailed information on the production of indigenous wills and to suggest, often quite imaginatively, how attentive and comparative readings of their form and content can be used to enhance our understanding of the themes outlined above.

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DOUG YARRINGTON. *A Coffee Frontier: Land, Society, and Politics in Duaca, Venezuela, 1830–1936*. (Pitt Latin American Series.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1997. PP. xiv, 267. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

At first glance, the title of this book puzzled me. Doug Yarrington himself acknowledges that few people, especially Venezuelans, would identify the expansive and somewhat arid state of Lara, in western Venezuela, with coffee production. Instead, Lara is better known for its commercial and agricultural emporiums in Barquisimeto, its musical heritage, or its indigenous communities in and around Quibor. Studies of coffee in Venezuela tend to focus on the Andean states of Tachira, Mérida, and Trujillo or, to a lesser extent, on the valley of Caripe in the state of Monagas.

The initial incongruity between coffee and the district of Duaca turns out to be central to understanding the century-long experiment with coffee production in this region of Venezuela. Neglect by the government, as well as by local elites, allowed peasants in this largely “frontier” region to exploit the relatively abundant land, to cultivate coffee, and to sell their crops to local and regional merchants.

Yarrington describes how Duaca’s peasants, most of whom only recently migrated to the area, tenaciously struggled for the right to cultivate vacant national and state land (*terrenos baldíos*) or indigenous lands (*resguardos*). Relatively flexible attitudes toward credit encouraged peasants to participate in the coffee economy. At this stage, merchants who dispensed credit saw no material advantage in foreclosing on late or defaulted loans. The pooling of familial and kinship resources, a strategy common among campesinos in Latin America, also proved effective in Duaca. Moreover, campesinos took advantage of divisions between local landowners and weaknesses in the political apparatus to carve out an important niche in the emerging coffee economy, achieving marginal levels of prosperity.

Yarrington’s work breaks from the long-held notion, promoted by a host of scholars inside and outside of Venezuela, that a handful of landed estates inexorably monopolized all rural economic activity, reducing campesinos to mere appendages. This view, largely promoted in the post-Gómez era, held that a handful of powerful *terratenientes* dominated the rural countryside and in the process, discounted regional variations such as the Duaca frontier experience. Breaking with this tradition, Yarrington presents a nuanced approach to land tenure, frontier peasant society, the uses of credit, the strengths and weakness of local elites, and the shifting political allegiances among local caudillos, business groups, and the national government.

Expansion of the coffee economy did not immediately constrain peasant ability to participate in new markets. Political and economic conditions, however, gradually changed. The arrival of the railroad, connecting Duaca to the port city of Puerto Cabello,

signaled the end of the region’s peripheral status and its emergence as an important commercial center. Duaca gradually emerged from the shadow of Barquisimeto, the regional economic and commercial hub. As coffee production became more lucrative, Duaca attracted foreign interest, and local elites transformed traditional patterns of economic and social interaction. The terms of credit became more stringent, and the collection of overdue loans served to dispossess peasants from their land. As elite sectors increasingly turned their attention to the cultivation of coffee, peasants confronted new challenges and engaged in protracted legal struggles with local landlords for the right to use vacant lands.

Yarrington weaves into the account of Duaca political developments in the state of Lara, and in the nation as a whole, that eventually altered conditions for peasants in the region. At this level, the author lapses into a somewhat traditional account of politics during the Gómez era. The centralization of authority in the hands of Juan Vicente Gómez and the emergence of local elites loyal to the central government increasingly limited the peasants’ scope of action.

Yarrington’s work has implications for the conventional argument that oil production in and around Lake Maracaibo in the state of Zulia served to undermine agriculture in Venezuela. Yarrington finds that even after the oil boom, agricultural production in Duaca continued relatively undeterred. The factors that contributed to the demise of coffee must be found elsewhere. A decline in world coffee prices, preceding the 1920s crisis, began a downward spiral in the region and turned the tide against most peasants on the Duaca frontier. Beyond the drop in prices, environmental conditions also loomed large. Increased population, deforestation, and extended use of the land depleted the soil to the point where the area proved unable to sustain coffee production for a prolonged period. Environmental and financial crises gradually undermined coffee production in the area, altering the lives of most people in the Duaca region of Venezuela.

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JEREMY ADELMAN. *Republic of Capital: Buenos Aires and the Legal Transformation of the Atlantic World*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 376. \$55.00.

This book by Jeremy Adelman takes us on a marvelous journey from late colonialism through decolonization that encompasses the independence of the provinces of the Río de la Plata (1816) and the thirty years of internal war that followed until the agreement—Buenos Aires, province and port briefly excepted—on the constitution of 1853. Much of this metanarrative retraces ground trodden by Ricardo Levene, Miron Burgin, James Scobie, Tulio Halperin Donghi, and, more recently, by Enrique Tandeter, Carlos Sempat Assadourian, Juan Garavaglia, Jorge Gelman, and

Noëmi Goldman. Why Argentine decolonization in the first half of the nineteenth century has drawn the attention of Argentine and non-Argentine historians warrants a small volume; one explanation is that no other ex-colony of Spain in America evolved in only seven decades from a minor port on the South Atlantic to a world-class exporter of staples prized by an industrializing Europe.

In the first half of his study, Adelman admirably synthesizes previous studies highlighting, among other neglected aspects, the aborted radical social program of José Gervasio Artigas in the Banda Oriental (Uruguay) and the Litoral provinces (Entre Ríos, Corrientes). The approach to internal dissension is multidisciplinary. First he examines the economic dimensions of a vast, marginally populated viceroyalty whose far interior provinces were severed, after 1776, from economic circuits with Upper Peru's mining centers (Potosí), while those closer to the Atlantic augmented large-scale exports of hides, tallow, and jerky. There was also friction between large estate owners and significant numbers of medium-to-small farmers. Meanwhile, the political class of Buenos Aires reacted to the hegemony of commercial interests in a developing agro-ranching export economy both before and after independence. After 1816, political issues predominate as Adelman probes the roots of the struggle among the Northwestern provinces, the Litoral, and Buenos Aires (province and port) to achieve a consensus on sharing of economic and political power when natural and human resources were unequally distributed. Always, the problem was containment of Buenos Aires, by 1831 a major wool exporter and a South Atlantic entrepôt drawing foreign merchants and capital—especially British.

Although Adelman argues for the primacy of contingent factors, in hindsight, to judge by his presentation, after the provinces agreed to disagree and each seemed to go its own way in 1831, Buenos Aires under the Rosas administration came over the next two decades inevitably to dominate the provinces' trade with the exterior. Circumstances pushed the Rosas administration to monopolize the confederation's major revenue source: customs, to stifle competition from up-river ports, to intervene in other provinces' affairs, and to form the backbone of resistance to French and English naval blockades. The outcome: desperate measures of war finance by the Buenos Aires and other provincial governments, consequent fiscal and monetary instability, and the irritation of merchant and public and private banking interests.

The book's third, last, and highly innovative section homes in on three interrelated issues confronted by a nation-in-being: a constitution rooted in the history, needs, and aspirations (as Gianbattista Vico and Friedrich Karl von Savigny's German school of historical jurisprudence argued) of Argentina; legislation providing judicial equity for all business litigants; and a stable monetary policy. The shell of the 1853 constitution was federal, but in the overpowering press for

political stability ("order") and a "legal institutional system . . . to defend the interests of capital" (p. 140), it was "centralized and presidentialist" as Esteban Echeverría, Juan Bautista Alberdi, and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento hoped. It was also a polity welcoming immigrants and foreign enterprise.

After a constitution, *porteño* businessmen still lacked a climate safeguarding investment. In the initial two sections of his book, Adelman treats this theme as subtext; now it becomes the metanarrative. First he examines the interests and discourse of those hoping for a republic safe for capital, rejecting the understaffed, maddeningly slow, and often partisan decisions in commercial litigation by a relic of the old colonial order, the *tribunal de comercio*. They wanted and got a commercial code that treated all litigants equally, a response to a "competitive economy requiring impersonal contracts" (p. 235) as Argentina shifted from "the old corporate universe" to "individual . . . untrammelled rights to exploit property" (p. 225). The last issue to be settled, monetary stability, was solved by a "deal between finance capitalists and state-builders" (p. 253). Tying the peso to the gold standard, the *porteño* financial elite (including locally established British merchants such as the Gowlands and Armstrongs) concentrated in the Banco de la Provincia the defense of a national over provincial tenders. In this fashion, Argentine merchant-landowning-banking interests completed the second and decisive phase of decolonization, niching in place fundamental structures of economic transactions, the constitution of liberty based upon the sanctity of private property and public law fair to all. They fashioned the "capital of the Republic" into the "republic for capital" (p. 268), laying down the foundation of a civil society, a current focus of Argentine historiography. Collaborating with British traders and bankers, the *porteño* business elite over five decades after 1870 came to oversee extraordinary economic development, a rare success of the law of *intended* consequences.

In terms of sources, synthesis, and complexity and significance of issues examined, this book serves a clientele of specialists, nonspecialists, and, more important, the wider audience of those reviewing the making of postcolonial nation-states in the Atlantic world.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

MARIA WYKE, editor. *Parchments of Gender: Deciphering the Bodies of Antiquity*. New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1998. Pp. x, 291. \$72.00.

The title and theme of this volume of essays are explained in editor Maria Wyke's introduction: "Ancient bodies are . . . 'parchments of gender': textual skins on which gender is inscribed and on which can be

traced other interconnected matrices of knowledge and power that give those bodies their seemingly legible contours" (p. 3). Although not all of them display such rhetorical intensity, the collection's eleven chapters share this basic approach, whose strengths and weaknesses emerge fairly clearly over the course of the book. Drawing on evidence from Greece, Rome, and Judaea, it invites us to consider a variety of ancient discourses anchored in the body, particularly its gendered form. Constrained by considerations of space, I will discuss only those chapters that especially piqued my interest and about which I feel more qualified to speak.

Edith Hall's opening essay invites us to consider the implications of the fact that audiences at performances of Attic tragedy were treated immediately thereafter to a rambunctious, at times bawdy parody of mythic themes with actors dressed as semihuman, ithyphallic satyrs. In short, Hall sees an association of tragedy with the feminine (stirring up as it does emotions like pity and fear, and with its numerous female characters and choruses) and of satyr drama with the masculine (with its boisterous phallicism and almost entirely male characters). The insights obtained along the way are fruitful, although here and there the distinction between the two genres is overstated, as when Hall observes that "the satyrs, unlike male characters in extant tragedy, are not exclusively heterosexual" (p. 24). Some male characters in extant fragments of fifth-century B.C.E. tragedy (Aeschylus's *Myrmidons* and Euripides's *Chrysippus*, for example) do in fact express homoerotic desire, and even if we did not have these texts we would still know from Athenaeus (13.601b) that tragedies with pederastic themes enjoyed a certain popularity among Athenians.

Emma Dench's chapter discusses the ways in which images of bodily austerity and self-indulgence are negotiated in the textual and archeological evidence regarding various cultures in Hellenistic and early imperial Italy. There is much food for thought here, although one regrets the absence of illustrations. Wyke's piece on readings of the body of St. Sebastian from early Christian iconography to Renaissance painting to Derek Jarman's film *Sebastiane* (1976) expands the cultural and temporal limits of the collection and comes with a handful of images. Even more satisfyingly illustrated is the chapter coauthored by Mary Beard and John Henderson, which offers a thought-provoking and entertaining reading of visual representations of the bodily ascension of Roman emperors and their wives in the first and second centuries C.E.

Carol Dougherty's juxtaposition of the (perhaps not entirely mythical) rape of the Sabine women with the massive wartime rape of Bosnian women reported several years ago effectively brings together several of this volume's themes: here we see how women's bodies can be simultaneously metaphors and all too real sites of contention. Sometimes, however, the argument is

pressed too far, as when we read: "Once Sabine girls, now Roman wives, their native ethnic or national identity has been erased and replaced by that of their conquerors" (p. 269). But the perspective offered by the ancient texts Dougherty considers seems different: Livy, for one, continues to refer to them as "Sabine women" even after the rape (1.13.1, 1.13.6), and only after the women's subsequent intervention in the conflict between their fathers and new husbands do the Romans and Sabines "make one city out of two" (1.13.4). This is not quite the same as having one's national identity "erased and replaced" by an act of rape.

Sarah Currie's lively essay on the image of the poisonous woman in Roman culture concentrates on Pliny the Elder's discussion of *venena* and speaks from an explicitly Freudian perspective: poison is an example of "the uncanny," and as such, Roman fear of women poisoners expresses "the intertwined horrors of death and castration" (p. 148). There are many interesting insights here, although at times the argument goes too far, as when a passage from Aulus Gellius noting that originally the word *venenum* was not exclusively negative is taken to suggest that "*venenum* went to the heart of anxieties about the meaning of words" (p. 155). But Gellius lists a half-dozen words that have undergone semantic narrowing over time, and there is no indication that *venenum* is any more meaningful an example than *tempestas* (first "weather," then "storm"). Furthermore, Gellius's cool language implies, if anything, more of a criticism of the laxity of earlier usage than a repressed anxiety about "the erosion of meaning."

Erik Gunderson's essay considers the ways in which Quintilian's treatise on the training of an orator seeks to mould the very bodies of the men who aim to succeed in this craft. Here the volume's central concerns are given thoughtful treatment in an analysis of intertwined discourses of power, knowledge, and the body. Here, too, however, the argument occasionally oversteps itself. We read, for example, that "there is no fundamental facticity to the body" (p. 171) and that "the text ensures that there will be no body without the text" (p. 174). The point seems insufficiently specific to the body: one could, if so inclined, argue that *nothing* communicated among human beings has "fundamental facticity," since everything is mediated by discourse; likewise one could describe *any* text as ensuring that *nothing* exists outside of itself. And yet, Quintilian's own text does not always encourage this line of argumentation, on a few occasions treating the body as preexistent raw material potentially intractable to the very techniques it aims to teach. Some bodies, we are told, have deformities so great that they cannot be overcome by any human art (*ut nulla arte vincatur*, 11.3.12).

In sum, this collection offers some new and interesting insights as it challenges us to read or reread

ancient bodies, but at times its rhetoric overreaches itself, and exaggerated or oversimplified claims result.

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MARK GOLDEN. *Sport and Society in Ancient Greece*. (Key Themes in Ancient History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 216. \$59.95.

Mark Golden's book seeks to be an introduction to the study of Greek sport and a contribution to understanding the significance of sport in ancient Greek society. The opening chapter, "Ways of Seeing Greek Sport," reviews traditional approaches that have connected sport with religion and warfare. While Golden admits that these contexts are helpful up to a point, he finds them unsatisfactory for explaining the uniqueness of sport in ancient Greek society. He proceeds to develop the concept of the "discourse of difference," which highlights the distinction between festivals (games of the crown and money games) and the hierarchy of events ("heavy" and "light"). The definition of such discourse, established in the first chapter, permits him to show its pervasiveness in succeeding chapters. All students of sport can profit from Golden's insights.

The second chapter, "The Evidence and its Limits," introduces his method. In all of the topics he studies, Golden emphasizes the need to combine a variety of evidence: literary texts, inscriptions on stone and permanent material, papyri, and archaeology. Each type aims at a particular audience, however, and has its limitations. Golden applies his knowledge of diverse evidence to traditional problems in the study of sport, such as the fifty-five-foot jump of Phayllus of Croton, the date of the first Olympics, athletic nudity, and the scheme for determining the winner of the pentathlon.

Chapter three focuses on the idea of victory as it is expressed in literature and art. There is a lengthy evaluation of the epinician ode, the victory song, as a means of commemorating victory. Golden sees the decline of the epinician ode after Pindar as due to the greater popularity of the victory dedication, sculpture, or painting commissioned by victors of elite status.

Chapter four, "Divisions of Age and Sex," applies the concept of difference to age classes and women in sport. In a section entitled "The Quick and the Old," Golden compiles a table of equestrian victors at Panhellenic festivals and the Panathenaia, using the inscription recently published by Stephen Tracy and Christian Habicht (*Hesperia* 60 [1991]: 187–236). He concludes that equestrian victors were older men (thirty plus) in general, especially because of the wealth needed for competition. In this regard, he notes that kings such as Philip II and Ptolemy VI took part. In discussing women in sport, Golden calls attention to the evidence of Attic vases and of inscriptions to supplement the meager harvest of literary sources. Golden's account is perceptive, but F. A. G. Beck's

Album of Greek Education (1975) deserves citation in the bibliography.

The translation of Aristotle 8.1339a is necessarily selective (p. 115) but omits reference to the Olympic victors. Golden asserts here that moving up to victory in the age categories of boy, youth, and man is not unknown, although it is not ordinary, since a number of athletes boasted about it in their victory monuments. Aristotle's point, however, was that there were not many such athletes at Olympia.

In chapter five, "Class Difference, Dissent, and Democracy," Golden takes note of the continuing debate over amateurism vs. professionalism that has been given prominence in the work of H. W. Pleket (1975) and David Young (1984). Pleket argued that the ideology of the elite was present in Greek athletics from the earliest times. Even though only crowns were awarded at the Panhellenic games, prizes of significant monetary value awaited the victor when he returned to his home city. Young extended this point to suggest that athletes of lower social standing could have participated from the beginning and did so. Golden is not drawn to take an extreme position, but he states his conclusion on this debate: "Young has established the possibility of poorer athletes taking part in archaic and classical competitions, but we cannot say that their involvement in any significant numbers was probable" (p. 144). Difficulties of travel, training, and leisure time always confronted the poorer athlete. Golden then reviews the evidence for class distinctions in athletics and equestrian competitions in Athens and makes several striking points which support his judgment.

Golden uses the Library of Apollodorus to evaluate the Heracles myth as it appears in its "fullest connected account" (p. 146). He argues that the myth implies that the Greeks undervalued wage labor and develops a comparison with Pindar, *Olympian* 10, which also shows that prizes of value for athletic victories were not so highly esteemed as the fame from the victory alone.

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ANTHONY J. PODLECKI. *Perikles and His Circle*. New York: Routledge. 1998. Pp. xv, 248. \$65.00.

At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides tells us, Athens was in name a democracy but in actuality a state ruled by one man, Perikles. Yet Thucydides tells us virtually nothing about the details of Perikles's life. He was a powerful speaker, an able general and shrewd politician, and he died of the plague in the second year of the war. The speeches that Thucydides puts into Perikles's mouth are agreed to be largely the historian's own creations. The only other contemporary sources are the surviving Old Attic comedies, which—once we discount comic exaggeration and inversion—tell us only a tantalizing bit more

for certain. Perikles had a relationship with a Milesian woman named Aspasia, his manner was distant and imperious, and he had a funny-shaped head. Perikles, in other words, had the misfortune to live before the Hellenes developed an interest in biography. Thus, a writer like Plutarch, who composed his life of Perikles five hundred years after his subject's death, found an immense wealth of gossip, some of it obviously invented to fill a void.

Despite all these limitations, Anthony J. Podlecki has managed to fashion a useful biography based on a reevaluation of all the evidence, dubious or not. Podlecki displays impressive mastery of a vast range of sources. He cites the fragmentary historians, inscriptions, and the latest unpublished finds from the Athenian agora. Every Greek historian will need to consult this book, shelving it next to Philip Stadter's *Commentary on Plutarch's Perikles* (1989).

We probably care most about Perikles because of his role in masterminding Athens's strategy in the Peloponnesian war, as described in Thucydides's *History*. Thucydides clearly believed this strategy of retreat behind Athens's Long Walls and control of the seas with a powerful navy was the correct one and would have secured Athens's eventual victory. Only Perikles's untimely death and the pusillanimity of his successors led to a different outcome, Thucydides thought. Since Podlecki begins his book with a detailed investigation of Perikles's ancestry, the non-specialist might do well to read the final chapter first: "Thoukydides: War with Sparta; Final Years." Especially compelling is the concluding summary of that chapter (pp. 154–58), which ends: "If the plague had not broken out and Perikles had not himself fallen victim to it in 429, the course of the war might have been different." That "might" has to be a considerable understatement, since Podlecki generally accepts Thucydides's portrait of Perikles as fair and unbiased. One can wonder, however, whether Thucydides's description of the war, the first "modern" conflict of dirty tricks and suffering noncombatants, was not more significant historically than its outcome. One wonders, further, to what extent Thucydides owes his conception of history as a war of intellectually comprehensible abstract forces to Perikles. Earlier wars had been won, or so Herodotus thought, by individual heroic daring and the gods' help. Perikles's analysis, according to Thucydides, was that wars had always been won as this one would be: by surplus capital, a fortified state, and a powerful navy. If Perikles and Thucydides were wrong, it does not diminish the significance of their bold attempt to predict the future based on an abstract analysis of the past.

Podlecki's approach is more or less chronological, beginning with his subject's forebears and ending with his death, even though our sources are silent on some periods. Podlecki is able to flesh out his portrait by interpreting the "circle" of his title broadly. Any personage involved in any enterprise in which we know Perikles played a role thus becomes part of the circle,

even if no direct links are attested. In a chapter on Perikles's early intellectual influences, Podlecki's circle occasionally resembles a kind of Parisian salon to which one might retire for witty conversation after the theater. Stadter takes a more jaundiced view of Perikles as a new wave thinker in "Pericles among the Intellectuals" (*Illinois Classical Studies* 16 [1991]: 111–24). As to the juicier anecdotes, Podlecki steers a middle course between austerity and acceptance. Did Perikles have an affair with his daughter-in-law? Maybe not, but at least, says Podlecki, Perikles's relationship with his son was probably not good (p. 148).

The book has a good map and a chronological table. An index of cited ancient sources would have been useful. Podlecki concludes with a number of appendixes, of which "Athens' Finances" (pp. 165–68) may be the most significant. Here the author shows that Perikles's optimism about Athens's ability to withstand a long siege was probably not justified.

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DEBRA HAMEL. *Athenian Generals: Military Authority in the Classical Period*. (Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava: Supplementa, number 182.) New York: Brill, 1998. Pp. xvii, 250.

This is a scholarly work for the specialist. The reader would benefit from knowledge of Greek, since many cited passages are not translated, and a background in Athenian history of the fifth and fourth centuries is needed. It is organized, perhaps appropriately, like a U.S. Army Field Manual, with a comprehensive table of contents framing a text that is essentially a series of specific problems and catalogs.

Debra Hamel's purpose is "to define the limits of the authority that Athens' generals exercised in the military sphere with a view, principally, to illuminating the relationship which obtained between *strategoi* and the Athenian *demos*" (p. 1). This task she performs ably, while entertaining the conviction that the *strategoi* (generals) were very much the servants of the people rather than the leaders. To do so, she surveys examples of actions of *strategoi* and the responses they provoked.

The first section frames the study by treating the opening and closing of hostilities, while the second through fourth (respectively pertaining to subordinates, colleagues, and the *demos*) address issues pertaining to the *strategos* abroad. There is a mass of material that must be assessed here, and Hamel proves herself competent and judicious. She provides rich notes, based on a good grounding in primary evidence and current scholarship. Her virtue is in cataloguing and compiling. An illustrative example is her attention to the unnerving number of generals who faced trials and serious (in many instances, capital) punishment. Following Hansen, she catalogues individual cases, interprets them as a proportion of the total number, and finds that a general faced a daunting 20.3 to 22.2

percent chance of facing prosecution during the Peloponnesian War (pp. 131–32, n. 37). When one combines these statistics with fatalities in or after combat (Appendix 14, pp. 204–209), one cannot help wondering why men competed for an office with (apparently) so little power and such a high likelihood of death or disgrace. For all her virtues, Hamel is less adept at presenting her interesting material in accessible form. For example, the excursus on the involvement of generals in deliberation is thorough but unfortunately detached from her narrative. Further, while one is well rewarded by reading the notes to the excursus (pp. 34–39), one is left with a desire to see the data integrated into a comprehensive assessment.

In all this, Hamel is inclined to caution and qualification, with good reason, given the dubious nature of much of our evidence. Her attention is chiefly on the fifth century, while the fourth waits in the wings. It is perhaps not altogether fair to point out that, of sixteen appendixes, only one pertains to the fourth century, but it is indicative that important fourth-century campaigns, such as those leading to Second Mantinea (362) and Chaeronea (338), are underplayed or omitted, while the (admittedly instructive) Sicilian campaign of 416/5–413 is ubiquitous. Nevertheless, the author's conclusion—that the *demos* retained real power over decisions pertaining to war—is still tenable for the entire age; indeed, it is perhaps more valid for the later period.

The indexes are not for the neophyte. One would search the general index in vain, for example, for a listing for the Corinthian War, but if one knows of its details, one may be assisted by entries such as “Nemea (394/3)” under “campaigns and battles,” and “Boiotia, Corinth, Argos, and Athens (395/4)” under “leagues and alliances.” The index of passages cited is quite useful to a professional historian, that of modern authors perhaps less so. Not mentioned in the supporting material, but also welcome, is Hamel's web page, which contains corrections and addenda (www.dhamel.com/AthGen.html).

In sum, Hamel does not guide the citizen, who might look for insight into larger issues of the role of the military in ancient democracies or modern republics, to ponder Hermocrates or Douglas MacArthur. The political scientist finds no comparisons or contrasts with mechanisms of control exerted by Sparta over Lysander, or Joseph Stalin over Georgi Zhukov and Konev. However, this work might be of use in a class on the Athenian constitution or Greek military history. It would rest happily on the scholar's shelf next to W. Kendrick Pritchett's *The Greek State at War* (1971).

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ANTONY G. KEEN. *Dynastic Lycia: A Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c. 545–362 B.C.* (Mnemosyne. Bibliotheca Classica Batava: Supplementa, number 178.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1998. Pp. 268.

The history of the Lycians—the inhabitants of the mountainous region along the southern coast of Anatolia west of Caria—stretches over more than two millennia from Hittite times to the Roman imperial period and potentially has a great deal to tell us about matters ranging from Hittite administrative practices to the reception of Greek civilization by Anatolian peoples to experiments with federal forms of government. In recent decades, numerous specialized studies have addressed the poorly understood native epigraphic material and the hellenizing tombs, funerary monuments, and coins, but Antony G. Keen's work is the first attempt to reconstruct Lycian history in a detailed way since O. Treuber's *Geschichte der Lykier* (1887).

Keen concentrates on Lycian dynastic affairs and relations with foreign powers from the sixth through the fourth centuries—the period of Persian domination of Anatolia. Four initial chapters deal with the sources, ethnic and geographic matters, basic political arrangements (Keen argues for a hierarchical political structure, with central dynasts or “kings” resident at Xanthos dominating a number of lesser dynasts of southwestern or “Xanthian” Lycia), and Iranian and Greek cultural influences in Lycia. Eight subsequent chapters reconstruct the political history of Lycia from the 540s through the 360s, and a final chapter surveys Lycian history after the Persian period. Keen tackles with succinct thoroughness problems of identifying, correlating, and dating successive dynasts. He has a sure hand with the sources, easily blending numismatic, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence and frequently using his own detailed knowledge of the Lycian countryside to clinch his arguments. In appendixes Keen discusses such special topics as the typology of Lycian tombs, links between Lycian and Greek deities, identification of Lycian sites among “Lukka lands” mentioned in Hittite texts, and activities of Lycian troops serving outside Lycia.

Thanks to Keen's reconstructions, we now have a coherent—albeit still sketchy—story of dynastic affairs from the mid-sixth to mid-fourth centuries and a much improved understanding of Lycia's role in Mediterranean affairs in the same period. Beginning with installation of a new dynastic family at Xanthos following Persian conquest in the 540s, the Xanthian dynastic state waxed and waned as cities and lands of central and eastern Lycia came under Xanthian control by the late sixth century and as cities to the northwest of Xanthos were added between c. 471 and 450. But by or soon after 400 B.C., Xanthian control over central and eastern Lycia had ended, and dynasts from Limyra, Trbhenimi and his brother or son-in-law Perikle, sought to extend their authority into Xanthian and western Lycia despite Persian installation of Persian governors in both Xanthian and eastern Lycia. Perikle's local aggression thus constituted revolt against Persian authority, which makes it likely in Keen's view that he joined the coalition of rebels satraps in Anatolia in the late 360s known as the Great

Satrap's Revolt. With suppression of this revolt came the end of local dynastic rule in Lycia and the transfer of authority to the Hecatomnid dynasts/satrap of neighboring Caria.

Keen's treatment of Lycia's role in Mediterranean affairs revolves around his identification of Lycia's coastline as a vital stretch of the military sea route from the Aegean to the eastern Mediterranean. Since any fleet travelling from the eastern Mediterranean into the Aegean, or vice versa, would have to travel along the Lycian coast and put in to shore (given the maximum daily sailing range), any power controlling the Lycian coast could deny passage to an opposing fleet or at least know where that fleet would be going. Throughout the Achaemenid period, Keen argues, Lycia's strategic maritime importance shaped the policies of competing powers toward Lycia and thus helped shape Lycian history. The Persians needed control of Lycia to deploy Ionian Greek ships in the eastern Mediterranean or Phoenician ships in the Aegean. In Kimon's campaign in the 460s and Melesandros's in 430/429, the Athenians sought control of Lycia to keep Persian ships out of range of the Aegean. Similarly, Spartan interest in Lycia during the latter part of the Peloponnesian War, attested by the appearance of Lysander's name in Lycian inscriptions, reflects interest in facilitating reception of Persian naval support.

Students of Anatolian and eastern Mediterranean affairs approaching Lycia for the first time may want to give themselves an armchair tour using G. E. Bean's *Lycian Turkey* (1978). They should then turn to Keen's book for a masterful introduction to Lycian studies—archaeological, epigraphic, numismatic as well as historical—and a reliable reconstruction of Lycian dynastic history. This is a work of fundamental importance.

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FRANK L. HOLT. *Thundering Zeus: The Making of Hellenistic Bactria*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999. Pp. xviii, 221. \$55.00.

Frank L. Holt has achieved a remarkable synthesis integrating ancient texts and material culture, especially coins, to establish the circumstances by which the Diodotids of Hellenistic Bactria broke from the Seleucids and forged their own kingdom in the period 250–225 B.C. (p. 64). In seven chapters and four appendixes, Holt succeeds in placing the short-lived dynasty of father and son, Diodotus I and II, within the larger framework of the Hellenistic paradigm of “rule and divide” (p. 18).

Holt attributes the formation of a coin-based economy in Bactria to Seleucus I and Antiochus I as part of their policy of colonizing the East, enabling Bactria to become a fully hellenized state. He sees in the Ai Khanoum of ca. 280–225 B.C. a Greek population craving its “Greekness” by having created the most

monumental polis beyond the Mediterranean. The Greeks lived in a closed, segregated city that exploited the indigenous peoples but walled themselves off to prevent any temptation to “go native.” Indeed, the archaeological record at Ai Khanoum throughout much of the third century B.C. indicates that Bactria continued to prosper as the center of trade and the movement of peoples between India and the West. While the Greek and Latin sources (compiled in Appendix D) contain at best only “a series of discordant whispers” (p. 60), for Holt these whispers speak of the process of Diodotus I's growing autonomy from Seleucid control. Ultimately, he or his son proclaimed himself king, just as others elsewhere fostered ambitions that fueled their own desire at “Hellenistic state building” (p. 65).

In chapters four through six, Holt's treatment of the history of Hellenistic Bactria is greatly expanded with an analysis of the numismatic material of the Diodotids. By way of background, he concisely surveys the study of these coins since its inception in 1738. Holt interlaces his overview with discussions on forgeries (complemented with Appendix C) and the mysteries surrounding the disappearances of two Diodotid coins that affected greatly the development of early scholarship. In the two chapters that follow, Holt demonstrates how the numismatic evidence has allowed him to resolve the most fundamental yet vexing questions that concern Bactria under Diodotus I and II. Thus, he ascertains the circumstances by which Diodotus I rose from a Seleucid satrap to an independent sovereign, the role that his son played in the formation of Bactria's independence, as well as how long each remained in power. He likewise establishes that both sovereigns furthered the Seleucid initiative of monetizing Central Asia by continuing the mint, as he proposes, at the country's capital of Ai Khanoum and by founding a subsidiary mint, so he surmises, at Bactra (p. 125). Supplementing this portion of the text are two catalogues of Diodotid coinage in silver and gold (Appendix A), arranged in six series, while another catalogue, composed of three series, is entirely devoted to bronze (Appendix B). The former in particular are “certainly far more comprehensive than any inventory ever published” (p. 139).

Most fascinating is Holt's treatise on the types and symbols that the Diodotids employed on their coinage. For example, while still the satrap of Antiochus II, Diodotus I altered the coinage struck in Bactria by introducing “a new portrait that may have been his own, wearing a royal diadem” and by replacing the seated Apollo type with the “thundering Zeus” as a variation of Seleucid issues minted elsewhere (p. 96). In the bronze coinage, Holt sees the manifestation of cultural interaction between Greek and non-Greek with the use of Artemis assimilated by the Iranian population as the Persian goddess Anahita, perhaps the patron goddess of Ai Khanoum (p. 121).

The standard readings in English on Greek rule in Central Asia remain W. W. Tarn's *The Greeks in*

Bactria and India (2d. ed. 1951) and A. K. Narain's *The Indo-Greeks* (1957). Yet perceptions die hard. No one who has in recent decades examined these works can ignore how outdated many of their conclusions have become in light of such archaeological sites as Ai Khanoum and Takht-i Sangin, as well as numerous coin finds. As the author of a variety of publications on aspects of Bactrian history and numismatics in the Hellenistic period, Holt is uniquely qualified to recast much of our understanding about the early history of the Greeks in the Hellenistic Far East. He succeeds in making this book as useful to experts as to non-experts in a scintillating and thought-provoking manner.

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JANE TIBBETS SCHULENBURG. *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society, ca. 500–1100*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 587. \$40.00.

The theme of this engaging book is the lives of early medieval women who came to be culted as saints. Its source-base is some 2,000 (male and female) *vitae* or Lives. Women “were able to gain status in society and win popular recognition of sainthood” in ways different from men (p. 409). These were “uncommon women.” Chapter one, written in the late 1980s and supplemented with references to recent literature, accesses women’s lives through Lives. Chapter two, another revised reprint, quarries the Lives for information on holy women’s public and private activities: peacemaking, “reforming the practices of slavery,” monastic building campaigns, and dispensation of charity. Such women could exploit their “access to political and economic power, education and prophecy in the pursuit of sanctity” because “the newly organized Church needed the participation and material support of all its members,” women included (p. 107). Jane Tibbets Schulenburg, following Suzanne Fonay Wemple (but without reference to much recent work), sees Carolingian reform ushering the end of this Golden Age. Chapter three, originally published in 1986, tackles “the heroics of virginity.” “For a select few, monasteries provided the all-important career-ladder to sainthood” (p. 139). The practice of virginity was “continually tested by the violence and disorders of early medieval society,” with monasteries “often primary targets of violence, rape, and plunder.” Yet Schulenburg fails to distinguish sufficiently between abduction (or capture for ransom) and rape, between local and external threats, between contemporary and later sources. Tales of nuns’ self-mutilation to avoid violation embody a topos, martyr acts offering potential literary models. Schulenburg prefers to see “the methodology of . . . facial disfigurement . . . [as] part and parcel of the Germanic tenor of the time” (p. 148). Chapters four, six, seven, and eight are new. They consider what the Lives reveal about marriage, sibling bonds, friendships, and life expectancy. Chapter five,

largely new, looks at motherhood. All are interesting. Longevity, for instance, is presented as key to female sanctity: “a long active life generally worked to enhance the chances of a would-be saint to gain a greater visibility in society and to accumulate a more impressive spiritual dossier” (p. 366).

Two problems loom. First, Lives, as Schulenburg belatedly acknowledges (pp. 408–10), are slippery (re)sources for positivists. Gender can hardly be considered outside genre (cf. Lynda Coon, *Sacred Fictions: Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity* [1997]). Lives of late or quite uncertain date from the early modern editions of the *Acta Sanctorum* cannot simply be rehearsed alongside Lives written soon after the lifetimes of their subjects and well edited by modern scholars. True, saints before the twelfth century were “basically ‘local products.’” But did these Lives reflect a “spontaneous designation of sainthood by the *vox populi*” (p. 5)? Aristocratic self-hallowing and the self-representations of religious communities demand discussion.

Second, in what sense do early medieval Lives document lives? “[I]n order to be noticed, to win recognition or *fama sanctitatis*, one needed to act in a fashion ‘out of the ordinary’” (p. 409); and “in order for women to establish impressive credentials—to build up their spiritual dossiers and achieve a visibility which could lead to recognition of sanctity—it was necessary for them to be provided with opportunities or roles in society which would lend them this prominence, recognition, and power” (p. 405). Rather than being a quality ascribed by a cultic community after the subject’s death, sanctity is presented here as a status striven for, competitively, by the living subject herself, as if in the beginning all the world was late twentieth-century America. The single alleged case of a woman “assuming priestly roles in dispensing the eucharist” (pp. 408–409, referring to p. 292) actually shows the tenth-century Wiborada helping with the psalmody at Mass. Psalm-singing was an approved activity for early medieval (not only religious) women, specifically linked with the commemoration of the dead. Forgetful of their sex? Jerome’s world was as remote from Wiborada’s as both their worlds are from ours.

Did Lives affect the lives of early medieval nuns? Schulenburg might have juxtaposed statutes recording convent diets (M. Rouche’s reconstruction, cited here merely in passing, of the daily consumption of a nun of Notre-Dame, Soissons, c.850 is 4,727 calories!) with manuscripts of Lives tailored to be read out in nuns’ refectories. Earlier medieval nuns, like monks, were almost all aristocratic child oblates. At the book’s close, stories of Cold War U.S. convent girls’ strategies to resist hypothetical rape by invading Russians are taken to show “the incredibly long and persistent tradition of . . . the heroics of virginity.” History is another country: to adapt one of James Thurber’s

morals, she who walks unarmed therein should first be sure that's where she is.

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KATHLEEN ASHLEY and PAMELA SHEINGORN. *Writing Faith: Text, Sign and History in the Miracles of Sainte Foy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. x, 205. \$27.50.

Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn have been regular contributors to scholarship on the cult of St. Foy, the patron saint of the monastic community at Conques. Their latest contribution—a close literary-historical examination of the rhetoric in the *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis*—is one of their best. The *Liber* is a *florilegium* containing miracle stories written over three generations. Ashley and Sheingorn's analysis of the rhetoric in the *Liber* reveals significant changes in authorial ideology.

Beginning with an introduction to the current state of hagiographic study and how the cult of St. Foy has fared in that tradition, they review varying approaches to hagiography. Their own methodology, which they call social semiotics, is a mix of different poststructuralist disciplines, chiefly those of cultural anthropology and reader response theory. The writing, although a joint effort, is seamless and intelligent.

Chapter one focuses on Bernard of Angiers, the author of the first two books of the *Liber*. While historians have used Bernard's narratives as a reliable depiction of the culture of south central France, Ashley and Sheingorn argue that he constructed a narrative that purposely shaped the landscape, rural behavior, and the figure of the saint herself. Bernard constructed a saint, less a Gallo-Roman virgin martyr than an adolescent trickster, who indulged in pranks, practical jokes, and petulant acts of anger. Ashley and Sheingorn use bits of Bernard's biography to interpret his textual persona: that an educated northerner translating the liminality of the south to a wider audience. Thus Bernard placed himself in the narrative as a skeptical witness. Although this enhanced textual verisimilitude, it complicated his heuristic by making the text, in part, autobiographical.

Chapter two views Bernard as a transitional figure caught between an older culture and an emerging world. Bernard wrote for the monks at Conques who wished the cult to grow; for the rustic populace for whom Bernard was the literate voice; and, lastly, for an educated elite, possibly doubtful of the anecdotes he reported but who nonetheless recognized his learning. Bernard's skepticism and his skill in logical argument marked him as an outsider in the region and thus situated the monastery and its cult in a liminal space. His narrative is at times a critique of monastic power.

Chapter three examines the rhetoric of the "monk-continuator" (hereafter m-c) who authored books three and four of the *Liber*. If Bernard was an outsider,

a skeptical northerner, the m-c was a member of the Conques community who sought to internationalize the cult and so increase the monastery's power. For Bernard, Conques was both the epicenter of the cult and the margins of civilization. For the m-c, Conques is the locus of divine power in the world. Bernard wrote of St. Foy as a sometimes irascible patron, while the m-c presented St. Foy in traditional language as celestial virgin martyr. Whereas Bernard used humor to promote philosophical inquiry, the humor of the m-c sentimentalizes the narrative. Although this chapter does an admirable job of detailing the characteristics of the m-c's rhetoric, it emphasizes Ashley and Sheingorn's bias for Bernard and suggests a binary reading of books one through four.

Chapter four discusses the miracles written by the m-c in the second half of the eleventh century, and are known by their manuscript designations as the A and V-L ms. groups. The cult was now mature, wealthy, international, and more nuanced, and thus the rhetoric is more lapidary. The later miracle narratives, both the A and V-L group, even employ *prosimetrum*. The rhetoric of the V-L group, although closer to Bernard in spirit, is marked by invective and a baroque style indebted to Sidonius Apollinaris. V-L depicts an exaggerated image of St. Foy as the celestial virgin that they inherited from the m-c.

Chapter five raises very thoughtful questions concerning the omissions in the *Liber*. For example, there is little discussion of the ecclesiastical structure outside of Conques; no mention of female monastics or other monasteries; and no mention of heretics or Jews. The text is not misogynist, but the theology is slight and there is no explicit soteriology. What do the omissions signify? Let us look at its lack of misogyny: upper-class women are depicted as go-betweens in the struggle between a landed castellan warrior class and a monastic community; they are depicted as paragons of virtue and wisdom. Why depict women in this manner when the old misogynist stereotypes were very much alive? Women benefitted the monastery in urging their husbands to endow it. As these endowments redistributed the wealth of the castellan class, the status of the women increased and thus served to diminish the abusiveness of husbands and possibly rebalanced the marital relationship.

The *Liber miraculorum* is a rich and complex work, yet it is not so different from other medieval narratives with its reliance on rhetorical polysemy. It is designed to promote the cult of St. Foy and aggrandize the monastery at Conques. It is not pastoral and has no theological pretensions. It seeks to establish Conques as an important pilgrimage center and to show Conques as *prima inter pares* with other major ecclesiastical and political centers.

Ashley and Sheingorn give a judicious review of the scholarship, accurate translations from the *Liber*, and thorough and helpful notes. While this book is essential to all interested in the cult of St. Foy, it will also prove of considerable value to scholars exploring the

relationship of religious communities, their narratives, and their readers. The subtlety and insight with which Ashley and Sheingorn read the *miracula* should serve as a model for future scholarship.

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ARYEH GRABOIS. *Le pèlerin occidental en Terre Sainte au Moyen Âge*. (Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge, number 13.) Brussels: De Boeck & Larcier S.A. 1998. Pp. x, 266. 2280F.

In his latest book, Aryeh Grabois sums up the results of some twenty years spent studying medieval pilgrimages to the Holy Land. Pilgrimages of all kinds and to numerous destinations have in recent years attracted the attention of considerable numbers of social historians, since the records of these expeditions can supply useful information about social interaction within and across class boundaries, economic stratification, and material culture as well.

Grabois, however, centers his account of pilgrimages to the Christian holy places in the Middle East primarily on their religious aspect, as expressions of personal piety and devotion, a focus with which their medieval participants would surely have agreed. He is thus much concerned with the devotional practices of Holy Land pilgrims, the shrines that they sought out, the penitential acts that they performed both en route and at their various destinations, their quest for relics to bring home, and the like. Pilgrimage accounts—some written by the pilgrims themselves or dictated by them to amanuenses, others composed by third parties—constitute the principal source of evidence on these matters. Grabois relies on 135 such memoirs, which range in date from the early fourth century to the end of the fifteenth century. He lists these conveniently in an appendix to his book.

Holy Land pilgrimages, of course, did not remain static over the centuries. Grabois distinguishes four major periods in their history. The earliest period spans the years between the fourth and seventh centuries. Late Roman and Byzantine emperors ruled the holy places throughout those centuries, and pilgrims from the West accordingly encountered little political resistance on their journeys. They often seem to have welcomed the physical difficulties of travel as part of the penance to be paid for their sins. Most of the pilgrims about whom we know anything during this era were Roman (or Romanized) urban aristocrats who seized the opportunity that pilgrimage afforded them to reject the material comforts of urban life and to embrace instead the asceticism of the desert monks whom they revered.

Between the seventh century and the late eleventh century, however, Palestine, Syria, and Egypt were controlled by Muslim rulers, some of whom were hostile to Christian pilgrims. Others were relatively indifferent to them but often allowed local authorities to exploit them and did little to prevent outlaws of

various kinds from attacking pilgrim caravans. This second period, accordingly, was one when pilgrimage to the sacred shrines became even more perilous and difficult than the general run of long-distance travel in the Middle Ages. Pilgrims during this period tended to come from rural environments, and most of those who left accounts of their journeys were of Germanic stock.

From the beginning of the twelfth century up to the closing decades of the thirteenth century, many of the traditional sacred shrines that pilgrims frequented fell within the Latin states created in the aftermath of the first crusade. Crusading expeditions had also helped to make the land routes between Western Europe and the Middle East somewhat safer and more accessible than they had been earlier. One consequence of this was that pilgrimages in this era became available to those of modest means. The numbers of pilgrims from the West swelled substantially under these relatively benign conditions.

After the fall of Acre, the last Latin stronghold on the mainland, in 1291, pilgrims to the Holy Land encountered renewed obstacles to realizing their pious designs. The numbers of pilgrims consequently declined considerably during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Ironically, however, accounts of Holy Land pilgrimages burgeoned during those two centuries, and they are often rich in picturesque details about the conditions that pilgrims encountered on their journeys. Once they had reached the Middle East, late medieval pilgrims found access to the sacred shrines limited and expensive. The nature of their devotions also changed. This was the period when the *devotio moderna* flourished, and most pilgrims who left accounts of their journeys seem to have felt its influence in their prayers and activities in the holy places.

Grabois has provided us with the best overall account available of the medieval phenomenon of the Holy Land pilgrimage. His study is amply documented, and those who wish to investigate further the topics that he covers will find that his book provides a profitable point of departure for additional research. Grabois provides tantalizing hints about areas where further investigation might be useful, and his book provides guideposts that future historians of this subject are likely to welcome.

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CHRIS WICKHAM. *Community and Clientele in Twelfth-Century Tuscany: The Origins of the Rural Commune in the Plain of Lucca*. New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1998. Pp. vii, 276. \$69.00.

Chris Wickham has already established himself as a leading scholar of the transitional era between the early and the central Middle Ages in Italy. Although perhaps best known at large for his *Early Medieval Italy* (1981), he has also authored a continuous and impressive number of books (among them *The Mountains and the City: The Tuscan Apennines in the Middle Ages*

[1988]), monographs, and articles devoted primarily to the ninth through the twelfth centuries in Tuscany. In the present work, he augments these studies with an analysis of the rural communes as they emerged on the hills and plain of Lucca in the twelfth century.

In Wickham's schema, early medieval villages or groupings around *castelli* are classified as informal communities rather than "explicit collective associations" (p. 6) that the communes evolved into between 1100 and 1200. These latter—although the author argues that even through the thirteenth century they lacked a legal precision—were based on units of rural settlements, usually with leaders often called consuls, a collective consciousness, some control over their own affairs, and specific territorial boundaries. In the first section of the book, the author provides a historiographical backdrop and sets out the dynamic of political, economic, social, and territorial milieus within which the rural communes crystalized in the Lucchesia. In the middle portion, always skillfully utilizing surviving private sources, he reconstructs, for comparative purposes, the vicissitudes of rural development within two zones of the *sei miglia*, an area of six miles around the city. The one lay within the bishop's signoria and took in the Moriano, including neighboring Marlia and Brancoli, in the low hills north of Lucca; and the second was an area embracing Tassignano, Paganico, and Capannori in the east plain. In the last part of the study, a long concluding chapter, Wickham offers a useful comparison between the formative period of the Lucchese rural communes and their counterparts in Mediterranean and northern Europe.

The *sei miglia* had been established in 1081 though a diploma given by Henry IV to Lucca in the wake of his long struggle with Countess Mathilda and the papacy. The grant, among other things, abolished all castles and private jurisdictions within a six-mile radius of the city. The results of these stipulations were, on the one hand, a *de facto* hegemony by Lucca over its approximate environs and, on the other, a weakened aristocracy—the term feudal is used sparingly throughout—on the plains. As to the latter, Wickham does not see lordship playing a significant role in the crystalization of the rural communes of Lucca. Subsequent population growth and partible inheritance produced a pattern of fragmented land holding and an active land market that drew citizen buyers to the country. Traffic in small parcels, usually encumbered in the twelfth century by rents in kind involving both citizens and rustics, in turn created a tangled hierarchy of ownership in which peasants could work their own lands, work parcels leased from other villagers or citizens, or let out to other neighbors some of their allodial holdings. Thus, many twelfth-century Lucchese peasants were not beholden to one single landowner, nor could a large owner dominate a great number of tenants. Indeed, contemporary court cases show that rustics could be balky about resisting higher rents or even paying those in arrears. And in this environment

of parceled real estate and dispersed settlement, recognized boundaries were slow to develop until around 1100. Here signoria, parish, and village come into play. Wickham concludes, in general, that proliferating parishes had the greatest influence in the territorial shaping of the developing villages on the plain while it was the bishop's signoria and the bishop's policies that gave form in Moriano.

Moriano was a part of the episcopal jura and the site of a castle that the Morianesi had helped the bishop defend against a combined Lucchese and imperial siege force in 1081–1082. The first mention of the existence of a commune shows up in an oath sworn in 1121 by 293 Morianesi adult males to the bishop. And throughout the century, as the commune continued to develop institutionally, its relations with episcopal lordship were stamped with mutual self-interested cooperation. The bishop's signorial obligations were light, and there was no military elite set apart from the populace: the bishop was essentially a landlord and a patron. In the case of Moriano, the signoria was not the cause of the commune. The communal leaders, as identified by their high numerical positions on the list of oath-takers, were prosperous but not rich clients of the bishop. These "elites" in turn created their own horizontal relationships within the entire village. But such collectiveness was pressured from the city both in growing taxes and in citizen land-buyers. In the circumstance, the Morianesi as well as the bishop desired a viable commune to face the specter of Lucca.

Beginning around 1100, the communes of the plains displayed a similar developmental rhythm but not necessarily with uniform results. The pattern was played out with an initial collective action taken by neighbors (such as the siege at Moriano, 1081–1082), if need be through informal representatives; then around mid-century, an internal structure with stable leadership in the form of consuls took shape, and at about 1200, institutionalization of offices and powers within a defined territory emerged. In all the plain's communes, the presence of Lucca was a constant. Commonly some villagers, usually leaders, sought the benefits of life in the city while, conversely, there was an influx of citizen land buyers to undermine local owners. In these circumstances, each fragmented village at the outset had choices, and most opted for cohesion as advantageous for that particular village and its particular circumstances. Yet another noteworthy observation that emerges from this area of discussion underscores the lack of social tensions within the *sei miglia* communes. This the author attributes to the social complexity of the communes: no one could gain dominance, and outside enemies were not readily to hand. Only in Tassignano does he find evidence of class struggle. Such conditions, in this analysis, weakened the communes of the plain (compared to the relatively large, militarily dominated outlying "contado communes" regimes), but Wickham insists that the city, albeit a major element in the early history of the communes, was not the cause of their crystalization.

No one common factor precipitated the rise of the Lucchese rural communes, which in the aggregate were indeed similar to each other, yet in the individual showed diverse variations on the same theme.

The last chapter, "Comparative Perspectives," deals with the experience of the *sei miglia* communes in a European setting. Wickham surveys the historiography of the regions of Catalonia, Castile, southern and northern France, the Veneto, Lombardy, and non-Lucchese Tuscany with an eye to capture the similarities and differences within their communes as well as within those of Lucca. Out of these comparisons, he elicits a lengthy list of quasi-scholastic questions. For example, "can rural communes be established by lords, or against them?" (p. 229). This set of variables, Wickham suggests, should be seen as a "matrix" of explanations that can be recombined in different ways and applied to particular cases. In the Lucchese communes, the combining elements were unusually weak seignorial relationships, a new development of territorial identity within villages, and local elites who were able to decide whether or not their villages would be strong and active.

Appended to the last chapter is a brief discussion of clients and communities, the salient point of which is that country aristocratic clienteles had become either rigid or weak, which disinclined countrymen to seek entry into their ranks. Thus, the ambitious rustic landowners, who had not left for Lucca, built up within the rural communes their own horizontal ("communal") relationships, as opposed to vertical ("feudal") ones, and as the alternative to aristocratic clienteles or local communities the rural elites opted to cooperate with the city. By the end of the twelfth century and into the thirteenth, the rural communes, now fully institutionalized, were taking their places as the lowest level of city government, where they were the focus of local identity, action, and opposition.

This is an important book, based upon solid scholarship. It questions older assumptions, such as the role of the signoria in the formation of the rural communes, and emphasizes the near-infinite variability of the process of their crystallization. Wickham's set—his matrix—of variables should prove an invaluable tool to future scholars tackling the complexities of the history of the rural commune.

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ARIEL GUIANCE. *Los discursos sobre la muerte en la Castilla medieval (siglos VII–XV)*. (Estudios de historia.) Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León. Caja Duero. 1998. Pp. 443.

This is a difficult book to summarize, as difficult as it is ambitious, its eight chapters comprising what Ariel Guance describes as a "diversity of discourses" on various aspects of a topos as protean as life itself.

In part one ("The Church and Death"), which occupies more than half the volume and constitutes its

most sharply focused section, the theme is approached via "Canonical death," "The death of the saint," and "The afterlife." Here Guance is well served by conciliar *acta* from the Visigothic period and (post-1215) by the heroic labors of Antonio García y García (*Synodicon Hispanum*; 7 vols. to date, 1981-), as well as by the vast resources of the hagiographical corpus and a generally well-informed acquaintance with peninsular historiography (at least down to the thirteenth century). In part two ("The Lay Powers and Death"), he revisits the same lengthy stretch of history in his accounts of "Juridical death," "The death of the king," and "Dying for the country, the land, or the faith?" (an English-language version of which was published in the *Journal of Medieval History* 24 [1998]: 313–32), and in part three, suicide and ghosts are addressed.

From Goths to ghosts, Guance brings an acute and ever-questing intelligence to bear, providing much to applaud, particularly in his account of the effects of the slavish misapplication of Ernst H. Kantorowicz's *The King's Two Bodies* (1957) to the peninsular scene and his critique of Jacques Le Goff's *La naissance du purgatoire* (1981). There might have been more to praise, however, had rather less been attempted. Although, curiously, he chooses to eschew wills, otherwise Guance has cast his net as wide and deep as could be wished, and he shares with his reader the excitement of sorting through the contents of his successive miraculous drafts. The entire exercise is buttressed by an admirable mastery of the modern literature, with virtually everybody who is anybody eventually receiving acknowledgement along the way.

And yet, somehow the whole adds up to less than the sum of its parts, leaving the reader wondering why. It is surely not because, wholly to his credit, Guance raises more questions than he answers, nor even on account of his trailing his historiographical coat through so many fashionable markets. The explanation seems rather to have to do with a tendency on his part to hide his light under other people's bushels and with taking on more than he has space to do justice to.

For example, only in relation to royal deaths is the contention that death in Christian Spain was "different" from that experienced on the other side of the Pyrenees (p. 47 n. 52) adequately tested. The cue that the case provides for exploring what he alleges to be the factitiousness of the distinction between popular culture and the culture of the elite is missed. Rather than moving on to the issues broached in part three, it might have been preferable to have pursued that question further—even, perhaps, to have considered whether it is a question capable of being pursued at all without surrendering to those teleological imperatives, occasionally in the ascendant here, which result in the fifteenth century being recruited to serve the purposes of the sixth. The survival of Visigothic liturgical and dogmatic forms (not all that startling a phenomenon, after all) does not of itself vindicate the *longue durée* search for continuities in other of death's departments during the eight centuries under review. Without some

such prescriptive agenda, however, it is difficult to see how tenth-century illustrations to the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* of Beatus of Liébana and the lexical lucubrations of Alfonso of Palencia half a millennium later (for example) can be brought within a single compass. In the case of an undertaking as all-embracing as this, these are real problems.

Another weakness is the chronological presentation of material chapter by chapter, which leaves the reader to align the thematic coordinates for himself; the volume's wholly inadequate two-page general conclusion affords no opportunity of providing the learning author assistance, let alone of pulling the whole thing together. The sense of something missing that this produces (accentuated by the inexcusable absence of any sort of index) does Guinace a disservice by leaving the impression of a series of highly professional review articles rather than of a fully integrated treatment of an arguably coherent theme.

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PAUL FREEDMAN. *Images of the Medieval Peasant*. (Figurae: Reading in Medieval Culture) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 459. \$22.95.

Anyone even remotely familiar with the Middle Ages knows that peasants were dominated by a narrow secular and religious elite and that descriptions of them in elite documentary and visual sources consistently portrayed them as being vastly inferior and thus worthy of domination. Paul Freedman confirms what is commonly known and much more. He sees nuance and ambivalence where others have not. Despite all else, he accords agency to peasants: they could assess their situations and they could act in their own interests, sometimes effectively.

Freedman begins with a broad definition of medieval peasants: agriculturalists, both free and unfree, who produced most of what they themselves consumed while paying substantial rents (that is, labor services, produce, or money) to support all non-agriculturalists. Because Europe remained an overwhelmingly agrarian society throughout the Middle Ages, the labor of peasants, the vast majority of people, was the ultimate source of all wealth during the period. Freedman then proceeds thematically to a consideration of five broad categories of images regarding medieval peasants.

In part one, Freedman examines the familiar, idealized model of medieval social structure described as consisting of three orders—those who pray, those who fight, and those who labor—and the place of peasants within that scheme. Although peasants, the vast majority of those who labored, clearly were subordinated in this hierarchy, their importance was recognized in the mutuality that supposedly tied the three orders together: each performed a function essential to the other two. Freedman then considers flaws in the three orders ideology, including the fact that compensation for peasant labor never even remotely approached the

value of what it produced. In other words, he concludes, the posited mutuality did not exist, rendering the entire three-orders scheme a sham.

Freedman examines the origins of inequality in part two. In principle, medieval Christianity posited a fundamental equality of all humankind before God, and it definitely included peasants within the human family. To explain how inequality emerged from original equality, some pointed to certain events that might have caused such a change. One such explanation suggested that peasants were descended from Ham, whose progeny were cursed by his father Noah. In Catalonia and Hungary, peasant subordination often was explained as the consequence of a particular founding moment of the people; those who failed tests of bravery and martial skill at a crucial occasion, the ancestors of peasants, were henceforth condemned to serve those who had not failed the same tests. Freedman examines the full range of unfavorable images of peasants found in documentary and visual sources in part three, ranging from descriptions of them as ugly, brutish, untruthful, filthy, and ignorant to inhabiting bodies that were deformed, grotesque, and promiscuous, all of which earned them a much deserved subordinate status.

In part four, Freedman explores the issues of peasant agency and humanity. Despite their position in an exploitative social structure, in which much of their labor was under compensated or not compensated at all, despite their being described as worthy of servitude, whether because of genealogy or simply ugliness, stupidity, or grotesqueness, peasants nevertheless were able on occasion to take control of their own lives, as in the establishment of communities free of noble or seigneurial domination in Andorra, Switzerland, Dithmarschen, and elsewhere. Further, all but the most unrepentant of peasant haters had to admit that peasants were human and that their lives of simplicity and hard work often were seen by others as deserving of respect. In the final part, Freedman puts peasant agency into action. He points to a wide range of medieval resistance to peasant servitude, from frequent but scattered protests against arbitrary mistreatment and degradation to organized and even armed resistance, exemplified by late-medieval peasant revolts in England (1381), Catalonia (1462–1486), Hungary (1514), and Germany (1535).

This work is impressive in both breadth and depth. Freedman has collected an astounding variety and quantity of material from widely disparate sources, including religious, philosophical, and theological texts, law codes and treatises, chronicles, poems, sermons, romances, *fabliaux*, paintings, manuscript illuminations, woodcuts, and more. The topical arrangement of this wealth of material allows him effectively to examine the persistence and malleability of certain images over the entire period, without neglecting the historical contexts of such images. This is not an exhaustive study, but it is comprehensive and exemplary; the text bristles with appropriate historical

examples. Throughout, Freedman has resisted the temptation to present a single image of medieval peasants but rather acts to preserve the complexity and broad range of voices. His careful direction of the material has preserved its rich polyphony.

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MITCHELL B. MERBACK. *The Thief, the Cross and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. 351.

This provocative book not only explores a heretofore overlooked iconographical problem in Renaissance art history but speaks to a hot-button social issue of our time: the death penalty. Why was it sanctioned for so long in the medieval "age of faith," and why does it now seem so immoral in our modern age of secular humanism?

Mitchell B. Merback's argument derives from Renaissance paintings of Christ's crucifixion, particularly from sixteenth-century transalpine Europe, where images of the two thieves, writhing in agony on separate crosses on either side of Jesus, are depicted in poses more tormented than that of the Savior himself. The author illustrates with numerous examples how the thieves are often shown not nailed but tied with their limbs grotesquely fractured and twisted around the cross bars. While Scripture states that the Roman soldiers broke the legs of the thieves, it says nothing about the other horrible mutilations Renaissance artists liked to depict on Christ's crucified companions.

Being nailed to a cross as a form of public capital punishment, of course, had long gone out of fashion since the Roman Empire, and no medieval or Renaissance artist could ever have seen such an execution in actuality. Thus, painters of that time had no first-hand model for representing the physiological stresses of Christ's crucified body, and they tended to portray him not so much writhing as merely hanging in stoic *contraposto*. Arm and leg breaking were, however, standard features of another criminal penalty administered quite frequently in sixteenth-century northern Europe and surely witnessed by contemporaneous artists. This was the grim spectacle known as the "wheel," an especially horrendous judicial punishment perhaps descended from some ancient Germanic sacrificial ritual. Merback observes that while the appalling disfigurements associated with the wheel were often applied by Renaissance artists to the crucified thieves, they were not to the chastisement of Christ himself.

Strangely, no art historian as far as I know, not even the great Erwin Panofsky, has ever before examined this anomaly. Merback, however, offers an intriguing and convincing explanation, not only as to why artists painted the thieves in this way, but why good Christians in general could stomach, even witness, the same brutal tortures inflicted on real thieves in contempo-

aneous public executions. The virtual thieves in crucifixion paintings, Merback avers, were not just compositional props but crucial signifiers to Christian viewers of the eternal cosmic psychomachia between the forces of sin and salvation. While Gestas the bad thief turns away from the Savior and thus is destined to suffer damnation forever (even worse torment than he now bears while still alive on his cross), Dysmas the good thief looks directly at Jesus and begs forgiveness and thus is promised that he will join him in paradise. By this symbolic interface, Christian viewers were reminded to envision their own final confrontation with God; in order to win redemption from their own sins, they, like Dysmas, must likewise endure whatever penance the earthly vicars of Christ decreed.

During the Middle Ages, Christians believed absolutely that God permitted sin in this world in order to test mankind. Whoever failed that test could be cast into hell forever. Judicial capital punishment was but an earthly preview of this eschatological certainty, performed in public so all could see and be instructed as to what might be expected in the afterlife. Violent death was not the criminal's final verdict, only the traumatic means by which he was prematurely remanded to the supreme court in heaven, where God would be the ultimate judge of how well he had endured his penance on earth, and whether or not his immortal soul deserved salvation or damnation.

Merback sums up, influenced by Hans Belting's contention that Renaissance realism in the pictorial arts eventually undermined Western Europeans' faith in the mystical power of holy images, by arguing that not only were the once riveting representations of the crucified thieves rendered bland by the increasing aesthetic detachment of Renaissance mannerism but capital punishment itself began to lose whatever original didactic and moral meaning it may have had in the Middle Ages. Merback's final comparison is with Andy Warhol's silkscreen print, *Orange Disaster* (1962), showing fifteen monotonously repeated still-frames of the electric chair in a bleak and empty prison room. It is an image so impersonal and indifferent that it has become the paradigm expression of the death penalty in our existential age: unrelieved banality signifying nothing.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

RICHARD BONNEY, editor. *The Rise of the Fiscal State in Europe c. 1200–1815*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 527. \$110.00.

The thread running through the dozen case studies in this book is "the transition from the 'domain state' to the 'tax state'" (pp. 13, 21). The idea of this transition as being common to European countries was first stated by Joseph A. Schumpeter about eighty years ago, and others, notably editor Richard Bonney and

W. M. Ormrod, have recently adopted it in a modified form. Taking Great Britain as a model of successful state taxing and borrowing, they see other European countries developing more slowly in the same direction. Six chapters treat the medieval and modern history of three great states: England, France, and Castile. The evolving states of central and southern Europe, with their shifting governments and borders, pose an obvious problem, solved herein by devoting two chapters to the Holy Roman Empire and the Low Countries in the Middle Ages and then allotting chapters for the United Provinces of the Netherlands, the Swiss Confederation, the papacy and Papal States, Venice, and the Italian states in modern times. Two concluding chapters deal with Poland-Lithuania and Russia. The Scandinavian and German states are scarcely mentioned at all in this book but were suitably treated in an earlier companion volume, *Economic Systems and State Finance*, ed. Richard Bonney (1995).

The question of whether the rest of Europe learned from the English example or evolved independently, in an impersonal Hegelian/Marxist unfolding of events, is scarcely touched on in this book or in its companion volume. In future, the rise of the fiscal state, like the earlier concept of the industrial revolution, will probably be pulled one way by empirical studies of English influence and another by French and other foreign nationalists unwilling to recognize English primacy.

Although it was written under English auspices, this book is truly European in its authorship and approach. Only four of the fifteen contributors are British; two are American, two Dutch, two French, and the rest are German, Italian, Polish, Spanish, and Swiss. All have published much in their fields, and their collective scholarly authority lends value to this book. It deserves, indeed, the approbation of the European Union, and the Presses universitaires de France might proudly and promptly publish it in French, as it did the earlier companion volume. The contents are laid out in a starched continental style. Readers of *French History* will recognize its interesting "Bonneyfied" form, each chapter being divided into five parts (occasionally six) numbered from I to V (or VI). Curiously enough, this procrustian format has unexpected benefits: it prevents authors from droning on too long about a pet subject, and it helps to keep the reader's mind alive as he or she slogs through the Castilian tax-farming system or gazes at a table of "The repartition of the Burgundian general aids by province, 1471–1540/8" (p. 289). This last, incidentally, is one of more than a hundred tables and figures, most of them summarizing revenues and expenditures.

The entire book, indeed, is a series of useful summaries of historical knowledge to date. The sixteen bibliographies, although not exhaustive, total sixty-six pages. Probably the least novel part of most chapters is the review of taxes imposed, and the newest is the effort to draw up a budget *ex post facto*. This is a dubious exercise, as there were no budgets except in eighteenth-century England and revolutionary France.

According to the *Encyclopédie méthodique: Partie finance* (1784), the "budget," both term and institution, was a British parliamentary invention. The *Oxford English Dictionary* dates the term from 1733. In no state on the continent were all revenues and expenditures drawn up in a single reliable statement. Certain revenues in every state were collected and spent by local or provincial agencies and therefore beyond state knowledge or control.

War financing was, in most cases, the foggiest part of the expenditures and also the biggest. "The motor of fiscal change in France, as for all of the main European monarchies," writes Bonney, "was expenditure on war" (p. 161). Most authors can only guess at the military expenditures for most years but never doubt their importance. In chapter six, on Castile 1504–1808, Juan Gelabert is no more able to quantify military spending than were the Spanish kings in their desperate struggles to pay for their almost interminable wars. Peter Partner reckons (p. 369) that military expenses used about one-third of the papacy's funds in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In Switzerland, internal and external security usually cost no more than five percent of revenue, but Berne spent as much as fifty-three percent on war in 1682–1687 and sixty-two percent in 1766–1770.

The financial systems of several countries collapsed now and then under the weight of expensive warfare, causing the state to inflate the currency, invent new taxes, and exhaust its sources of credit. This theme echoes through most of the chapters, but none of them goes as far as to examine the social, psychological, and legal bases of state credit. During the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), for instance, British victories at sea and in the colonies caused merchants and financiers to lose confidence in the French war effort. Based partly on an expectation of victory, credit extended to the French government by shipping merchants and venal state treasurers was shaken when Louisbourg fell in summer 1758 and collapsed altogether the day news of the defeat on the Plains of Abraham was confirmed in Paris in October 1759. One of the treasurers-general for the Navy died of shock the same day. Totally discredited, the various paper notes on which the government depended had to be suspended. The duc de Choiseul desperately resorted to bullying Jewish and Huguenot merchants, who were vulnerable to political pressure in Bourbon France. And bankrupt though it was, the government used its absolute authority to issue decrees preventing its creditors from prosecuting in the courts, seizing property, or otherwise recovering investments, as they were accustomed to doing with bankrupt private debtors. The reader gets no inkling of all this in these chapters; Bonney seems unaware of the financial crisis of 1759–1760. In short, further work is needed on the identity of creditors and the nature of their relationship with the state.

It would be unfair to press this sort of criticism too far. In compressing so much history into 527 pages,

sacrifices are inevitable. Still, the telescopic, macro-minded focus of these chapters, framed as they are within a general theory of change, leaves an impression of inevitability, as though history marches along independently of people's efforts. Statesmen, reformers, and thinkers are mentioned here and there, but to their present-day successors the lesson of the long view is that it does not matter what they do. To appreciate the parts played in history by, for instance, the Fugger family and the founders of such institutions as the Royal Exchange, the Bank of England, and the modern French treasury, students will have to dip into the appended bibliographies. This volume is only a beginning, but it leads into a field of study more important than its title suggests, because government collecting, borrowing, and spending touched upon the life of every citizen.

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HARRY LIEBERSOHN. *Aristocratic Encounters: European Travelers and North American Indians*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 179. \$49.95.

Harry Liebersohn has provided a compact, concise addition to the burgeoning literature on European contact with non-Europeans and European constructions of the "other." He analyzes the creation of an image of the North American Indian by a particular set of observers: French and German aristocratic or elite "notable" travelers in the Romantic era. The author's own previous review of travel writing suggests situating his account somewhere between the careful reading of texts on European encounters by Anthony Pagden and the theory of projection of Western power by the school of Edward Said. Here, however, the Europeans refashioned aristocratic culture not out of triumphalism but to neutralize challenges to nobility in postrevolutionary societies. In this condition, they felt kinship to fellow victims of an inevitable historical process, the defeated Native Americans. To the extent that aristocrats aspired to find their masculinity in the Wild West, this is also a work of gender history. Liebersohn displays his mastery of both French and German travel literature, a thorough appreciation of the history of the American West and the Canadian frontier, and an immersion in the ethnography of distinct Indian cultures. He is equally comfortable in the genre of Bernard Smith, discussing art as shaping the European vision.

Liebersohn adds complexity to the French Enlightenment image of the Indian by differentiating the "noble savage" cliché into the cherished convert of the Jesuits and the intrepid hunter of the soldier Louis-Armand de Lahontan. But the distinctive discourse of eighteenth-century authors envisaged the North American native as a serene egalitarian, often drawn in the garb of the classical Roman republican. From Voltaire to Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, the Indians

appeared as frank, generous, and relatively peaceable, while some authors idealized Iroquois meritocracy.

The contrary Enlightenment view of the "ignoble savage" appears here only as a minority counter-current. The author does not mention French officers such as Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, who idealized the Tahitians but expressed negative views of the Iroquois. Liebersohn discusses the extreme views of Cornelius de Pauw, who, though anticolonialist, portrayed Indians as enervated representatives of North American degeneration. Constantin-François Volney, in America, if not in Syria and Egypt, implicitly subscribed to the cultural superiority of settled over hunting peoples. Liebersohn interprets Volney almost as an anti-philosophe, while it might be more accurate to depict him only as an anti-Rousseauist. Volney's successors in the construction of early anthropology shared his disdain for nomadic hunters.

The origins of the view of the Indian as aristocratic victim appear to a limited extent in the works of the liberal noble François La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt and the "American farmer," Michel-Guillaume-St. Jean de Crèvecoeur. The true pioneer of the Romantic traveler's view was François-René de Chateaubriand. The tragic fate of the Natchez, idealized in a long manuscript and in the highly successful novellas *Atala* (1801) and *René* (1802), was a metaphor for his own exile during the French Revolution and for the destruction of the French nobility. Liebersohn has unearthed one of Chateaubriand's sources on the actual destruction of the Natchez in 1729 in an account of the soldier Antoine-Simon Le Page du Pratz. For Chateaubriand, the Natchez were not classical egalitarians but a hunting, warrior aristocracy defending ancient freedoms against a modern commercial society. Nature, as well as the human characters, was seething with passion and excess. As Liebersohn points out, however, Chateaubriand did not give up nostalgia for the French empire and the hope that France would some day recover Canada.

The theme of ambivalence is indeed striking among the travelers. The vogue of James Fenimore Cooper increased their enchantment with the image of chivalric Indians. Contact with the Indian aristocracy reinforced their own sense of nobility and martial virtues. Many accepted the necessity of Anglo-American appropriation and domination but reacted with repugnance to the uncouth manners and mercantile greed of the pioneers. The forced migration policies of Andrew Jackson also repelled European observers.

The journals of Alexis de Tocqueville and his *Democracy in America* (1835) gave full expression to these conflicting sentiments. Despite lack of sympathy for other colonized non-Europeans such as Algerians, Tocqueville, at the price of personal hardship, sought out the Ojibwa. He found liberty and nobility in a warlike hunting culture, yet he, too, saw the extinction of Indians as inevitable. The warning for European aristocracy was thus to adapt to the world of bourgeois commerce if they wished to avoid a similar fate.

Travelers from German states were not soldiers, administrators, or representatives of a lost empire. For middle-class German authors, America was a subject of curiosity about the relative success of German immigrants. The Prussian civil servant Gottfried Duden became a Missouri farmer indifferent to Indian land rights. For German aristocrats, America provided a harder version of the Grand Tour. They could test their own savage instincts against nature and express esteem for the hard-pressed Indians. The colorful rival of Otto von Bismarck, Prussian diplomat Albert Poutalès, found the Osage horsemen of Oklahoma hospitable and generous, although he also wanted to civilize them and introduce them to agriculture.

The Rhineland prince Maximilian of Wied, already an ethnographer of the Botocudos in Brazil, felt particular empathy for the imprisoned chief Black Hawk at the time of the American militia campaign against the Sauk and Fox along the Mississippi. Maximilian then relished the display, elegance, and male warrior clubs among the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara peoples of the upper Missouri in present-day Montana. Liebersohn compares the even more valuable, realistic sketches of the artist of this expedition, Karl Bodmer, to a Nietzschean celebration of the pre-Socratic Dionysian ecstatic rituals of dance and initiation. With creative interpretation, the author finds in these works the aristocratic search for ritual giving cohesion to a society.

Few of these aristocrats lacked a sense of racial superiority. But Liebersohn underplays the growth of early nineteenth-century racial theory and the persistence of the stage theory of development, either of which could justify expansion and colonization. A sampling of different explorers, geographers, and early ethnologists might yield a less romanticized view of native peoples. The concluding brief paragraphs open up far too complex subjects for the available space. The author suggests that the legacy of Romantic travel included artistic primitivism. For Charles Baudelaire, portraits of Indians showed a savage alternative to bourgeois Europe. The symbolist artist Rodolphe Bresdin drew himself as an Indian. The German nationalist writer of Westerns, Karl May, found in the Indians an aristocratic people kindred to the Germans. This admirable book thus deliberately leaves open questions about the nature of aristocratic culture in the late nineteenth century and the practical effect on imperialism of the Romantic fascination for the Indian.

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FRANZ X. EDER, LESLEY A. HALL, and GERT HEKMA, editors. *Sexual Cultures in Europe*. Volume 1, *National Histories*. New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1999. Pp. x, 270. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$29.95.

FRANZ X. EDER, LESLEY A. HALL, and GERT HEKMA, editors. *Sexual Cultures in Europe*. Volume 2, *Themes*

in Sexuality. New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1999. Pp. x, 261. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$29.95.

These two volumes of essays grew out of papers given at a workshop conference on "Sexual Cultures of Europe 1700–1985," held in June 1996 in the Netherlands. The unifying theme is a historical one: namely, that society has strong influence on the shapes and definitions of sexuality and that the social forms vary from culture to culture and epoch to epoch. Only one of the contributors, Robert A. Nye, is an American. The rest are all Europeans, most of them historians.

Most of the essays in the first volume are overviews on such topics as "sexual cultures" in Britain, Ireland, the Netherlands, France, Italy, Germany and Austria, Spain, and Russia, each more or less covering the period from the 1700s to the 1980s. The two remaining essays are on medicine and the modernization of sexuality and on the World League for Sexual Reform. They are interesting, occasionally give new insights, have helpful bibliographies, and will serve as useful guides to others. Collectively, the essays emphasize the differences and similarities between countries but are very skimpy on details. Most also assume a level of historical sophistication that few undergraduates would possess.

The second volume has a different orientation. Part of it offers the same kind of compact summaries as the first, but on such topics as venereal disease, European fertility rates, pornography in Western Europe, transvestism, and same-sex relations in Europe between 1700–1990. These essays are compact overviews, short on details, and will make good guides for new researchers in the field. Still another group of essays is devoted to specialized topics, and these are more narrowly focused on studies of a small group of "lesbian physicians" in Britain in the nineteenth century, sex education in Germany, abortion in the Hague at the beginning of the twentieth century, and French Catholic attitudes about abstinence and "appeasement of lust" from 1930 to 1950, as reflected in the letters column of a newspaper published by a Catholic organization. There is even an oral historical study of the recollections of senior citizens in South Wales about how abortion was dealt with in their younger years. All of these essays break new ground and are based on primary sources.

As in all essay collections, some are better than others, but the overall quality is high, and the editors are to be congratulated on completing what must have been a time-consuming process involving conference papers, comments, revisions, and finally publication. With the exception of the specialized and narrowly focused essays, however, there is little that is new, but it is nice to have the information summarized as it is here. Editors Franz X. Eder, Lesley A. Hall, and Gert Hekma justify their rather miscellaneous collection as demonstrating that historians of sexuality have moved from nature to culture, with the result that sex, sexu-

ality, or sexology are no longer adequate descriptions of the object or the terrain of historical research. Instead, they believe, they are moving historians of sexuality in a new direction, following a path charted by women's studies that rejects the narrow, bipolar models of sex current in biology in order to study the broader questions of gender. To describe this new kind of history, they suggest that it be called the study of "sexual culture," and they would emphasize individual experience and collective interpretations and not favor one or the other side. This implies that the collection under review is different than others in using this new approach, which simply is not true. It is what most historians in the field have always done. In fact, the German pioneers in the field often used the term *Sittengeschichte* (history of life and customs) in the titles of their work. The main problems with studying sexuality in a historical context were to gain respectability and acceptance by professional historians for those who researched such history, to get such studies published, and to raise the level of such studies. These are no longer problems, and if the use of the term "sexual cultures" moves the field more into the historical mainstream, so be it. A new name, however, does not guarantee a revolutionary new approach.

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S. J. BARNETT. *Idol Temples and Crafty Priests: The Origins of Enlightenment Anticlericalism*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xii, 197. \$59.95.

This book seeks to demonstrate that one of the chief characteristics of the European Enlightenment, its virulent anticlericalism, can be traced to the anticlerical polemic that developed during the Reformation and its complex aftermath. S. J. Barnett argues that the critique advanced to attack religious opponents by all participants in these polemics (Martin Luther and other Protestants, pro-Rome propagandists, anti-curial Catholics, and anti-Anglican Protestants in England) had a number of fundamental themes. Catholics as well as Protestants (and the subdivisions in each camp) "accused each other of using religion as a mask for the attainment of . . . wealth, power and prestige. Each accused the other of antichristian behaviour, of using superstition and pagan forms of worship to hoodwink the masses into quiescent obedience to a false religion" (p. viii). In addition, Barnett contends, by the late sixteenth century, both sides had already developed the tool of comparative historical inquiry that would also be taken over by the Enlightenment critique of church history.

Barnett's thesis is analogous to the one advanced by Michael J. Buckley, *At the Origins of Modern Atheism* (1987), although Barnett does not mention the earlier study. Buckley demonstrated that the atheism of the most radical thinkers of the Enlightenment was developed and argued against an essentially philosophical exposition of theism by the leading Christian apolo-

gists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For various reasons, these defenders of the Christian conception of God against a perceived rising tide of atheism had borrowed heavily from philosophical arguments used by the earliest Christian apologists against the atheism of antiquity. With both sides focusing on philosophical issues, the person of Jesus was largely ignored, to the detriment of an effective Christian apologetic. In both instances, if Buckley and Barnett are correct, Christian controversialists have a lot to answer for.

Like Buckley, Barnett argues that historians of the Enlightenment have too often neglected the broader context in which Enlightenment thinkers developed their ideas: in the one case atheism, and in the other anticlericalism. While Barnett insists on the necessity of taking into account social, political, religious, and economic factors in order to understand intellectual developments in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, his book stresses particularly the overwhelmingly Christian cultural context from which Enlightenment anticlericalism emerged.

Barnett's investigation of how Christian polemic and historical thought contributed to the formation of Enlightenment anticlericalism focuses on the polemical debate between English Protestants and Rome, but he also examines in detail the polemics that Catholic reformers in Italy levelled against the corruption of the Roman Curia as well as the arguments of zealous Protestants in England who condemned the Anglican Church as too little reformed. Within this context, he pays particular attention to the so-called English deists of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, whose writings provide the first manifestations of the Enlightenment critique of church history. Against historians who have assumed that the deist historical scheme was developed under the stimulus of antireligious skeptical writings, Barnett presents ample evidence to show that these deists owed their historical interpretation to Protestant thought.

If Barnett's narrative at times seems a bit repetitious, the blame must be put on the literature he is examining. The fundamental accusation of priestcraft, already worked out in the confessional polemics of the Reformation, was elaborated by writers on every side during the next two centuries, but the themes of fraud and lust for wealth and power were repeated time and again with little variation. Although Barnett consciously emphasizes the changing contexts in which these anticlerical themes were expounded, his detailed accounts of the contributions of successive writers to these debates inevitably involve reiteration of the arguments.

While interesting and clearly written, Barnett's account is not nearly as sophisticated, as well organized, or as rich in references as Buckley's narrative of the origins of Enlightenment atheism. Buckley sets his story within the sweep of Western civilization from religious controversies in ancient Egypt to contemporary secular society, whereas Barnett's frame of refer-

ence is more narrowly limited to Western Europe in the era between the Reformation and the French Revolution. Nevertheless, within these limits he provides a thoroughly researched and very useful exposition of the Christian origins of Enlightenment anticlericalism. His work nicely supplements Buckley's study by enriching our understanding of the diverse origins and complex nature of Enlightenment thought.

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LAWRENCE E. KLEIN and ANTHONY L. LA VOPA, editors.
Enthusiasm and Enlightenment in Europe, 1650–1850.
San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1998. Pp. 206.
\$15.00.

The essays collected in this volume explore the important, often surprising role that the now innocuous term "enthusiasm" played in a number of fields, including theology, philosophy, social theory, physiology, and aesthetics, considered in three distinct regions of early modern Europe. The volume's underlying thesis is that enthusiasm had a Janus-like quality, evoking both positive ideas of religious or artistic inspiration and darker associations with disorder, delusion, and excess. The latter pejorative meanings had originated in the theological controversies of the Protestant Reformation but persisted, in more secular forms, into the Romantic era. At the heart of all the essays is the complicated interrelation of enthusiasm and Enlightenment: that is, the way that enthusiasm served both as a foil to eighteenth-century notions of enlightened rationality, sociability, and modernity and as a means of preserving values that those notions sometimes threatened, like the mysteries of creativity and spiritual illumination, the privacy of consciousness, and the desire to transcend the limits of the self. The volume's editors, Lawrence E. Klein and Anthony J. La Vopa, duly acknowledge Michael Heyd's important study *"Be Sober and Reasonable": The Critique of Enthusiasm in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries* (1995) in their introduction; yet they and their fellow contributors are intent on considering the story of enthusiasm more broadly, covering a longer time span, new geographic contexts, and new areas of Enlightenment culture. The book thus gives equal space to the discourses of enthusiasm in France and Germany as well as England and draws on the perspectives of intellectual historians, social historians, literary scholars, and specialists in the period's art, medicine, and political thought. Although certain essays are not always faithful to the transnational, interdisciplinary spirit that marks the volume as a whole, the collection provides a rich introduction to a wide range of fields, along with a wealth of lively commentaries on a concept that enjoyed an intriguing rhetorical career in and beyond the eighteenth century.

J. G. A. Pocock opens the volume with a call for a longer history of enthusiasm and a more pluralistic perspective on the Enlightenment. Dubbing enthusi-

asm the "antiself of Enlightenment" (p. 7)—the epithet applied to everything deemed antithetical to a sound understanding of the mind and its limits—he traces enthusiasm's trajectory from the Wars of Religion to Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), wherein Burke used the term to denounce the revolutionary zeal fomented, he believed, by a self-intoxicated, fanatical intelligentsia. Although Pocock focuses on the English Enlightenment—which, he insists, was never completely detached from its origins in the seventeenth-century effort to establish a reasonable, sociable religiosity—he also makes some cogent remarks on how philosophes like Voltaire, Denis Diderot, and the Abbé Raynal approached the problem of philosophic as well as religious enthusiasm. Pocock thus provides a useful bridge to the next two essays, which examine enthusiasm's diverse meanings in France.

Pursuing Pocock's comparatist approach, Jan Goldstein argues that, lexically speaking, enthusiasm was far less charged in France than in England or Germany, whose recent histories had been marked by fierce polemics over Protestant religious dissent. Rather, French writers considered enthusiasm an essential complement to reason in artistic creation and were more preoccupied with the dangers of the imagination, a mental faculty they viewed as capricious. When the French did address enthusiasm's religious implications, they avoided the term itself, as did Dr. Philippe Hecquet when writing about the perplexing 1730s phenomenon of the Saint-Médard convulsionaries. Goldstein's contention that the French did not identify enthusiasm with fanaticism is less convincing in the case of Voltaire: her short reading of his *Lettres philosophiques* (1732) fails to note that he did, indeed, use the disparaging "English" sense of enthusiasm, not because he was an Anglophile but because he suspected Quaker leaders like George Fox of faking their strange bodily symptoms of divine inspiration to win converts. Voltaire's commentary on Quaker enthusiasm is a mild but pointed example of the French Enlightenment's anticlericalism, a central aspect of its philosophical and political culture that Goldstein neglects.

Art historian Mary Sheriff proposes an even more lopsided interpretation in her essay, which is incisive concerning enthusiasm's exalted status in eighteenth-century French theories of art and creative power but misleading on the term's ominous implications in contemporary medical works on melancholia and hysteria. Although she provocatively shows how sexuality and creativity combined in the figure of the enthused artist as described by Etienne-Maurice Falconet, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and others, Sheriff resorts to essentialized notions of gender when discussing the period's ideas of reason, imagination, and sensibility. Overly intent to see all representations of male enthusiasm as positive and all discussions of female enthusiasm as pathologizing, she assumes that only women were deemed susceptible to nervous disorder or erotic ex-

cess—an incorrect generalization that is especially inappropriate for the works of Samuel-Auguste Tissot, frequently (mis)cited here.

Whereas Sheriff's contribution errs on the side of lax interdisciplinarity, Peter Fenves goes to the other extreme in his essay on *Schwärmerei*, a close but more derogatory cousin to enthusiasm that connoted both collective frenzy and excessive inwardness, and that German philosophers like Immanuel Kant and Friedrich Schelling used as a foil for defining both enthusiasm and critical reflection. Although Fenves does subtle, erudite readings of Kant, Schelling, and the more ambivalent aesthetic theorist Friedrich Hölderlin, he never ventures outside their texts to give the general reader a larger cultural perspective. Fortunately, Fenves's essay is preceded by La Vopa's more accessible study of the relationship between the philosopher and the *Schwärmer*, which reaches back to Martin Luther but focuses primarily on the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when German thinkers were alarmed about such secular forms of *Schwärmerei* as Mesmerism, the cult of genius, revolutionary politics, and "reading addiction" (p. 100)—the last a phenomenon of hyperemotional subjectivism for which the novel was largely blamed. La Vopa lucidly explains the distinctions these thinkers drew between *Schwärmerei* and the true enthusiasm of artistic creativity or moral inspiration, along with the role these concepts played in shaping the Enlightenment ideal of the modern public.

The book ends with two fine essays on enthusiasm's evolving significations in eighteenth-century England: Klein's wide-ranging examination of enthusiasm's variable status in the complicated relation between sociability and solitude, considered from the Restoration to the High Enlightenment; and Jon Mee's study of the difficulties that prophetic enthusiasm caused for both the political reform movement of the 1790s and the Romantic theories expressed in Samuel Taylor Coleridge's lectures and poems. Klein's contribution exemplifies the volume's larger emphasis on enthusiasm's ambiguities and semantic malleability, especially in his excellent analysis of Shaftesbury's effort to "transvaluate" enthusiasm to make it "a foundation for morality and sociability" (p. 168). Mee locates a similar effort to "quarantine" enthusiasm in Coleridge, who, after briefly embracing radical politics, sought to distinguish both himself and poetic revelation from the fanatical prophecies of millenarian ranters like Richard Brothers (p. 201).

Mee's remarks on millenarianism lend a timely note to the volume's publication, and his final thoughts on Coleridge's Kantianism include some illuminating cross-references to La Vopa's essay. One only wishes that the editors had embraced the idea of cross-referencing as well, beyond their suggestive but short introduction: a well-composed index would have greatly advanced the volume's comparative, pan-European aspirations, and a synthetic bibliography would have helped readers enthused by these essays to do

further research. Despite those minor shortcomings, the book is an impressive collection that greatly illuminates its central historical subject while also challenging the methodological assumptions commonly brought to Enlightenment studies.

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WILLIAM CLARK, JAN GOLINSKI, and SIMON SCHAFER, editors. *The Sciences in Enlightened Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 466. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$27.50.

This volume grew out of a conference held at Darwin College of Cambridge University in July 1995. The rationale for both the conference and the collection is the idea that the sciences of the eighteenth century are neglected, lost between the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century and the industrial revolution of the nineteenth. This collection highlights the significance of science in Enlightenment culture and represents, as does much new work in the history of science, an attempt to break with its positivist history. As a result, it does not focus on the great men of science or emphasize, to the exclusion of other sciences, the mathematical or physical sciences. It instead offers a broadly inclusive panoply of the rich scientific fare of the Enlightenment, ranging from monsters to metaphysics.

The essays are grouped around three particular kinds of topics. The first, listed in the table of contents as bodies and technologies (a category that editors William Clark, Jan Golinski, and Simon Schaffer further define as the "instrumental production of disciplinary order"), deals with both Enlightenment attempts to develop new disciplines and to study human beings systematically and the resistance such efforts provoked. This section is thus an explicit response to the work of Michel Foucault. Under this very broad rubric are grouped a collection of very specific articles. Andrea Rustock explores the use of population figures by politicians and physicians, particularly the use of mortality tables in eighteenth-century Britain. Golinski focuses on the role of scientific instruments in Enlightenment public science. He traces the evolution of the barometer from scientific instrument to household decoration, a shift that dramatically altered the kind of knowledge it was assumed to convey. Ken Adler looks at the social transformation of the engineering profession into a meritocracy, a change, he argues, that also transformed the nature of engineering knowledge into an objective science that became public and accountable. Schaffer takes the Enlightenment automata as emblematic of both scientific knowledge and control of knowledge to explore the relationship between machines seen as human and vice versa. This section of the volume is particularly well integrated; all of the articles present new areas of research

and offer new interpretations, and the topics also focus on a coherent set of issues.

It is much more difficult to present a set of essays grouped around the loose rubric of human nature. Human nature is not only well-plowed historical terrain, but it also evokes a complex historiography. These essays are too narrow to respond to such a broad issue, and they are not as clearly related to each other as those of the preceding section. With the exception of Michael Hagner's very extensive article on Enlightenment monsters as the boundary of the human, they offer what seem to be overviews of larger but less developed projects. Emma Spary looks to natural history in the Enlightenment to explore the ways in which ideas of human nature were reflected in nature and to claim that the natural sciences have been neglected and that natural historians, with the exception of the Comte de Buffon, have not been integrated into the Enlightenment. She is clearly mapping out terrain for a more extensive study. Other essays in this section offer rather tentative hypotheses that presumably will bear more mature fruit. Marina Frasca-Spada explicitly acknowledges the preliminary character of her discussion of human nature in the writings of moral philosophers and British novelists. Mary Terrall suggests that the demise of metaphysics is due to the gendered privileging of more masculine mathematical reasoning but concedes that this argument requires further corroboration.

The third section, defined by the editors as the "refashioning of cultural geographies and associated anthropologies," is more accurately and clearly characterized in the table of contents as "province and peripheries." Each of the articles in this section extends the Enlightenment beyond its conventional geographical boundaries. Thus Paula Findlen treats the work of the neglected, as both female and Italian, Newtonian Cristina Roccati. Lissa Roberts explores the Enlightenment in the Netherlands, emphasizing the sites of eighteenth-century Dutch science from the anatomy theater to the private lecture hall. Lisbet Koerner describes Enlightenment science in the Baltic, not the conventional cosmopolitan Enlightenment but an Enlightenment of local and ethnic particularism. Clark looks to the Prussian Enlightenment to argue that Immanuel Kant ultimately preserved metaphysics by transforming it into anthropology. These essays are all successful case studies that extend Enlightenment science beyond its usual geographical perimeters. The authors suggest that there is much useful work to be done on science during the Enlightenment by following their lead.

There are many admirable features that distinguish this work from other collections of essays. It provides a great deal of introductory material both to introduce the more specific essays and to construct, very deliberately, a historiographical umbrella for groups of essays gathered around more specific topics. The connective essays, which introduce sections and unify the particular pieces thematically, are a particularly attrac-

tive feature of this work. The overall introduction is a first-rate essay by the editors on the historiography of the Enlightenment and its relationship to science. (I have used it to introduce graduate students to the historiography of science and the Enlightenment.) In the first essay of the collection, Dorinda Outram explores affinities of the Enlightenment with the contemporary world. The two final essays develop explicitly the connections between questions the articles raise and the Enlightenment in general. Nicholas Jardine uses natural history and German *Naturphilosophie*, a central theme of a number of the articles, to modify the contention of Foucault and Reinhardt Koselleck that the Enlightenment ended with a decisive transformation of historical discourse. He uses German examples to emphasize the persistence of "novelty, contingency and locality" (p. 493). Lorraine Daston's final comment attempts to draw overarching conclusions from the diverse manifestations of Enlightenment science presented in this volume. She notes that, despite this great variety, the proponents of Enlightenment science are united by appeals to public utility, a concept that focused on both material improvements and on a distinctive notion of education as secular, public, and sociable. They created a culture of public conversation or a veritable "echo chamber," as she describes it. Students of nature, motivated by a passion for human improvement, they were captivated by science.

Although this collection does an admirable job of connecting the particular articles and providing an overarching frame, it also exhibits some of the weaknesses of conferences. Some of the connections between articles seem forced; topics are placed in a comparative relationship where the comparison does not seem compelling. Like conference papers, some are well-polished results of extensive work, likely parts of virtually completed manuscripts. Others are more tentative, initial forays into new areas of research. (This difference is sometimes marked by the variation in the lengths of the articles, ranging from twenty-six to fifty-four pages.)

But like a really good conference, this volume does bring the unexpected together in ways that are productive. It presents to the reader aspects of Enlightenment science that are not yet a familiar or conventional part of the story. Each article not only presents the particular topic, but each author also takes great care to put the specific topic he or she treats into the complex historiography of the Enlightenment. The reader comes away having learned a great deal and impressed by the range and vitality of the subject. Ultimately, this collection is an admirable vehicle for integrating specific topics into the history of science and science, broadly understood, into the European Enlightenment.

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MARK MAZOWER. *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1999. Pp. xvi, 487. \$30.00.

The chief merit of this outstanding book is that it is both an informative account of Europe's twentieth century and a stimulating and original interpretation of it. It sharply demarcates itself from a traditional conception of European history that sees the values of democracy, progress, and freedom as the foundation of Europe's history and its essence. These values, so the story goes, although occasionally dormant or repressed, are always present. Modern authoritarian regimes, be they fascist or communist, are temporary aberrations, a mere parenthesis—to use Benedetto Croce's term—in the long march of progressive liberalism. Sooner or later, Europe gets back onto the right track and moves forward.

Such views, of course, have long been challenged by historians, but they still prevail in popular history and are constantly repackaged by the media and purveyed by politicians. Historians occasionally fight back, but their struggle suffers from the usual handicaps: a lack of access to the wider cultural circuit, the profession's exaggerated emphasis on narrow-focused monographs, qualms about popularization, and less than compelling prose. Mark Mazower has few such problems. His book is an exciting read, even for those who are familiar with the subject matter and the debates surrounding it. If the historian's duty is to remind people of a past they prefer to forget and to show them that, quite often, what is peddled as new is old and what is revered as consecrated by tradition has been recently invented, then Mazower fulfills such duty admirably.

The first half of his twentieth-century Europe is dominated by violence, deep hatred, and cruelty until democracy is "re-invented" in the second half, but this was by no means an inevitable outcome. Democracy was detested by conservatives because it sought to give power to the people, by fascists because it was controlled by the old parliamentary elites, and by communists because it was a bourgeois facade. Fascism arose because, like all truly modern movements, it had a foot in the past and "followed on quite smoothly from its Liberal predecessors" (p. 15). But it also introduced novelties or used instruments that had recently become available: mass politics, an interventionist state, some aspects of a welfare system. The Nazi obsession with racial hygiene is put in its proper context: believers in eugenics span a broad spectrum, from social democrats and liberal reformers to conservatives and right-wing authoritarians. Laws urging and facilitating the voluntary sterilization of fast-breeding "inferior people" were passed in California, Sweden, and Switzerland well before they were enacted in Germany.

This illustrates the dominant theme of the book: the extent to which those who triumphed in the complex political struggles that have marred the life of the continent did so because the terrain was prepared for them, often quite accidentally, by others, including

their opponents. Thus the Nuremberg rallies are juxtaposed, without cheap polemical intentions, with British mass pageants like the 1924 Empire Festival. Nazi imperialism built on the example of European states in Asia and Africa and of the colonists' treatment of native populations in North and South America. No government, however, was as driven by racism as the Third Reich, which systematically allowed its racist ideology to prevail over economic self-interest.

The narrative is often enlivened by anecdotes and, perhaps too frequently, by comments from contemporary sources. A British magistrate in the 1950s, urging a youth to get rid of his teddy boy suit, is used to exemplify the persistence of Victorian values in a society "less shaken up by the war than anywhere else" (p. 317). Yet this overlooks the fact that teddy boys did not exist at all in the rest of the continent, where youth culture and fashion always lagged behind Britain and the U.S.

The economy is dealt with more perfunctorily than politics, culture, and ideas, although critics should not underestimate how difficult it is to encapsulate one hundred years in the history of a continent as diverse as Europe in five hundred pages. For this is not, as is sometime the case, the history of four or five large countries, consigning the remainder to oblivion. The book has apposite comments on countries ranging from Bulgaria and Romania to Finland and Denmark.

As the text turns to recent history, the narrative becomes a little journalistic, although at a high standard. This is, of course, somewhat inevitable: the literature on the first half of the century is enormous, while accounts of the last twenty years are often rapidly superseded by events, making a balanced history more problematic. Indeed, Mazower reminds us, with telling quotes, how general was the belief, in 1988, that the USSR would never relinquish its control of Eastern and Central Europe, and he remarks, I fear too optimistically, that "the almost universal failure to predict the collapse of communism drove a large nail into the coffin of Western political science" (p. 361).

I hope this text will be widely used: it will make its readers think critically and challenge their preconceptions.

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JERZY W. BOREJSZA. *Schulen des Hasses: Faschistische Systeme in Europa*. Translated by BEATE KOSMALA (Europäische Geschichte.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1999. Pp. 320. DM 28.90.

The Soviet Empire has crumbled away, the Berlin Wall has been broken up into souvenirs, the hammers and sickles of Eurocommunist parties have turned to oak leaves and olive branches. Nevertheless, in academia the communist mindset lingers surreally like the disembodied smile of a Cheshire Cat. The publisher's blurb reassuring us that Jerzy W. Borejsza is "the best

Polish expert on fascist systems in Europe" should already put readers on their guard, since the names of other Polish experts in this area do not exactly assail the memory, and the phrase "fascist systems" suggests that a key term is being used as a blunt instrument rather than a scalpel. Nor does the title, *Schools of Hatred*, suggest that we are going to be treated with a sophisticated understanding of the ideological dynamics of life under authoritarian regimes. The book's contents duly confirm the worst fears.

Borejsza, who was ten years old when the Russians "liberated" his country from the twin scourges of Nazism and capitalism, makes it all too apparent that he was exposed to nearly half a century of Comintern orthodoxy that reduced fascism to what the 13th Plenum on "Fascism, The War Danger, and the Tasks of Communist Parties," held in the December 1933, defined as the "open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist, and most imperialist elements of finance capital." As a result, the book resembles a monument built in the Stalinist period of Eastern-bloc culture given a face lift to make it look less forbidding and now awaiting removal to a theme park of dead paradigms. Five sixths of it consist of a potted history of interwar authoritarianism: fascism and Nazism merit three chapters, followed by a whistle-stop tour through the illiberal state systems of Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland, Lithuania, Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece, Austria, Estonia, Latvia, Romania, then a brief sojourn in France, Portugal, Spain, and Belgium, with a glance at countries where parliamentary democracy held out, such as Britain, Switzerland, Ireland, and Scandinavia. Were this not purporting to be a book on "fascist systems," it would at least provide German-reading students of modern history with a useful pan-European synopsis of the country-by-country process in which the lights of liberalism went out all over the continent, even if the lack of any postscript on the radical right since 1945 gives a curiously truncated feel to the whole narrative. It is in the first fifty pages and the last five, where Borejsza strays from empiricism into theory, that the structural weakness of the analysis is revealed.

Certainly he has done some homework to adapt his expertise to the New World Order, but the intellectual dilemma he has faced in recycling himself as a Western-style academic is clear from the opening paragraphs, which are studded with rudimentary questions about his topic that the subsequent text never even attempts to answer. When he says that the "definitional traits of fascism are in flux and will certainly remain so" (p. 10) or that its ideology is "apparently amorphous, eclectic, ever-changing, with no historical roots" (p. 15), it says more about the mind of the researcher than its object. However, there is one flash of light in the interpretive gloom. In the brief concluding chapter on "Fascination and Destruction," Borejsza suddenly glimpses the fact that in the context of the catastrophic social and psychological consequences of World War I in Europe, fascism offered every

stratum of society "the vision of a new political and social order, the new alternative of an ordered world," its ritual politics providing an ersatz faith and experience of salvation for millions whose lives and sense of reality had been shattered. Without realizing it, he has hit on the increasingly accepted definition of fascism as a revolutionary form of nationalism driven by the myth of the imminent rebirth of the country's political culture in a "new order."

Had Borejsza applied this approach consistently to his subject matter, he would have been in a position to make perceptive judgments about the relationship between fascist movements and regimes, fascist and non-fascist forms of authoritarianism, and the deeper ideological rationale behind fascist "totalitarianism." A translation from the Polish original into English may then have been worth the trouble. As it is, after the flash of sunlight the clouds gather once more. The book concludes in wild journalistic speculation about whether the perpetuation of totalitarianism in various parts of the world might make the twenty-first century the "century of destruction." It is another symptom of Soviet miseducation to be oblivious of the potentially catastrophic impact that the economic system of the "Free World" is currently having on the ecosystem, one that far overshadows the destructive potential of authoritarian political systems.

ROGER GRIFFIN
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MARIA DOWLING, *Fisher of Men: A Life of John Fisher, 1469-1535*. New York: St Martin's. 1999. Pp. 218. \$65.00.

There has been renewed interest in the community of English humanists active before Henry VIII's reformation of the church divided their company and changed the nature of their enterprise from plans of Erasmian reform to debates over the royal supremacy. Maria Dowling addressed this issue *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII* (1986). She now furthers that discussion in her biography of the scholarly and saintly bishop of Rochester, John Fisher, whose uncompromising position resulted in his suffering martyrdom with that much more widely studied figure, Sir Thomas More.

There are good reasons why Fisher has not enjoyed the same degree of attention as has More. Dowling herself notes that Fisher, as a canonized martyr, has often been the object more of Catholic hagiography than scholarship; also, she reminds her readers that the whig interpretation of history placed the reformation of the church and the supremacy in the category of important moments of progress on the road to freedom and modernity, supported by an independent Anglican confession. In this view, then, Fisher represents the past, medieval communion with Rome; he is part of the problem, not the solution, so he does not merit much attention. Finally, there is not the kind of documentation on Fisher's life that there is on More's. There is little of anything before 1520, and what comes

after tends not to be of a very personal nature. In short, the evidence does permit us to know our man well.

All of these observations are right. They largely, however, can equally be said of More, except for the last. More, though, has been the subject of popular plays and films, while Fisher is usually at best a very minor character, More's fellow martyr of 1535, despite the drama of his cardinal's hat and his earlier career as a patron of humanist scholarship, education, and church reform.

Dowling has done Fisher great service by providing a new study to replace Edward Surtz's *The Works and Days of John Fisher* (1967). In a very clear, reasoned, and exacting way, she reveals what is known about Fisher by following his career from his birth in Beverley to his execution on Tower Hill, dividing his long and eventful life into appropriate chapters on his student days and his service as a humanist scholar, reforming bishop, preacher, author, dissident, and finally martyr. His hatred of heresy and his devotional writings are carefully investigated, as is his very real contribution to English humanism, especially through his work at Cambridge. He knew Latin and Greek, as well as most of the ecclesiastical and humanist luminaries of his day; he patronized other scholars and preached often and effectively; he was not a careerist, never seeking promotion from the poor see of Rochester to a richer living; and he championed the cause of Queen Catherine of Aragon and English communion with Rome, although he knew full well the dangers in challenging Henry VIII.

Dowling does all of this extremely well indeed. The research is meticulous, the narrative clear, and the conclusions sound. Shattered are the arguments made by those who wished to denigrate Fisher by making him "medieval": he is shown as a forward-looking scholar very much involved in the new humanist culture, even if his work as a theologian and orthodox polemicist required the heavy use of scholastic argument and texts. Any charge of ambition is equally exploded through the evidence from his diocese and his very ambiguous attitude toward his elevation to the sacred college, although the red hat was a consequence of the respect his sanctity and learning enjoyed in Rome and a misguided attempt by Pope Paul III to protect the elderly bishop. Throughout the work, Fisher emerges as a good if stern man, one worthy of great honor and respect.

What equally is revealed in Dowling's excellent book, though, is the reason for Fisher's relative neglect, a reason beyond those discussed above. Fisher appears a dour, humorless ascetic with few attractive elements in his character. He seems to have few had friends and to have hectored others in print and from the pulpit if they transgressed his restricted theological or moral perspectives. His austere, dry sanctity is so unlike More's infectious wit and principled objection to Henry's VIII policy that it is obvious why More is the household name rather than Fisher. Dowling has

tried to humanize the man but has not really succeeded because his true character is constantly revealed. Fisher was without doubt a great scholar, preacher, model bishop, and theologian; but he appears a particularly bloodless man, despite his resolve and martyrdom. He was not a man for all seasons but rather a lonely fisher of men, the epitaph he himself chose for his tomb, a monument that he would never occupy, relegated instead to an uncertain grave as a consequence of his refusal to yield.

KENNETH R. BARTLETT
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MICHAEL BUSH and DAVID BOWNES. *The Defeat of the Pilgrimage of Grace: A Study of the Postpardon Revolts of December 1536 to March 1537 and Their Effect*. Hull, U.K.: University of Hull Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 477.

Tudor rebellions have conventionally been analyzed by political historians from the perspective of central government or court conspiracy, or else merely narrated by antiquarians or amateurs fascinated by the history and archaeology of their localities. Significant exceptions exist. Work by C. S. L. Davies on the Pilgrimage of Grace, Diarmaid MacCulloch on Kett's Rebellion, and John Walter on the Oxfordshire Rising of 1596 began a process whereby historians sympathetic to the *Annales* investigated cultural and socio-economic norms and the paradigmatic foundations of dissent. Most recently, a debate between Ethan H. Shagan, Michael Bush, and G. W. Bernard (*English Historical Review* 155 [2000]: pp.103–33) concerns the interdependence of crown and aristocratic attitudes with popular politics and the role of the commons. The crux is the Pilgrimage of Grace. Bush recently studied the rebel armies of October 1536 in depth (*The Pilgrimage of Grace* [1996]). In the present book, he and coauthor David Bownes examine the intricate political events between early December 1536, when the rebels stood on the verge of victory, to their final defeat in March 1537. This agenda is apposite. The cluster of revolts known as the Pilgrimage was the largest and most threatening rebellion faced by the Tudors. It was serious because nobles (mainly lesser nobility), gentry, clergy, and commons joined forces against royal policies. Yet there is disagreement over the popularity and spontaneity of the revolts, the role of the gentry in their leadership, the apparent unanimity of the rebels, and the relationship of the Yorkshire and (later) Cumbrian revolts to the earlier Lincolnshire revolt. A close investigation of the process whereby the rebels' solidarity disintegrated should illuminate the nature of the bond that had previously united them.

The book's argument is clear. What caused the rebels' cause to implode was the outbreak of partial fresh revolts following the negotiations between the gentry leadership and the duke of Norfolk at Doncaster that led to the king's pardon in early December. These further revolts enabled Henry VIII to divide and

rule, as well as to assert that new treasons had released him from his promises. The “postpardon” rebels repudiated the concordat that had led to the truce in December. This united the gentry in favor of the concordat but split the commons, who increasingly worried that the negotiations at Doncaster were flawed, that the crown would break its pledges, and that the traditional society of orders would reestablish itself. The commons’ anxiety intensified when Robert Aske, an acknowledged leader of the main revolt, went to London to treat directly with the king. Their fears deepened as the Janus-faced Lord Darcy and other leading gentry strove vigorously to prevent new revolts and suppress disorder in the north. When the split over how to deal with the gentry turned the commons against itself, the crown had won. The small minority of gentry involved in the “postpardon” revolts were there under duress or because as individuals they mistrusted the crown.

The authors’ account differs radically from the traditional one, which maintains that crown policy in 1537 was the fulfillment of a plan of deception. The view that in December the crown had cynically offered concessions that it never intended to honor is convincingly refuted. Bush and Bownes conclude that the monarchy would make concessions to rebels as long as the king remained in power. This is less persuasive. A sharp focus on the dilemma of the gentry in northern politics in the 1530s is the main strength of this book. Its weakness is that an undiluted paradigm of feudal aristocracy and of the society of orders—what the authors call the process of “political medievalisation”—is assumed rather than proved. To what extent were popular politics feasible in the reign of Henry VIII? A narrower assumption is that with Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn dead and the religious reformers a small minority, no serious obstacle existed to the reversal of the break with Rome. This verdict underplays Henry VIII’s commitment to the royal supremacy as intrinsic to his view of monarchy by 1536.

JOHN GUY

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TIM STRETTON, *Women Waging Law in Elizabethan England*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Pp. xv, 271. \$59.95.

Tim Stretton’s book examines suits brought by or against women in the Elizabethan Court of Requests. Requests was a prerogative court, a court of civil law and a court of equity: the court appeared during the reign of Henry VII and disappeared in 1643. As a court of equity, Requests entertained complaints for which the common law afforded no appropriate remedy. Requests also had another jurisdiction, a jurisdiction defined not by the nature of the complaint but instead by the status of the litigant. Requests’s plaintiffs could be its officers, or the monarch’s servants, or poor people, or people of lower status than their defendant. Re-

quests was therefore the court reputedly best equipped to deal with the complaints of the relatively powerless. Since women faced more impediments to exercising power than did men of similar rank, women flocked to Requests, constituting a greater proportion of litigants there than in any other central court in Elizabethan England. So, Requests is the preeminently appropriate site for Stretton to investigate his subject: the roles assumed by women in court.

Women were litigants in a third of the cases brought before Requests. Law gave women a voice. Indeed, adult women who were not married when they came before the court had the same rights as men. However, as Stretton demonstrates, the rights society accorded women were more ambivalent than their rights at law. Women were supposed to be modest, and modesty entailed reluctance to display oneself in public. As a result, a significant proportion of unmarried women delayed asserting their rights at law until they were married and so had acquired a partner who would take responsibility for public performance. Society’s expectations also shaped the stories litigants presented to the court, which still survive in its depositions. These depositions pose an interpretive problem: they were structured to persuade, not to mirror the facts of the case. How then should the stories they tell be construed? Stretton solves the problem by using these stories to investigate the roles litigants thought they should assume. He posits that deponents were likely to exaggerate the extent to which their opponents violated social norms when that violation raised questions about the deponents’ own ability to play the role society deemed appropriate. So, when husbands alleged not simply that their wives were adulterous but that their adultery verged on prostitution, it is quite probable that these husbands, aware that society expected that a husband would control his wife, were arguing that their wives’ behavior revealed not a husband unable to fulfill society’s expectations but instead a wife whom no one could be expected to control. Similarly, since society assumed women should be under a man’s control, the stories told by women plaintiffs emphasized their vulnerability and so their special claim on the court’s aid.

However, the ostensible reason litigants came to court was not to tell tales about their opponents’ behavior but rather to establish their rights to land or money. As a result, a theme implicit in this book is the tension between two goals shared by law and society: that of allowing markets in land and money; and that of constructing a legal persona for the family unit, both by subordinating a woman’s rights to property to her husband’s control (the legal doctrine of coverture) and by creating legal rights and devices to insure that his property maintained her after his death. The theme is perhaps most apparent in the complaints that brought widows to Requests: a large proportion of these cases involved a widow’s claim to property at one time controlled by her husband. The theme appears, for example, in suits brought by widows to repudiate their

dead husbands' sale of lands to which these women had claim. They could bring such suits because Requests assumed that wives were subjects to their husbands' will, and therefore could not have effectually objected to such sales when their husbands were alive. And so Requests declared invalid sales that had taken place years earlier. Because Requests heard complaints from widows who considered themselves cheated of land or money due them under common law, or customary law, or marriage settlements, Stretton provides explanations of women's rights to property under every major juridical structure in Elizabethan England. Indeed, these explanations are so helpful that is likely historians will cite them as frequently as they do the portions of Stretton's book that focus on its clear and interesting argument.

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PAUL E. J. HAMMER. *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585–1597*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 446. \$69.95.

This richly detailed monograph is a critical analysis of the role of Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, in Elizabethan court politics during twelve important years. Paul E. J. Hammer's stated objective is to demonstrate that his subject was "a far more substantial and significant figure, and that ideas and ideology played a far greater role in late Elizabethan politics than conventional accounts allow" (p. xi). Surveying recent scholarship on the period, Hammer finds R. B. Wernham's focus on foreign relations a limited means for understanding Elizabethan politics, while in his judgment the works of Wallace MacCaffrey rest on a relatively narrow source base. To remedy these perceived deficiencies, the author has revised his 1991 Cambridge dissertation, prepared under the direction of G. R. Elton, into a book that first studies the entry of Essex into the "fateful circle" of political life and then explores his quest for greatness between 1593 and 1597.

Circumstances of birth determined that Essex should enter politics. The eldest son of Walter, the first earl, who died in debt when his son was only ten, young Essex came from an ancient family with extensive estates in Wales, but one that had never ranked among the great aristocratic families of England. Essex entered Cambridge University in 1577 and remained there until 1581, when he received an M.A. degree. His education inspired the development of what Hammer calls innate idealism, a pursuit of virtue that was at once moral and religious. The first appearance of Essex at court caused barely a ripple, and it was not until his stepfather, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester actively promoted his advancement that Essex became

a significant courtier and later Leicester's successor as the queen's favorite.

Hammer argues that the Rouen campaign raised Essex's military and political stature and prepared the way for admission to the privy council in February 1593. Three years later, his victory at Cadiz made him England's most famous soldier. After his return from Spain, Essex avoided a command in Ireland, arguing that it was no fit place for a man who aspired to play on "the stage of Christendom" (p. 137). He built an intelligence-gathering network and used it to strengthen relations with France, but eventually Sir Robert Cecil surpassed his efforts with a more extensive group of overseas agents. When not active in the political arena, Essex worked assiduously to cultivate and promote an image of himself as the embodiment of virtue. Like all great men, he attracted a large following but never succeeded in building a power base that could compete successfully with the Cecils. By the end of 1597, the queen was losing control over the court, and relations between Essex and Sir Robert Cecil had become adversarial. Hammer concludes that Essex was not "a playboy of the western world," but a politician who took his work too seriously and failed to understand that his craft was ultimately the art of the possible. By building his career on war, he made himself vulnerable when he was no longer indispensable to the war effort. Despite his lofty ideals and enormous energy, Essex contributed significantly to the polarization of Elizabethan politics.

This book will be invaluable for specialists studying court politics of the later Elizabethan period, but it cannot be recommended to a broader readership. The author delights in the minutiae of politics and has failed to erase evidence of the book's origin as a dissertation; one chapter contains 382 footnotes, and numerous repetitions hammer the reader with his principal arguments. The military historian will find this study disappointing as it neglects an aspect of the subject that the author concedes to be of the greatest importance. Similarly, little effort has been made to examine Essex's troubled personality and erratic behavior. It is also regrettable that a volume of this length fails to include the last years of the subject's career. The book's merits lie in Hammer's meticulous research and an intriguing interpretation of Essex's political career that offers a needed corrective to accounts written from the perspective of the Cecils.

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CYNTHIA B. HERRUP. *A House in Gross Disorder: Sex, Law, and the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 216. \$25.00.

Stories about Mervyn Touchet, second earl of Castlehaven, have multiplied since his execution on charges of rape and sodomy in 1631. These stories, as well as the histories behind them, are the theme of Cynthia B. Herrup's complex and subtle book. The central story

of how charges against the earl took shape, the trial itself, and the verdict, is clearly told in lively and elegant prose, but the book is much more than a history of a specific trial, as Herrup explains why the case troubled contemporary observers. She is not primarily concerned with Castlehaven's guilt, whether he was framed by his wife and a scheming heir, for Herrup's central contention is that Castlehaven was tried and found guilty as a failed patriarch. His household was, as the title so aptly encapsulates, "in gross disorder." Many historians in recent times have discussed the importance of patriarchy in early modern society; here Herrup shows how patriarchal theories operated in practice, and why the story resonated so strongly with contemporaries.

A general reader will learn much from Herrup about the nature of early modern society and how it functioned. Approaching questions of identity through the lens of the law, she contributes an important dimension to social history. Her discussion of the debates over time about the meaning of the trial illuminates our understanding of the changing nature of early modern masculinities and gender relations. Herrup is also interested in how we approach the writing of history and how we think about the past. Legal procedures shaped the trial, and these are clearly explained. But a trial, she argues, should be seen as a stage on which the drama of contemporary preoccupations is played out. How people present themselves is of interest, not whether they were "really" like that, because the individual's shaping and publicizing of a particular vision of himself or herself chimes in with contemporary values. Thus Herrup's recounting of the story of the trial informs the reader about the ambivalences and contradictions of early modern attitudes to domestic and sexual relations. As she shows, arguments could be circular; in religious matters, Castlehaven is shown to be marginal because he had been a Catholic, yet he was believed to be Catholic because he was marginal. Wives were not normally permitted to testify against their husbands, yet Castlehaven's failure to act as a proper husband in imposing order meant that his judges considered her evidence germane to the case. Herrup is intrigued by how the story "looks, but is not, familiar" (p. 145). She shows that while it could be about many things, it was "always about more than just one unhappy family" (p. 143). Thus she makes a major contribution to our understanding of the relationships between masculinities, sexualities, and politics, offering fresh insights into the meaning of patriarchy and social status in early modern England. More limited is her contribution to debates about women's roles in patriarchal society and female sexuality. Women were bit-part players in the drama between a man, his heir, and his king, a drama which was not, as she persuasively argues, so much about rape and sodomy as about patriarchal duties. Her account of the sexuality of the second earl is finely nuanced; perhaps her questions might be extended to some discussion

from the perspective of his wife and step-daughter/daughter-in-law.

Herrup wears her considerable knowledge of the early modern period lightly; the text is beautifully written and the argument clearly expounded. Since the book is based on careful and detailed scholarship, and the author is making an argument about the nature of sources, it is a pity that the publisher chose to place the informative notes at the end of the book rather than at the foot of the page. Apart from this, the book is nicely presented with illustrations, useful appendixes, and a genealogical table. Herrup is to be commended for a fine piece of historical scholarship: this book is a great read.

PATRICIA CRAWFORD
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JOHN WALTERS. *Understanding Popular Violence in the English Revolution: The Colchester Plunderers*. (Past and Present Publications.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 357. \$64.95.

This book makes a major contribution to our understanding of the role of the people in the English Revolution through an exercise in microhistory, using detailed local knowledge to elucidate larger political issues. The focus is on a series of large-scale attacks, mainly concentrated in the clothing region of Essex and Suffolk, on the homes of the landed classes on the eve of the Civil War. The scale and level of destruction were unprecedented, with crowds gathering in thousands, attacking their victims' homes and property and moving among targets. The timing and violence of these attacks ensured that they commanded the attention both of contemporaries and of historians since. Drawing upon his expertise in local history and the study of grain riots, John Walter produces a revisionist account of the attacks that challenges the dominant interpretation, namely that they were a precocious example of class hostility, and in its place defines a popular political culture that shaped and legitimized the violence.

In common with others researching "history from below," Walter immediately encounters the problem of sources and, in particular, the inherent bias in the evidence bequeathed by elite contemporaries, which creates problems when it comes to establishing the motives and makeup of early modern crowds. The most important contemporary source for the attacks, and one repeatedly drawn upon by historians, is in fact a polemical piece written by Bruno Ryves, a royalist clergyman, to smear Parliament and its supporters as fomenters of popular violence. Unfortunately, the kind of evidence used to identify faces in the crowds in similar studies of popular protest, and especially legal records and reports from authorities, is largely absent in this case. Faced with a patchy survival of legal records, Walter can identify only fifteen out of the thousands of attackers, and, beyond their names, little more appears to be known about them. He is forced

back, therefore, on a carefully reevaluated Ryves and other partial sources and must rely heavily on historical and geographical contexts to make sense of the attacks.

The view shared by Marxist and non-Marxist historians alike—that the attacks were a prime example of class hostility directed against the landed classes, with impoverished clothworkers to the fore—is subjected to thorough scrutiny. Ironically, the origins of a class analysis are to be found in royalist expressions of fear of the “many-headed monster.” As Walter observes, however, the fact remains that there is no direct contemporary evidence of expressions of class hostility emanating from the crowds themselves or that the latter were local clothworkers. We are left, therefore, with the stark fact that the properties of landed elites were attacked, causing them to imagine the worst, and the supposition that, as many attacks took place within the clothing region, clothworkers must have played a significant part. But the crucial obstacle to a class analysis was the selectivity of the crowds in their targets; it was only the properties of Catholic and protoroyalist landowners that came under attack.

Walter rightly reproves historians who have ascribed a low level of political consciousness to those below the level of the gentry and, showing how that history should be written, he provides a masterful reconstruction of a popular political culture that informed and legitimized the crowds’ actions. I have just one quibble here: Walter is totally silent on the question of popular royalism, presumably viewing it as lying outside the scope of his study, yet the silence encourages the notion that “popular” naturally equates with “radical” in the period. Not surprisingly, religion is seen as the core element in the form of an antipopery given a new intensity by the belief in a popish plot. Local puritans (including possibly many clothworkers) were not alone in subscribing to this belief, and the activist message contained in much godly preaching was a spur to popular involvement. Closely intertwined with this antipopery was a popular parliamentarianism nurtured by the belief that Parliament was seeking to defend religious and political liberties against the machinations of papists and “malignants” (protoroyalists). Parliamentary declarations and resolutions against these enemies, given a wide currency via press and pulpit, provided the legitimacy for attacks on local Catholic and royalist gentry and not the gentry as a whole. This is a model study which deserves a wide readership.

KEITH LINDLEY
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F. P. Lock. *Edmund Burke. Volume 1, 1730–1784*. New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1998. Pp. xv, 564. \$135.00.

In this study, the first of a projected two-volume biography of Edmund Burke, F. P. Lock covers the years from Burke’s birth in 1730 to the fall of the

Fox-North coalition in 1784. Lock here focuses on Burke’s education, his early attempts to carve out a literary career, his entry into politics, and his participation in the debate surrounding the American Revolution. In the proposed second volume, Lock will deal with the period from 1784 to Burke’s death in 1797 and will concentrate on his response to the French Revolution and his campaign to reform the government of British India.

If the second volume lives up to the first, I am confident that this biography will stand for some time as one of the most authoritative and useful sources for Burkean scholars, for students seeking information on some area of Burke’s life and career, and for general readers alike. Put briefly, whatever one might like to know about Burke is almost certainly here. Virtually every aspect of his life is dealt with in detail, with judicious regard for what the evidence can be made to show, and with prudence in the assessment of motive and intent. Moreover, the work’s utility is enhanced by the even-handed nature of Lock’s scholarship. In an area notoriously riven by hostile schools and dominated by scholars often more eager to demonstrate a thesis than to understand Burke, Lock avoids partisanship and commonly “occupies” a healthy middle ground that is both intelligent and compelling. For instance, as one primarily interested in Burke’s political thought, I have consistently been impressed by Lock’s treatment of Burke’s early writings. Aware of but not overwhelmed by twentieth-century literary theory, Lock’s analyses are well reasoned, coherent, forcefully expressed, and faithful to the social and political context of the time.

Unfortunately, there are occasions when the biography suffers from the defects of its own virtues. Most of these, I think, can be traced to its lack of methodological rigor. Lock claims to have begun research with the intention of making sense of the *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) and to further our “understanding of the man who wrote it, to illuminate his remarkable mind, and to trace his ideas to their roots in his life” (p. vi). Yet we are never offered an explanation of precisely how this “can” be done or a theory linking the various elements that must be considered if the endeavor is to succeed. In fact, Lock’s usual approach appears to be of the “X went here and did Y and then went there and did Z school.” That is, simple chronology too often substitutes for method, and Burke’s actions are discussed as they come along with little effort made to link them in any stronger sense. Further, the problem is only compounded when, on occasion, other—equally unarticulated—approaches surface. Indeed, at various junctures, Burke’s actions are attributed to an unrealistic ancient constitutionalism, a desire to justify his party’s stance, or to the goading of some long-standing psychological trait.

Lock’s underdetermined methodology sometimes serves well enough. The treatment of Burke’s essay on the sublime and beautiful is both interesting and

unhampered by the want of an elaborate intellectual apparatus. Similarly, while Lock perhaps makes too much of Burke's early historical works, the discussion is worth attending to. All too often, however, the results are more problematic. Thus, the extended analysis of the "Thoughts on the Present Discontents" (1770) both undervalues Burke's defense of party and acquits Burke of insincerity in advancing his theory of a double cabinet only by suggesting that he had to be mentally disturbed to believe his own argument. Again, Lock largely misses the details and fine points of Burke's view of representation as outlined in his famous Bristol speeches. The underlying difficulty in all these matters is, I think, that Lock gets Burke's message right but, without a more developed and nuanced understanding of the totality of his thought, misses the significance of the message.

Still, my reservations should not obscure the main point. Burke's story is well and sympathetically told in this volume. In addition, the telling is gracefully and clearly written and is adorned by the Clarendon Press with an excellent job of presentation—the footnotes are actually at the foot of the pages—and editing. I look forward to the second volume.

JAMES CONNIF

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JOHN SMAIL. *Merchants, Markets and Manufacture: The English Wool Textile Industry in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. x, 198. \$65.00.

There has never been any lack of interest in the history of the English woollen industry, particularly in the period of major change in the eighteenth century. This latest work by John Smail offers two distinctive (but not novel) features. It draws on original business records from three of the principal regions—the West Riding of Yorkshire, East Anglia, and the West Country (Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, and Somerset)—and a few materials in U.S. repositories. Liverpool, London, and elsewhere. Secondly, Smail focuses strongly on the activities of merchants and the opening of markets rather than on manufacturing processes and products, although the latter are by no means left out of the equation.

Smail's substantial argument, which is sustained through 150 pages of text, is that traditional interpretations of economic change in the industry have been too narrow, both in time period and concept. He urges that the revolutionary changes in this industry go back to the 1760s and are more complex than previous interpretations have suggested. Change was not simply technological and organizational, he argues, but had to do with the intensification of the whole economic effort. This involved more specialization through the stages of production, better quality control, and more sophisticated marketing (e.g. by use of pattern cards and more travellers). The domination of London in the early part of the century gave way to mercantile initiatives in the provincial centers toward the end.

The main stimuli to these changes were the increasing export trade (not least to the United States) and more rapid shifts in fashion. Close reading of the records leads Smail to see an "obsession with product innovation" (p. 111).

All of this is sensible, balanced, and acceptable to both generalist and specialist. Indeed, the main problem about this short work is that the main thesis is not so novel as the author seems to think it is. In particular, Smail sees himself as incorporating merchants and markets into the pace and character of economic growth (p. 151). It is true that manufacturers and output have received more attention than merchants, trade, and consumers, but the latter have not been ignored and, with the growth of consumer studies, have recently enjoyed a lot of interest. Little attention is given to R. G. Wilson's *Gentlemen Merchants: The Merchant Community in Leeds, 1700–1830* (1971) and none to my *Merchant Enterprise in Britain from the Industrial Revolution to World War I* (1992). There are no tabulations and few figures in the book, so that quantitative aspects of the subject are not recognized as being of significance to the analysis. This leads in places to error, as for instance when Smail says that the Devon region declined before the end of the century: the figures show that output was sustained down to 1800.

No doubt Smail is correct in maintaining that the process of economic change is more complex than historians have so far allowed. He has had access to some records not available to the earlier researchers but does not do much to redress the balance. Several important aspects of change are only touched on, or omitted altogether. The connection between the woollen industry and the banking system needs proper investigation, not just passing reference. Similarly, the interaction with the early cotton industry should be explored. Measures of the growth (or retardation) of London and the provincial centers need to be compared. The warehouse selling system has to be brought into the story, and the products themselves will reward close examination and analysis. The extensive insurance policy registers can help chart the process of innovation. This list is not exhaustive but serves to make the point that the plausible claims of this book can only be properly substantiated by more extensive research on materials that are readily available.

S. D. CHAPMAN

University of Nottingham

MARC W. STEINBERG. *Fighting Words: Working-Class Formation, Collective Action, and Discourse in Early Nineteenth-Century England*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 286. \$45.00.

Marc W. Steinberg has written a book that will be much discussed, even though its impact will perhaps have been lessened by the fact that much of its argument has already appeared in several significant articles in leading international journals of social and

labor history. Readers will, however, welcome the appearance of the synthesized whole in this combative book, not least because it more fully reveals the firm basis in empirical research on the silkweavers of London's Spitalfields with their artisan traditions and on the new cotton workers of Lancashire's factories that underpins Steinberg's important, theoretically sophisticated thesis. The book deserves to reach a wider readership. Concentrating on England in the early nineteenth century, it is a challenging contribution to the major debate over working-class formation and consciousness that has developed since the emergence of postmodernism's linguistic challenge to the once dominant Marxist-derived narratives. Since the English experience from the late eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth—an ending perhaps best defined by the 1848 failure of Chartism and the onset of "Victorian prosperity"—has been the most frequent theater of engagement between those who have taken the path of discourse and those who stick to a measure of materialism, the book is for all who have an interest in the most important ongoing debate over the nature of historical explanation. It is, in part, about one man, the late E. P. Thompson, whose great masterpiece, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963), set the research agenda for a generation of historians. For example, Steinberg's choice of two in many ways contrasting occupational communities seems to have been made with the purpose very much in mind of testing Thompson's much quoted statement: "Consciousness of class arises in the same way in different times and places, but never in just the same way."

Thompson has been a particular target of the post-modern revisionists, both for his account of class formation and for the narrative in which it is embedded, and there is an important sense in which Steinberg, describing his position as sitting on the fence, presents himself as a reconciler of the Thompsonian emphasis on "experience" with its retention of materialism, and the postmaterialist insistence on the determining and defining role of discourse. For him, both matter, and he insists on their interactions and shared formative role in the making of a class-conscious English working class. Restressing the material input from lives lived in conditions of economic and political exploitation, he is equally aware of the importance of collective action and has usefully added the understandings brought to the subject from the study of "repertoires of contention" pioneered by Charles S. Tilly.

Steinberg recognizes the importance of discourse and acknowledges its mediating and shaping role, particularly in allowing consciousness to transcend the bounds of locality, but he is especially impressive in contesting claims that the popular discourses of the early nineteenth century, although they reveal several other forms of consciousness, do not articulate an awareness of class. Steinberg demonstrates just how limiting recent readings of discourses such as that of political economy have been. For Steinberg, struggle is

the basis for consciousness: hence his choice of title. In this respect, he is very much in line with the historiographical tradition of the British Marxist historians as defined by Harvey Kaye, but he perhaps goes farther in stressing conflict *within* competing discourses as well as between them. Steinberg is far from uncritical; like Joan W. Scott, Anna Clarke, Sonya Rose, and others, he is well aware of Thompson's silence on gender, which is an important constituent of his own account. His claim to offer a way forward combining the best of both worlds through what he calls a "dialogic perspective" is laudable. In the end, some may think this book less of a work of reconciliation than of rehabilitation and wonder how much space is left between its author and Thompson; that is, as long as one reads Thompson's meanings in the way Steinberg does.

JOHN RULE

University of Southampton

ALISON WINTER. *Mesmerized: Powers of Mind in Victorian Britain*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 464. \$30.00.

Alison Winter portrays an early Victorian Britain awash in currents of animal magnetism, with mesmerists and their astonishing practices playing central roles in everything from controversies over medical authority to the invention of the notion of social consensus. It is an entrancing picture, and Winter's vivid prose sweeps the reader along. Moreover, she makes some solid points along the way, particularly about the origins of anesthesia. But when one stops to look more closely, many of Winter's larger claims melt away into mere wisps of speculation.

This book is in many ways a case of Darnton meets Desmond: Winter transposes the themes of Robert Darnton's *Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France* (1968) into the London medical world of the 1830s and 1840s depicted by Adrian Desmond in *The Politics of Evolution* (1989). We see this especially in Winter's extended account of the medical mesmerist John Elliotson, his remarkable subjects Jane and Elizabeth O'Key, and their encounter with Thomas Wakley, the skeptical editor of the *Lancet*. Wakley's 1838 "trial," in which unmagnetized objects were found to affect the O'Keys just as strongly as supposedly magnetized ones, had many parallels to the French Academy of Sciences' 1784 investigation of mesmerism. In neither case did such exposure suffice to silence the mesmerists, but it did serve to cast them increasingly into opposition to more mainstream science.

Winter's descriptions of Elizabeth O'Key's mesmeric performances are fascinating, but her analysis of their significance is undercut by a lack of relevant evidence. We simply do not know if O'Key was really an Irvingite, if she ever read works on spiritual mesmerism, if she frequented music halls, if she was in fact a sincere believer or simply a fraud. In the end, we are left with little more than speculations. Winter reproduces a pencil sketch of O'Key that she says shows her

to be "a compelling, intelligent individual" (p. 83). Readers can look for themselves and judge how little there is on which to base such conclusions.

Winter's strongest chapters are those on anesthesia. Why did doctors begin to use ether and other chemical anesthetics only in 1846–1847, when the ability of such substances to dull pain had been known for decades? Winter makes a persuasive case that the answer lies in the controversial advent of mesmeric anesthesia earlier in the decade. Various mesmerists in Britain, and particularly James Esdaile in Bengal, had had remarkable success in rendering patients insensible to surgical pain, even during amputations. According to Winter, this both opened orthodox doctors' eyes to the value of offering such relief from pain and spurred them to find a way to provide it without bringing in mesmerism and its suspect associations. By using ether and later chloroform, doctors could deaden their patients' pain without giving up control of the situation, and they soon banished mesmerism from their accounts of the origins of anesthesia. Winter has done a real service in restoring it to its proper place.

Winter is less successful in many of her broader claims. Her suggestion, for instance, that mesmeric notions lay behind "the invention of consensus," in the usual sense of agreement of opinion, rests on little more than a slide between two distinct meanings of the word, one indeed related to the physiology of reflex action, but the other and more usual one simply borrowed directly from Latin.

Winter's handling of Michael Faraday is particularly unfortunate. She speaks repeatedly (pp. 9, 278–80) of "Faraday's discovery of the polarization of light" in 1845. Faraday did not discover that light could be polarized—that had been done long before—but rather that its plane of polarization could be rotated by a magnetic field. Winter's account of the whole episode is consequently badly muddled. Winter also casts Faraday as an advocate of deference to the authority of experts, when the clear thrust of the remarks she cites was, as his admirer James Clerk Maxwell put it, that one should "not depend on popular opinion, or learned opinion either, but on the observation of Facts in rational combination" (pp. 293–94). No doubt this is hard advice to live up to, as the history of mesmerism itself so often attests, but it is good advice nonetheless, not least for historians.

BRUCE J. HUNT
University of Texas

GEORGE K. BEHLMER. *Friends of the Family: The English Home and Its Guardians, 1850–1940*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 455. \$55.00.

George K. Behlmer has written an intriguing and insightful book that brings together under one umbrella all the attempts in Victorian and early twentieth-century Britain to shape the nuclear family and to protect the values of "home." The book begins with a brief but useful introduction to the concepts of "fam-

ily" and "home" in Victorian Britain, which succeeds in explaining why the English were so protective of domestic privacy while contesting the sharp dichotomy between public and private maintained by previous historians such as Barbara Welter, modified by Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, and questioned by Pat Thane, Linda Colley, and myself. It also introduces the "troubling domestic contradictions" that fueled the debate at the heart of the book. "Family" and "home" values were believed to underpin the structure of society. English and Welsh people itched to make sure that the underpinning was in place and in good condition, yet there was strong resistance to external intervention.

The book is divided into two sections: one collection of related essays treating the "Counsel of Strangers" and another entitled "The Adjudication of the Private." Grouped together in section one are relatively straightforward accounts of the work of what Behlmer calls the Home Ministries (District Visiting; District Nursing; Health Visiting; and Mothers' Meetings and the Mothers' Union); of attempts to police parenting in the 1860s and 1870s (concentrating on compulsory vaccination, school attendance, and the prevention of abuse); and of guidance for families (focusing on the Parents' National Education Union, guidance for mal-adjusted families, and physiological psychology). Section two is predominantly concerned with the nexus of the judicial system and state regulation and the family. Behlmer's synthesis is based on considerable reading of the secondary literature and contains a useful, if by no means exhaustive, bibliography.

Behlmer's book is in many ways persuasive. He adopts the usual stance of modern historians, claiming that the Victorian period saw the birth of the ideal of the home inviolate, yet not discussing in any depth the possibility that this ideal had a much longer history. He then proceeds to consider the slant of the contemporary discussion, which focused on particular problems such as domestic violence, juvenile criminality, moral turpitude, reliance on charity, the fate of illegitimate children, ill health, and poor physical and mental condition. Middle-class reformers not only set the agenda for debate but also founded and led interventionist groups who intended to remold the family, especially the working-class family, along acceptable lines so that it could be used to combat these problems. Long before the birth of the welfare state, there had been regulation of private life, be it middle class or working class. Middle-class reformers, for example, provided guidance for their own class with respect to good parenting. The author demonstrates how both middle-class and working-class parents cooperated in this regulation and became part of what he calls a "cultural policing process," while at the same time he highlights the considerable resistance in some quarters to such intervention. Behlmer provides the reader with a refreshing view of well-established facts: for example, he sees the legislation regarding smallpox vaccination and education and the creation of philanthropic

agencies for the protection of children in their own homes as united by one feature, the belief in "policing of parental behaviour."

The book contains much that will be of interest to historians of the English system of justice (and of social administration), especially where it impinges on domestic issues in the police and juvenile courts. For reasons of space, I focus here on Behlmer's sensitive and subtle discussion of the administration of summary justice through the police courts. He sees this as "highly personal and unsystematic" in nature (p.182). Perhaps the most valuable insight here is the author's belief that although this summary justice could be viewed as a simple matter of overt social control in which "bourgeois ideals concerning marriage, family and the law" were applied to the working classes, in fact the system was extremely flexible and involved negotiation of values between the working classes and the courts. Behlmer shows that police courts played a vital role in communicating elite values because of their very popularity with the working classes, who used them "to punish members of their own class for theft and assault," but he argues convincingly that this did not mean that the "disciplinary goal of a ruling elite" had been scored or that the poor subscribed to the view of the law held by that elite (p. 186). The work being undertaken by Claire McQuoid discusses this area in some detail with respect to the northeast. Behlmer believes that the poor used the police courts' justice as a supplement to rather than a substitute for their own ways of dealing with miscreants. They perceived the "beak" as capable of distinguishing the "just" from the "legal": police courts gave outdoor relief to the poor and were not afraid to dismiss charges brought by the Poor Law authorities, school board visitors, National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC) inspectors, and rent collectors where they saw fit. He challenges Jennifer Davis's view that the poor withdrew from using the police courts from the late nineteenth century onward. Cases of larceny, fraud, and violence against the person were primarily brought before these courts. The poor themselves used the courts with regard to domestic issues such as child support and wife beating. The section treating the regulation of marriage in southwest London is a model of clarity: it highlights the role the magistrates played in the enforcement of maintenance orders and marital mediation and in cooperation with court-centered voluntarism (typified by police court missionaries, the Church of England Temperance Society, and Salvation Army workers). Behlmer concludes by discussing the enlarged matrimonial jurisdiction of the police courts from the mid 1920s.

In short, I recommend this work to those interested in the broad fields of modern social history, the practice of summary justice and of social policy as well as historians concerned with "narrow" domestic issues. The title belies the fact that Behlmer's book has a deep

relevance for all concerned to understand this period of England's history.

ROSEMARY O'DAY
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JAMES WINTER. *Secure from Rash Assault: Sustaining the Victorian Environment*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 342. \$35.00.

In his richly detailed, well-researched survey of the impact of industrialization and urbanization on the environment of nineteenth-century Britain, historian James Winter contends that, despite instances of local ecological damage, a complex "balance of forces" (p. 230) saved it from potentially much greater damage. He stresses "the degree of continuity in the Victorian land and landscape . . . not the amount of change" (p. 3). He attributes this relatively benign result to many factors, including Britain's ability to export environmental damage—deforestation, for instance—to its colonies; the limited capacities of steam-powered machinery; the fact that railway construction, while "gashing" through the countryside, also led to the channeling of trade and tourism away from the rest of the countryside (p. 104); and the twin ideologies of Wordsworthian "natural piety" and aristocratic "stewardship" of the land (p. 255). Winter also points out that massive alterations in the landscape of Britain had occurred long before the Industrial Revolution. Much of the land had already been deforested, and tin and copper mining in Cornwall and elsewhere extended back to Roman times and earlier.

Whether one considers environmental changes positive or negative, major or minor, is of course partly a matter of subjective judgment. Reading the many descriptions of industrial blight in "the Black Country" and other regions that Winter cites, I found it difficult to accept his view that the human alterations to the natural environment in nineteenth-century Britain were something less than devastating. When Winter focuses on specific sites and issues, at least, the damage is often much more evident than any overall "balance" between human energies and nature. The sinking of the entire coalmining town of Bilston into the earth is hardly a positive event (p. 127), and the same is true of the "Great Subsidence" of Northwich in 1880 (pp. 127–29). By the end of the century, three-quarters of the Lower Swansea Valley in Wales was "completely derelict, half of this area covered ten to ninety feet deep by coal shale, furnace ash, and the mixed leavings from extracting copper, arsenic, zinc, silver, lead, cobalt, and iron" (p. 161). Of this devastation, Winter himself says, "The place was an industrial Gehenna" (p. 161), a thoroughly poisoned industrial wasteland. Until copper smelting ended there, "Two hundred furnaces on some 1,200 acres of former floodplain filled the valley night and day with acid smoke" (p. 162), killing vegetation for miles around.

Such instances of "blight" and damage (and Winter

shows that there were many of them) were no doubt comparatively localized, but as Winter also indicates, the Victorians worried less about industrialization than about the encroachments of urbanization on the countryside. "Indignation about the ravaging effects of smelters and chemical manufactures . . . did not supply the impetus for an organized preservationist movement," Winter writes; "The moving force was the perception that the city was intruding everywhere, sending out its tentacles to grasp even the most precious of the remaining natural sanctuaries" (p. 166). Main points of origin for a "preservationist" or "green" movement in Britain include George Perkins Marsh's "extraordinary book, *Man and Nature*" (p. 26), first published in 1864; the formation of the Commons Preservation Society in 1865; and state-sponsored conservation experiments in such imperial locales as India, Mauritius, and South Africa (p. 23). Writing on agriculture and "silviculture" also contributed, as did the continuation of Romantic apprehensions of nature in the works of John Ruskin and William Morris. The "greening" of Victorian cities including London through the establishment of public parks and the utopian "garden city" movement associated with Ebenezer Howard also foreshadowed, at least, the development of modern environmental consciousness in Britain.

Winter covers a daunting range of aspects of natural and urban environments in Britain. Always attentive to environmental law and legislation such as the Wild Birds' Protection Act of 1880 (p. 80), he is also attentive to major advocates of ecological "balance" and reform such as social worker Octavia Hill (pp. 179–82) and architect George Godwin, editor of the *Builder* (pp. 196–202). Whether one agrees with his central thesis—that environmental depredation due to industrialization and urbanization could have been much worse than it was in nineteenth-century Britain—he has written a fascinating study, one that all Victorianists and all who are interested in the history of environmentalism should read.

PATRICK BRANTLINGER
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GRAHAM NEVILLE. *Radical Churchman: Edward Lee Hicks and the New Liberalism*. New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1998. Pp. ix, 360. \$90.00.

When Edward Lee Hicks died in August 1919, he was "the most radical" bishop in the Church of England (p. 3). Measured by his support for social reform, the bishop of Lincoln stood on the left edge of Britain's Liberal Party and was well on his way toward support for Labour. Graham Neville has written a well-crafted, traditional study of Hicks and his times that sheds fresh light on the association of church reformers and political liberals.

Hicks was born in 1843 in Ship Street, Oxford, to a small shopkeeper—a dyer—and his wife, who after a stint with Methodism had returned to the Church of

England. This was not an auspicious origin by Victorian standards, and Hicks later described himself as "an outsider" in both Oxford and Lambeth (p. 28).

Hicks took his Oxford degree at Brasenose College and followed it with a fellowship (1866–1873) at Corpus Christi College. His concentration in classical archaeology served him well when he moved to theology. Whereas most theological liberals had to adjust their thinking when they first encountered the idea of historical development, Hicks thought historically *before* he came to theology. Oxford introduced Hicks to two other intellectual influences that honed his social conscience: John Ruskin's critique of commercial capitalism and Auguste Comte's altruism.

In 1873, Hicks took the rural living of Fenny Compton, Warwickshire. There he married, began a family, and managed the life of the parish: prayer groups and visitation, sermons and sacraments, budgets and church fabric. There, too, his social conscience became active as he struggled with the consequences of an agricultural depression by organizing cooperatives, workers' reading rooms and night schools, temperance programs, and the division of glebe lands into allotments.

From 1886 until 1910, Hicks lived in Manchester, first as principal of Hulme Hall at the university and after 1892, as residentiary canon at the cathedral and rector of St. Philip's, Salford. Manchester's industrial setting provided greater range for his social conscience, and the *Manchester Guardian* (for which Hicks occasionally wrote) was a forum for the emerging New Liberalism. The individualistic Whig Liberals of mid-century Britain had admitted the role of the state only for the "preservation of life and property" (p. 188). The New Liberals understood that individuals could be denied freedom by exploitive economic structures, and they expanded the state into an "agent for all moral, material, and social reforms" (p. 188). Hicks welcomed the cathedral pulpit because of the freedom it gave for more explicitly political preaching; now he could promote the church as "a mighty engine for moral and social reformation" (p. 212).

As a New Liberal, Hicks championed multiple causes. One suffragist called him "the first and the boldest" of the bishops to support her crusade (p. 165). The Boer War brought out his antipathy for capitalistic imperialism. He advocated trade unionism and the political organization of labor. Above all, he was an ardent proponent of temperance, although not for any moralistic reason. Hicks saw drink as part of the "great conflict on behalf of Labour against the encroachment of Capital" (p. 221). In short, brewers exploited workers: "supply created demand, not vice versa" (p. 128). Hicks's remedy was local option: the right of the workers to determine the character of their own neighborhoods. If the public house "is the working man's wine-cellar," he said in one sermon, "then let him have the key and lock it if he pleases" (p. 136).

After the victory of the Liberal Party in 1906, Hicks was appointed bishop of Lincoln in 1910. The rural

setting was perhaps not the most appropriate for his talents, but Hicks threw himself into the work with zeal—and with occasional frustration at “the awful difficulty of being a Bishop & a Liberal” (p. 200). Hicks always tried to be practical rather than ideologically consistent, and Neville argues he accomplished more in the end than did the better-known Christian Socialists to his left.

This is a very good biography, marred somewhat by redundancies caused by the mixture of overlapping chronological and topical chapters. But this small flaw aside, scholars of Victorian and Edwardian religion or politics will find much here that is of use and deep interest.

CHARLES D. CASHDOLLAR
Indiana University of Pennsylvania

JONATHAN SCHNEER. *London 1900: The Imperial Metropolis*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 336. \$29.95.

London of course is not Britain, and 1900 was a year apart. They were both exceptional, and in the degree of the imperial enthusiasm shown in them most of all. The Mafeking celebrations of May 18, 1900, for example, were at their most jingoistic in London, which probably led contemporary London-based journalists to exaggerate the phenomenon generally. As long as we do not fall into the same trap, a study of the way the city reflected its imperial function in that final year of the nineteenth century promises much.

What is striking from Jonathan Schneer's lively new work is how uneven the impact of imperialism was, even in London. It is refreshing to read this. There is a widespread historical fashion just now, especially in America, that sees imperialism in everything. Schneer obviously comes from this stable. He cites its gurus. “The general argument” of his book, he writes early on, “is that imperialism was central to the city's character in 1900” (p. 13). He believes that previous historians of London have underestimated this (p. 12). Later he writes of the “imperial drumbeat” being “steady and all-enveloping in turn-of-the-century London” (p. 162). That is what Schneer is looking for, so of course he finds it. Sometimes this leads him into distortion and error. There is one dreadful mistake about John Atkinson Hobson (p. 168), for example, which clearly derives from Schneer's need to show how racist even the self-styled “anti-imperialists” were. Other imperial links he makes are pure guesswork. “The sweated seamstress *might* sew buttons on the uniforms of soldiers sent to suppress brushfire rebellions throughout the empire,” he writes (p. 6; my italics). *Were* army uniforms put out to sweatshops, or not? It should not be too difficult to find out. Likewise, why speculate about the numbers of foreign and Indians living in London (pp. 7–8, 171) when there is a perfectly good census report close at hand (1901) that will tell you. (And who, incidentally, in 1900, are “Czechoslovaks”?) These are not isolated examples.

Some of the empirical work here is pretty slipshod. But that is more than compensated for by the book's subtheme—running alongside the “drumbeat” one—that “The imperial metropolis was the product of a complex interaction, of reciprocal, occasionally antagonistic forces and processes, of a multiplicity of rhetorics” (p. 14), even in the great “khaki” year of 1900.

Mind you, one needs to read between the lines to realize the full range and variety of these processes. Schneer's central chapter on “alternatives” deals only with discourses that engaged with imperialism directly. They include other “antis” besides Hobson: the Irish; four leading women (Lady Dorothy Nevill, Lady Londonderry, Flora Shaw, and Mary Kingsley); Dadabhai Naoroji of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress; and the West Indian Pan-Africanists Celestine Edwards and Henry Sylvester Williams. Much of his effort even here is directed to showing how all of them were enslaved to the assumptions of imperialism to some degree, especially anti-Semitism; another modern American historical obsession, and sometimes wrongly suspected here. Still, Schneer's account does convey some of the richness of the contemporary imperial debate. And there are occasional glimpses of real alternatives.

For Schneer is too honest a historian to accept without question—as many cultural historians seem to—that the imperial propaganda that is the subject-matter of another of his chapters necessarily had the impact it was intended to have. “Possibly,” he suggests, “the London passerby rejected or was oblivious to the nationalist and imperialist preoccupations of public sculpture and the messages they were meant to convey” (p. 28). In fact, there is good evidence of this. Some of it—the deeper preoccupations of the working classes—is referred to in Schneer's concluding chapter on London's showing in the “khaki” general election of 1900. But the best indication of the unevenness of the impact of empire on London comes in his excellent description—the highlight of the book for me—of the physical structure of the city then. How inadequate it was, especially architecturally, as a truly imperial capital! Schneer is also good at analyzing the countervailing tendencies of the time—what he calls “cheeseparing” (p. 35)—that made it so. These are significant. For it was those same tendencies, among other conflicting contemporary discourses, that made Britain as a whole, too, less than a fully “imperialized” nation, even at the empire's supposed apogee. To this extent, London *was* typical. It was always much less than an imperial metropolis, and also much more.

BERNARD PORTER
Yale University

CATRIONA M. M. MACDONALD and E. W. MCFARLAND, editors. *Scotland and the Great War*. East Lothian: Tuckwell Press. 1999. Pp. 200. £16.99.

This refreshing look at aspects of the 1914–1918 war is the product of a conference held in 1997. The ten

essays it contains are refreshing, because for so long, most work on the war in Scotland has made it the background to the emergence of the Labor Party as the largest party in Scotland in the 1920s. Accounts have focused on the protests of those campaigning against rising rents or against dilution of skilled labor by the use of unskilled men and women workers to do jobs previously undertaken by skilled workers. There have also been many studies of antiwar movements, particularly those centered in Glasgow on the revolutionary Marxist schoolteacher, John MacLean. One chapter revisits the antiwar and anticonscription movements associated with the Independent Labour Party, but most of the contributions in this book turn a spotlight on little-explored aspects of the effect of the war. They also reflect the concerns in contemporary Scotland about the factors, of which the experience of the Great War was one, which, in spite of nearly three hundred years of shared experience, have created a specifically Scottish national identity separate from that of England.

The range is wide. A recurring question is how far the war was a turning point economically, culturally, and politically, and the answers that emerge are complex. An essay on the economy questions how far the war can be used to explain the crises of the postwar years that hit Scottish industry. The weight of the argument is that the war merely accelerated a process of decline that was underway before 1914 because of existing weaknesses in Scotland's iron, steel, and ship-building industries. The war did nothing to improve Scottish competitiveness, whether with more advanced technology or with a fitter and more efficient workforce, and the price was paid in the 1920s and 1930s when Scottish heavy industry went into a rapid decline. War dislocated trade badly for a country dependent upon extensive exports, and, although new techniques were introduced into areas essential to the war effort, mining, transport, and housing, among other areas, suffered badly from under-investment. An essay on the politics of the war years also challenges the view that the experience and tensions of these years intensified class consciousness; it shows instead how the war, in the short term at any rate, strengthened the political right rather than the left. Liberalism was routed, Labour, despite improved organization and much activity, was overwhelmed by a "triumphalist euphoria in the wake of the Armistice" (p. 55) and by the enthusiasm for the United Kingdom and the empire that the war seems to have generated. It was postwar events that brought the Labour advance.

In many ways, the recurring message of many of the essays is that the war remained astonishingly popular. Scottish MPs of all shades and most Scottish trade unions backed the war effort. The introduction of conscription never caused the debate and controversy that it did in Ireland. Partly this may have stemmed from the need to justify the sacrifices being made on the battlefields. Two essays powerfully bring out the experience of the volunteer, territorial army battalions:

the Royal Scots, recruited mainly from Edinburgh, at Gallipoli, and the Highland Divisions, whose slaughter at the Battle of Loos forms the basis of a fictionalized account that is analyzed with great subtlety. Some 60,000 men, many of them relatively fresh recruits from the Highlands, died in this one battle in a few days in September 1915, battling for control of some slag heaps and hills. Its outcome sent ambiguous messages about the particular valor of the Scottish Highlander but also about what the war was costing in lives. The essays also confirm yet again the extent of incompetence and amateurism that pervaded much military endeavor.

Those recruiting for the army very consciously and very effectively tapped into notions of Scottish history and traditions. There was a constant evocation of a glorious past of heroic military skill and glory. But, as another contribution shows, stirring folk memories could arouse other echoes from the past, and many of those who participated in the war from the Highlands returned with a strengthened expectation that the reward for military service would be access to land, which for too long had been the preserve of deer forests for the pleasure of rich sportsmen. When that did not materialize, protests and land seizure spread in the 1920s.

Less than heroic were the race riots and violence in a number of small towns in May 1915 in the aftermath of the sinking of the liner, *Lusitania*, against those with German names, often pork butchers, many of whom had been in their local communities for years. Catriona M. M. Macdonald, in a study of the Scottish press, subtly distinguishes between what Jay Winter has called the "experienced community" of local issues and the "imagined community," the "nation" created by the press. Not surprisingly, war raised moral anxieties. The final contribution examines concerns over irreligion, sexual immorality, drunkenness, and gambling, all of which were more than apparent among the millions uprooted and pulled into armies. Men were expected to behave nobly and heroically, women to maintain chastity and piety. When they did not, the shock was real, but, at the same time, revelations of reality did stir a religious and puritanical evangelical revival that met with some temporary success in the 1920s and help sustain church membership in the years between the wars.

The experience of the war varied tremendously for individuals and for communities, and the strength of this collection is in showing the ambiguity of the lessons that people drew from these terrible years. Unlike World War II, however, few Scots ever suggested that 1914–1918 had been a "good war" for them.

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GÁBOR BÁTONYI, *Britain and Central Europe, 1918–1933*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York:

Clarendon Press Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. 240. \$60.00.

The popular belief persists that for Britain between the wars, Eastern European countries were far away places about which Britons knew nothing. Yet Gábor Bátonyi's monograph is full of examples of what British Foreign Office personnel thought were witty and penetrating insights into the peoples and problems of Central Europe after 1918.

For Bátonyi, Foreign Office talk of "Central Europe" expressed a wish to treat the fragments of the former Habsburg Empire as one territorial unit. He traces his argument in three parallel case studies of British policy to Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. Some historians have more recently stressed that Britain had clear goals at the postwar peace conferences; Bátonyi finds confusion and contradiction in Whitehall, occasionally relieved by the pet projects of influential individuals.

Thus Hugh Seton-Watson's active "New Europe" group was bent on thwarting German schemes for Mitteleuropa, and the British military representative in Austria, Sir T. Montgomery-Cunninghame, pushed for a Danubian confederation. In spite of divisions, British officials favored Vienna above all as the place to secure a strong British position in Central Europe, but it became apparent that achieving this depended on Austria having good relations with both Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Bátonyi uses Foreign Office pen sketches of European statesmen to telling effect. Breathtakingly, Eric Phipps, Assistant Secretary to the Foreign Office, commented on "K. Renner's reputation for stupidity" being "well founded" (p. 37).

Such attitudes might help to explain Britain's disappointments in trying to organize Central Europe, although French influence in Hungary played a role too. Nevertheless, the Foreign Office doggedly pursued its pro-Austrian line, and while the Board of Trade frustrated British plans for a customs union in Central Europe, London played a key role in the arrangements for a League of Nations loan to Austria in 1923.

In next tracing Anglo-Hungarian relations, Bátonyi inevitably revisits some of his earlier arguments: initial aversion to Hungary from the "New Europe" group gave way to a wish to appease Hungary in order to achieve cooperation in the Danubian region. Here Bátonyi identifies anticommunism as a crucial key to British policy. The lesson Arthur James Balfour drew from the Bela Kun episode was that Austria should be fed and Czechoslovakia armed (p. 101). A pivotal role was played by Sir George Russell Clerk, whose mission to Budapest in November 1919 laid the foundation for a special Anglo-Hungarian relationship, work consolidated by British High Commissioner Sir Thomas Hohler after arriving in Budapest early in 1920.

Finally, like the detective in a murder mystery, Bátonyi retraces his steps yet again to examine the case of Czechoslovakia. Once more, Clerk's role is empha-

sized. His enthusiasm for the Czech cause led him to pursue the vision of a British stronghold in Prague, and he was particularly enamored of President Edward Benes's efforts to bring about harmony in Central Europe under "tacit" Czech leadership (p. 207).

Each of the book's three sections culminates around the time of the Locarno conference in 1925: the critical year for Bátonyi, when in his view the British government was already distancing itself from Central Europe. Consensus reigned in the Foreign Office that France's eastern satellite system of alliances detracted rather than added to European security. Moreover Britain had become disillusioned with Hungary for pursuing rapprochement with Italy and Germany. By the second half of the 1920s, Bátonyi asserts roundly, the British government was "neither amicable to most Danubian countries nor particularly curious about their affairs" (p. 62).

Bátonyi concludes by reiterating Britain's key role in ending Austria-Hungary. As far as the British were concerned, a fragmented Central Europe was preferable to a German-dominated Mitteleuropa. Moreover, the existence of separate small states was considered helpful against Bolshevism. Twenty years later "a British diplomat" (p. 222) felt that Austria and Czechoslovakia had no right to a separate existence, and German hegemony was accepted.

This seems fickle even by Albion's standards, and Bátonyi stresses political rather than economic factors as the cause of Britain's waning enthusiasm for reconstructing a Danubian league of states, including London's disillusionment with the failure of the three states to get their own acts together. The weight that Bátonyi assigns to the first half of the 1920s in determining Britain's Central European policy in the 1930s is clear from the fact that he covers the thirteen years from Locarno to Munich only in his final chapter. It would be useful to see his provocative study of Britain and Central Europe extended in more detail beyond 1925.

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JILL EDWARDS. *Anglo-American Relations and the Franco Question, 1945-1955*. New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1999. Pp. xviii, 291. \$78.00.

Jill Edwards notes that a senior British official claimed, in May 1946, that Spain was "a burning issue in the domestic politics of all four great powers" (i.e. the United Kingdom, the United States, the USSR, and France), primarily because of the identity of its ruler: the victor in the Spanish Civil War, General Francisco Franco (p. 84). Only the *Caudillo's* ouster from power, it seemed, would placate his foreign critics. What took the heat off Franco, subsequently, was the distinct chill that affected the international climate. Franco's Spain came in from, and with, the Cold (War), which allowed it to form a strategic partnership with the United States in the Pacts of

Madrid (1953). This arrangement granted the Americans air and naval bases in Spain in return for military and economic assistance. Yet the real importance of the bargain was political: it signified the end of the half-hearted, postwar campaign to undermine Franco's authoritarian rule by international ostracism. What had steeled the resolve of the Francoist ruling elite to sit out the international quarantine was an acute appreciation of the conflict of ideological interest within the Grand Alliance. One of Franco's closest advisers, Luis Carrero Blanco, counseled in a report of August 29, 1945 not cited by Edwards, that the Spanish regime could rely on the capitalist-communist contradiction to prevent any ganging-up of the Great Powers against it: "when the last shot was fired in the Pacific, a diplomatic war broke out between the Anglo-Saxons and Russia . . . Out of (their own) cold interest, the Anglo-Saxons will not only support, but will oppose everything they can which might lead to a situation of Soviet hegemony in the Iberian Peninsula." Indeed, as Edwards explains in part three of her book, it was Spain's geostrategic advantages as a platform for the deployment of American power (including its atomic deterrent) in Southern Europe and the Mediterranean and as the redoubt from which to reconquer a Western Europe overrun by the Red Army that ultimately led Washington to meet Francoist expectations.

Other scholars have analyzed the process whereby Franco, creature of Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini that he was, was recruited as an unlikely champion of the "Free World." Edwards's book does deepen our understanding of the eventual *rapprochement* between this "Dictator State" and the Western democracies. Admittedly, there are some inaccuracies in both the text and reference notes. Thus, for example, Lord Halifax was certainly not in Washington when he had an exchange of correspondence with Winston Churchill in later June 1940, over a possible attempt to consolidate Franco's neutrality by a deal over Gibraltar (p. 196). Rather, the foreign secretary was at his prime minister's side in London as mortal menace threatened Britain with the fall of France.

Still, such blemishes aside, Edwards does advance our comprehension of this diplomatic episode from the early Cold War. Perhaps the most notable of her contributions is to account for the reluctance of senior Western policy makers to acknowledge the inevitability of strategic association with Franco. Edwards, drawing on material from the Harry S. Truman Presidential Library, details the real revulsion that not only Truman but also British Prime Minister Clement Attlee felt for Franco. It is well known that Attlee bitterly regretted the defeat of his Spanish comrades in the Spanish Civil War, but it is instructive to learn how his resentment sporadically stiffened Britain's postwar policy: as late as April 1948, in conversation with an American envoy, he equated Franco with Hitler and declared himself ready to pay "any price," even "chaos and possibly worse in the Mediterranean," to see the *Caudillo* off (p. 117). Again, Edwards recounts how

Truman, thoroughly antagonized by the Francoist persecution of his fellow Freemasons and Protestants, rebuffed an executive of the Coca-Cola company who advocated closer ties with Spain. Truman pointed out to the businessman, that the "abridgement of civil rights and religious freedom" was "unwarranted and indefensible" on whichever side of the "Iron Curtain" it occurred (p. 163).

In the end, the imperatives of the "National Security State" in the Korean War era forced the hand of even as stubborn a statesman as Truman. As Edwards notes, however, British governments never did follow U.S. administrations fully down the path to this Spanish Canossa. The way was too strewn with rocks of contention, Gibraltar most prominent among them.

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ROBERT HOLLAND. *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus, 1954–1959*. New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1998. Pp. 347. \$85.00.

Robert Holland's excellent new book is likely to become the standard text on British policy toward Cyprus in the 1950s. Its meticulous research and scrupulous fairness to all parties make this account of the machinations of the British government particularly damning. The villain of the piece is undoubtedly the British Foreign Office. In the postwar era, the approach of the Foreign Office to colonial affairs was almost invariably characterized by a lethal cocktail of ignorance, self-delusion, and low cunning. In most cases, this posed only a minor obstacle to the framing of viable policies. The British system of colonial government devolved a great deal of power to individual governors, who were often able to stitch together deals with local nationalists with little reference back to the Colonial Office, let alone the Foreign Office. Yet the British government chose to treat the struggle of the Greek majority population on Cyprus for *Enosis*—union with Greece—as essentially an international problem. A further complicating factor was provided by the role of Cyprus as a strategic outpost: it became home to Britain's military headquarters in the Middle East following the evacuation of the Suez base. The views of the Foreign Office and the Chiefs of Staff thus became paramount, and the three men whose unhappy fate it was to be governor of Cyprus between 1955 and 1959 were never allowed the freedom of action afforded to their counterparts in other colonies. According to the liberal teleology of decolonization, the choice of the emollient Hugh Foot to replace Field-Marshal Sir John Harding as governor in 1957 should have been the prologue to a settlement. Yet by that time, it was no longer possible—by conciliation any more than by repression—to deliver a purely "local" solution to the island's problems.

Holland makes short shrift of Britain's claim that it was acting as a disinterested referee in what was essentially a dispute between Greeks and Turks. He

convincingly demonstrates how, at an international level, it encouraged Turkish intransigence as a means of justifying its continued presence in Cyprus. The extent to which Britain was constructing a trap for itself became clear once Harold Macmillan had resolved to "get clear of Cyprus." Within Cyprus, the British became increasingly dependent on Turkish-Cypriot police. This served further to alienate the Greek-Cypriot majority and led to accusations (by no means entirely unfounded, Holland suggests) of pro-Turkish bias in the handling of communal unrest.

Holland uses a wide variety of British archival sources and delves deeply into the files in the Public Record Office. Yet, unusually for an account of British decolonization, he also draws material from the archives of the State Department in Washington D.C. The book fully vindicates his decision to do so. One particular episode stands out. In November 1957, shortly before his retirement as governor, Harding confided in Taylor G. Belcher, the U.S. consul in Cyprus. Frustrated by the intrigues of his masters in London, Harding impressed on Belcher the need to "bang heads together." Holland describes this as probably a "unique instance in the era of decolonization of a British colonial governor asking for American interference in the affairs of his own territory" (p. 209). Yet we simply do not know how often governors were tempted to call on the good offices of their friendly U.S. consul. Nor will we, until more scholars follow Holland's example.

My only real complaint is that, having been presented with such a fine manuscript, Oxford University Press had a duty to ensure that it was equipped with a suitably detailed index. That they have failed to do so is likely to be a source of irritation for the many scholars who will use this as a reference book. Those with a particular interest in counter-insurgency will, for example, find no specific entries for MI5, MI6, or Special Branch. Nor is there even a general entry for "intelligence." Yet there are references to all these subjects scattered throughout the book (although not as many as one might have hoped, due, no doubt, to the notorious reticence of British official archives on such matters). This minor quibble aside, however, Holland's book is to be warmly welcomed.

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JONATHAN HASLAM. *The Vices of Integrity: E. H. Carr, 1892–1982*. New York: Verso. 1999. pp. xiv, 306. \$35.00.

Already a distinguished historian himself—second to none, indeed, in the field of Soviet foreign policy under Joseph Stalin—Jonathan Haslam here makes a compelling contribution to the thriving little field of English historical biography. In the past few years, G. M. Trevelyan, Arnold Toynbee, Eileen Power, J. L. and Barbara Hammond, and a few other historians of roughly their generation have all found their biogra-

phers, and if only by virtue of his massive output, E. H. Carr surely deserves to be among them. Best known among historians generally for *What is History?* (1961), his sprightly inquiry into the nature of historical understanding, Carr's scholarly reputation rests on his monumental, if largely unreadable, fourteen-volume *History of Soviet Russia*, which appeared over a twenty-five year period starting in 1950. Haslam was Carr's student during the final years of this undertaking, and he honors him accordingly. But he also writes honestly and fully about the conspicuous failings of a man who was, as the historian Robert Conquest has said, wrong about the major issues of our time, and about some of the minor ones too.

Carr was born in 1892 in the north London suburb of Upper Holloway. His parents, he later recalled, were not untypical representatives of the "rather respectable, well-to-do but parsimonious bourgeoisie" (p. 1), and Carr seems to have had correspondingly little to do with them. The dominant presence in his childhood was a dependent maiden aunt, to whose peculiar, if loving, attentions Haslam partly attributes Carr's lifelong emotional imbalance and his three failed marriages. Educated at Merchant Taylors' School and Trinity College, Cambridge, he duly mastered the dead languages, but for one later revered by no less an authority than A. J. P. Taylor as the greatest living modern historian, he displayed strikingly little interest in or aptitude for history. An accomplished debater, he took the Liberal side in tumultuous debates over Home Rule and reform, but his convictions were shallow and his Liberalism short-lived. Haslam does his best, throughout this book, to portray a man painfully torn between Liberal idealism and ruthless realism, but the realism prevails too often and too effortlessly for this to be really convincing. Next to Toynbee and Trevelyan, anyway, Carr appears a moral vacuum easily enthralled from right and left to the simple face of power.

On coming down from Cambridge in 1916, Carr secured a medical exemption from military service and took up a temporary clerkship in the Northern Section of the Contraband Department of the Foreign Office. Here he first came into contact with Russia, the allied supply of which became his particular bureaucratic concern. As a Foreign Office underling at the Paris Peace Conference, he wrestled with the problem of ethnic minorities in Poland and opposed the allied intervention in Russia, less out of Bolshevik sympathies than out of a practical sense that it was half-hearted and futile. A four-year stint at the British Legation in Latvia after the war deepened his interest in things Russian, and in 1925 he began to study the language preparatory to writing a little noticed life of Fyodor Dostoyevsky. A projected book on Mikhail Bakunin became, in 1933, *The Romantic Exiles*, a deft portrayal of Aleksandr Herzen and his circle and the one book of his dozens in which "the utopian and romantic elements lurking beneath the immaculate Foreign Office façade" actually come to the surface (p.

51). More typical of him was *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939*, a "brutal and damning indictment of the utopian approach to international relations" (p. 70) and a vigorous defense of appeasement that had the misfortune to appear after Adolf Hitler's invasion of Poland. Carr was now "at a political dead point" (p. 81), or so, at least, Toynbee believed. But if Hitler was now unavailable as a model of political efficiency, Stalin was not. As a leader writer for the *Times* during World War II, Carr simply transferred his proto-authoritarian sympathies from right to left and became a prominent apologist for the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe.

After the war, flush with admiration for the Soviet war effort and for the planned economy, Carr left the *Times* to embark on the vast history that occupied the rest of his and his unhappy wives' lives. The whole fourteen-volume edifice rests on the assumption that the new Soviet order would not only survive but thrive—an assumption that, as Haslam mordantly puts it, "may seem threadbare from the perspective of today" (p. 145). Moreover, subsequent scholarship has completely put paid to Carr's controlling premise that the Bolshevik seizure of power represented spontaneous, proletarian revolution. But if ill judged in these interpretive respects, Carr's history remains, Haslam argues, unrivaled for narrative detail. Moreover, it had the happy subsidiary effect of prompting him to write *What is History?*, a vivid (and oddly un-Carrite) digression into the nature of historical understanding itself. If not quite as original or provocative as Haslam would have it, *What is History?* remains a useful introduction and the one book of Carr's that is still read.

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CAROLYN A. CONLEY, *Melancholy Accidents: The Meaning of Violence in Post-Famine Ireland*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 1999. Pp. xii, 249. \$40.00.

The meaning of Irish violence has been a contentious issue since at least the mid-nineteenth century, when public violence in Britain went into much-lauded decline. In British eyes, Irish violence thenceforth indicated Irish backwardness, regularly invoked by Unionists as an argument against the concession of political autonomy to Ireland. Violence has been a central issue for historians like K. Theodore Hoppen, Patrick O'Farrell, and L. P. Curtis, Jr., who have demonstrated a significant gap between perception and reality. Carolyn A. Conley adds an account drawing on the four most substantial surviving sets of Irish county court records (for Cavan, Kilkenny, Limerick, and Roscommon), each including over 500 criminal and civil cases of violence in the period 1865-1892. These records, fortunately, represent a good regional spread, and are supplemented by local press reports to establish both the scale and nature of violent crime in Ireland and the range of public attitudes to it.

Conley's work is to be welcomed as the most careful

analytical compilation of court records so far available. It confirms that while the overall incidence of violence in Ireland was lower than the British (and to some extent the Irish) stereotype suggests, there was a noticeable persistence of interpersonal violence stemming from bravado. Importantly, she shows, courts—particularly juries, and less consistently judges—took a benign view of fights between two men (often close friends) to establish which was "the better man," even when the outcome was deadly. Motive was crucial. The same tolerance was extended to the semi-organized collective violence known as faction fighting. A strong sense of national tradition was articulated here, even to the extent that some judges, while accepting lethal injuries caused by sticks and stones in such fights, denounced the use of knives as treacherous and cowardly and—crucially—as "un-national" or "un-Irish."

This endorsement of manliness, she argues in what is perhaps her most interesting chapter (entitled "Sex and Violence"), was not generally accompanied by a paradigm of womanliness, so that the Irish judicial process was unexpectedly gender-neutral. "For good or ill," she suggests, Irish women "both as defendants and victims, enjoyed an equality which their sisters across both the Atlantic and the Irish Sea did not" (p. 126). Conley's unusually substantial account of sexual assault and deviancy cases also shows that Irish courts were remarkably matter-of-fact in their approach to what Victorians routinely denounced as "abominations."

Conley's analysis of personal and familial violence undoubtedly enriches our grasp of the texture of nineteenth-century Irish life, but she is less illuminating on political violence, the subject of her last and longest chapter. Here she touches on several issues that, as she notes, have generated intense scholarly debate, without going far to resolve them. On the big question of the relationship between local and "national" agendas, for instance, she reports contrasting—sometimes conflicting—interpretations but hedges her own bets. Notorious definitional problems, with terms such as "national" and "agrarian," that ought to be met head-on, get side-stepped. Finding that juries convicted in less than forty percent of homicides stemming from the land agitation, as against sixty-seven percent of those arising from land disputes between neighbors, she observes that "clearly homicides linked to organized agitation might inspire greater sympathy (or fear) in a jury" (p. 188). Yes, but which? Again, she notes that after the proclamation of Roscommon under the Protection of Person and Property Act in 1881, demonstrations increased "as if in defiance"—but was it?

There is plenty of interesting material here, but the overall evaluation is not fully convincing. It is odd to present so extensive an account of jury findings without any systematic analysis of Irish juries themselves, or anything more than a passing reference to the (widely supposed) practice of jury packing. The argument that "the amount of expressive violence is in-

versely proportional to the power of the state" (p. 5) seems to call for a much more substantial analysis of the state itself than we are given here. In her overall assessment, Conley also takes the easy way out by dismissing British denigration of Irish "savagery" as merely an excrescence of imperialism. Certainly British perceptions were biased; but to leave it as an open question whether "recreational violence" is more savage than a naval bombardment is simply to evade the issue. The assertion that "in other areas of behavior [the Irish] were demonstrating a level of self-control which the British might envy" (p. 218) surely misses the point, which is precisely the oddity of the contrast between low overall crime levels and a high incidence of interpersonal violence. Did the Irish prefer this balance? Irish society ultimately moved beyond casual violence, suggesting that the British perspective was in fact accepted. Her most resonant conclusion, that Irish acceptance of violent deaths ("melancholy accidents") was a product of fatalism, indeed reflects a very common Irish self-criticism, and one that endured well into the twentieth century.

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OLIVER P. RAFFERTY. *The Church, the State, and the Fenian Threat, 1861-75*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xviii, 229. \$69.95.

Oliver P. Rafferty has tackled a large, important, and fascinating subject in his slim book, and it is founded upon an admirably multinational range of archival research. He concedes that the Roman Catholic Church in mid-nineteenth-century Ireland had almost unequalled freedom from state control. He argues that it was less a champion of Irish nationalism than the creator of a "Catholic nationalism" that inevitably brought it into conflict with Fenians committed to the separation of church and state. And he is strongly of the opinion that Fenian violence contributed significantly to the introduction of remedial legislation by the first Gladstone administration. Of course, William Ewart Gladstone's imprudent comments readily lent themselves to this interpretation, as the Fenians at the time, and Charles Stewart Parnell a few years later, were not slow to point out. Yet the Fenian activities in Britain, and the public panic to which they gave rise there, had largely subsided before the Liberals took office. Earlier, at the peak of the Fenian hysteria, the Tory governments of Lord Derby and then Benjamin Disraeli had conspicuously failed to respond with far-reaching reforms. It is also arguable that Gladstone's decision to take up the issue of disestablishment in 1868 was motivated by other than Irish considerations. This issue is but one of several on which Rafferty is at obvious pains to confront R. V. Comerford. Legitimate as a disagreement over the latter's interpretation of Fenianism surely is, the persistence with which Comerford's work is truculently

disparaged in the text is unfortunate and surprisingly uncharitable.

Rafferty's core argument "is that the Church resolutely opposed the Fenians and upheld the legitimacy of English rule in Ireland" (p. 6). He asserts that churchmen feared that it was government policy "to let Fenianism flourish in order that the Church's influence would be undermined" (p. 8). This suggests a depth of suspicion, if not a degree of sectarian paranoia, which would be unlikely to foster support for "the legitimacy of English rule." Similarly, Rafferty's depiction of Cardinal Paul Cullen is not entirely consistent with his rejection of political and nationalist interpretations of that influential cleric's conduct. Religious concerns certainly loomed very large in Cullen's politics, yet religion and nationalism all too frequently blended so well together that the attempted isolation of either one as the overriding factor is difficult. This Cullen himself illustrated in a peculiar way with his preposterous denunciation of the Brotherhood of St. Patrick, a Fenian front, as a Protestant conspiracy against religion and the Catholic faith.

Rafferty does acknowledge the ambiguity of the American Catholic hierarchy's response to Fenianism and the involvement of a small number of the lower clergy of Ireland with the Fenian Brotherhood, and he concedes that "Opposition from the Church to government policy on religious issues . . . helped create a climate of opinion in which hostility to the English government of Ireland seemed generally acceptable" (p. 18). But there was more to it than that. For example, the Christian Brothers actively and consciously undermined the legitimacy of the state in their texts and schools. Rafferty's position would have been strengthened had he examined closely Emmet Larkin's argument that by undermining the legitimacy of the state through bitter attacks on the government, all too often described as a tyranny, and by their failure to offer constitutional instruments for seeking redress of grievances, apart from the tardily organized National Association, senior figures in the church and many lower clergy helped to create a climate of opinion in which Fenianism could first sprout and then grow. Certainly, Lord Clarendon, a former viceroy of Ireland and Gladstone's first foreign secretary, was not entirely off the beam—his notoriously deep distrust and dislike of the Irish priesthood notwithstanding—when he confided to his son-in-law, the British representative to the Vatican, "Opposition to the Government they like to encourage only not in a Fenian shape. They hate the traitors but love the treason." Indeed, the danger implicit in many a clerical utterance was highlighted by an organ of constitutional nationalism. Reporting the speech of a parish priest in 1867, which dilated on the futility of political agitation, the *Cork Examiner* admitted that "The legitimate conclusion from his declaration is that revolution is the only possible means by which the miseries of the people can be redressed."

Yet it would be unjust to conclude this review on a negative note, for Rafferty develops some of the

contradictions inherent in the responses of Irish Catholic clergy to nationalism, and he illuminates a murky, complex, and delicate problem.

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ROBERT STRADLING. *The Irish and the Spanish Civil War 1936–39*. Manchester, U.K.: Mandolin. 1999. Pp. xi, 288.

Irish involvement in the Spanish Civil War has so far received very little scholarly attention. Apart from fleeting references in works dedicated to other subjects, it has until recently mustered only one serious article dating from 1969 and a series of recollections of veterans. Robert Stradling's book is the first major academic analysis of Ireland's role in the Spanish conflict, and as such a most welcome addition. It reflects growing interest in the 1930s in general and in this issue in particular, as witnessed by the more recent publication of Fearghal McGarry's *Irish Politics and the Spanish Civil War* (1999).

Stradling traces the organization, experiences, and return of the Irishmen who fought in this conflict. The first section of his book deals with the Irish Brigade, nearly 700 men strong, raised by General O'Duffy in support of Francisco Franco, and the second with those who joined the International Brigade, numbering almost 200. The book's stated intention is to give equal recognition to both sides, and it sets out to rehabilitate the memory of O'Duffy and the members of the Irish Brigade who, contrary to their opposite numbers, have been derided ever since their return in 1937. Stradling blames this on the Irish Brigade's fascist connection. He claims that the shock of having the largest nongoverning fascist organization of the 1930s is such an embarrassment to the Irish that O'Duffy and the Irish Brigade had to be either forgotten or made fun of; consequently their idealism has been wrongly neglected.

Based on solid research in Spanish archives, this book does succeed in uncovering what both sides actually did in Spain. It recounts in great detail what happened to all those involved from mobilization to homecoming. Although the two stories could have been better linked, it is most satisfying in this regard. It is much weaker, however, in its presentation of the Irish context, of which Stradling frequently exposes his lack of knowledge. This is immediately obvious from the list of abbreviations, which shows at least five inaccuracies, and it is continued throughout the book. Saor Eire, the socialistic party set up by the Irish Republican Army (IRA), which became defunct in 1931, is still reported to be active in 1934, while its successor is wrongly identified as the Irish Workers League. At the same time its real successor, Republican Congress, whose members were expelled from the IRA, is frequently referred to as IRA Congress. This lack of intimate understanding also applies to North-

ern Ireland, where the labor leader Harry Midgley is assigned to the wrong party and constituency.

A more serious deficiency concerns the lack of understanding of the current historiographical debate on the Blueshirts. The basic assertion that the poor image of the Irish Brigade is due to its link with the fascist Blueshirts neglects the current consensus that the Blueshirts must primarily be seen as a peculiarly Irish phenomenon and were at most a protofascist organization. Apart from its leadership, most of its supporters had little affinity with fascism. It is exactly the rejection of O'Duffy's National Corporate Party prior to World War II that proves that, contrary to Stradling's claim, fascism was not popular in Ireland at the time. It was also not an early antifascism that explains the treatment of the Irish Brigade upon their return, but the general perception of O'Duffy as an extremist, as well as the military inactivity of and the factionalism inside the Irish Brigade. Seeing the Irish involvement within a simple dichotomy between liberal democracy and fascism neglects its peculiarly Irish dimensions. It also leads to questionable statements on Frank Ryan as the leader of the Irish in the International Brigade and as the most admired political figure in modern Ireland after Michael Collins. Most history students in Ireland have never even heard of him.

McGarry takes roughly the same line as Stradling on the current perception of the Irish Brigade and the need to recognize its members' idealism. Comparing the use of sources and their interpretation, it is clear both authors would have benefited from some co-operation, each unearthing some source material the other has missed, while Stradling's strength on the Spanish side would have combined well with McGarry's more intimate knowledge of the Irish situation.

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Belfast

TROY D. DAVIS. *Dublin's American Policy: Irish-American Diplomatic Relations, 1945–1952*. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 1998. Pp. xvii, 237. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$24.95.

This volume covers seven years of great importance in Irish-American relations. Involved are the restoration of good working relations following Ireland's controversial neutrality during World War II, Prime Minister Eamon de Valera's visit to the German minister to express his condolences upon the death of Adolf Hitler, Ireland's failure to join the United Nations, the allocation of Marshall aid, the decision to leave the Commonwealth, the "refusal" to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and efforts to negotiate a bilateral defense arrangement with Washington.

Troy D. Davis handles all of these issues with considerable professional expertise based on extensive work in the relevant major international archives in London, Washington, and Dublin. From the author's reference to his study in the State Paper Office, Dublin

Castle, now subsumed into the National Archives of Ireland (NAI), it is likely that much of the Irish research was done some time ago before the transfer of the Department of External Affairs files to Bishop Street, headquarters of the NAI.

Given that limitation, Davis has written a particularly valuable work based more on U.S. and British files than on the wide range of files (general and secretary series) of the Department of External Affairs (called Foreign Affairs in the early 1970s). The author provides a very strong and original account of U.S. policy toward Ireland's abortive effort to join the United Nations. The interplay between Washington and London is very well argued, as is Davis's account of Minister for External Affairs in the Inter-Party Government (1948–1951), Sean MacBride's handling of both the issues of Marshall aid and the response to the invitation to join NATO. Davis demonstrates very effectively how dismissive Washington and its allies were of MacBride's attempt to link acceptance of NATO membership with a demarche on partition. It has yet to be explained why Fine Gael, the dominant party in that five-party government, was prepared to go along with MacBride's cumbersome and unorthodox strategy—a strategy that was, according to Irish diplomats, doomed to failure from its very inception. Davis handles this issue with considerable sensitivity.

This book is clearly written. It contains much new material from the National Archives, Suitland, relating to the State Department and the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). It is a compelling read and a valuable contribution to the growing body of literature on Irish diplomatic history. Since the opening of the National Archives in the early 1980s and the introduction of a thirty-year rule, a new generation of scholars has worked over the past decade to produce surveys and specialized monographs on Irish-American relations.

In his conclusion, Davis agrees with R. F. Foster's view that the Inter-Party government of 1948–1951 was “firmly in the de Valera tradition.” But there is a strong counter-argument that sees MacBride and his ministerial colleagues as quite different from the man who was both prime minister and his own minister for external affairs from 1932 until 1948. MacBride showed a distinct lack of professionalism in his handling of almost every aspect of his country's foreign policy. This former “chief of staff” of the Irish Republican Army was never trusted by his civil servants in Iveagh House. He was inconsistent and unpredictable. He lacked a strong strategic sense, and his nationalism was millenarian. De Valera was, if anything, professional. He was trusted and respected by his senior civil servants in both departments. He was consistent, and he had a strong sense of his country's strategic national interest.

With regard to the partition and antipartition campaigns, Davis engages in counterfactual speculation at the end of his fine book with which I tend to agree. But, for the sake of argument, let me present the view that if de Valera and Fianna Fáil had been in power

between 1948 and 1951, it is probable that Ireland would not have left the Commonwealth and possible that the country would have joined NATO. On the issue of continuity between de Valera and MacBride, I part company with Davis and Foster.

This is a fine work that adds much to our knowledge of Irish diplomatic history.

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DAVID GOODMAN. *Spanish Naval Power, 1589–1665: Reconstruction and Defeat*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 305. \$59.95.

As Spain's fortune in the seventeenth century was ever sinking, with it went the once-powerful Spanish naval forces. David Goodman's aim in this book is to find out why the navy went down. Two observations can be made about such an objective. First, it seems odd to isolate this problem from the more general problem of the “decline of Spain.” The navy probably collapsed because everything around it did. Second, though Goodman mentions his purpose at the start, he rarely returns to it, and the book thus becomes mostly a descriptive account of how Spain kept its ships afloat. This is very interesting indeed, and there are sections of the book that make fascinating reading. Goodman provides detailed background on the financing, construction, and manning of the ships, pointing out all the ways that each posed logistical nightmares for the king's councilors. But all those problems, it turns out, were not that much worse than those experienced by Spain's many enemies and therefore cannot be the explanation. All except for one, more on which below.

The introduction provides a chronological account of Spanish naval power from the defeat of the invincible Armada in 1588 to the end of Philip IV's reign in 1665. With an empire scattered around the world, Spain's navy, theorist Giovanni Botero wrote, should have been the chain that linked it all together. In fact, as Spain fought to retain its hegemony, it was successively battered by the United Provinces, France, and England. There was the occasional victory, but predominantly, Goodman says, the king's ministers presided over defeat.

From here, Goodman moves into the body of the book, looking at each component of the navy. We have the familiar but still excruciating account of the monarchy's inability to maintain a stable cash flow. Taxes, bank loans, and private contractors were costly and unreliable, fraud was rampant, and wages were lousy, if they arrived at all. As I. A. A. Thompson said in *War and Government in Hapsburg Spain* (1976), “the Council of Finance had no idea where the money was going nor the Council of War when it was coming” (p. 78–79).

On what I believe is a more original note, Goodman's chapter titled “Counting the Trees” is a wonderful examination of where the wood for the ships

came from. He puts to rest the notion that deforestation hurt naval performance, though it was no easy task for the crown to ensure this was so; just one 560-ton galleon required 900 oak trees. A corps of inspectors wandered through the tree-growing regions to enforce planting quotas, encountering the usual, imaginative resistance from local jurisdictions that didn't object to growing trees or cutting them down half as much as they did to the fact that anyone should tell them to do so. One gets the impression this is the chapter that most interested Goodman; it is by far the longest, and two of the seven informative appendices concern forests.

Chapters follow on building and fitting out the ships, and from there Goodman moves on to the people involved: the administrators, the crewmen, and the officers. At the start of the book, he suggests that the explanation for Spain's dismal naval performance probably lies with personnel, yet his chapters on people occupy less space than his chapters on money and materials. Nevertheless, a ten-page section of the chapter on officers finally provides the answer: the status of seamen in Spain, both high-born and not, was probably lower than it was elsewhere in Europe. Thus, morale was lower. Thus the defeats. Goodman is not concerned about *why* their status was so low, which seems like an interesting path of investigation. Nor is he sure, he says, that he is right on this point, or even that it answers his question. But if he is right, and if a question as eminently social as status had such an impact on Spain's military performance, then it certainly would deserve a deeper, broader analysis.

Goodman promises more than he delivers, but he delivers a great deal: a well-researched, carefully written, and important study. He has done a magnificent job of finding material in the archives. If his promise is unfulfilled, perhaps the fault lies in the nature of the question he poses at the outset: the reasons for Spain's ultimate naval failure may lie less in the naval forces themselves than in larger issues one can only wish Goodman had investigated more fully.

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REBECCA L. SPANG. *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 135.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. vii, 325. \$35.00.

Rebecca L. Spang's book is about how places designed *not* to eat but to sip restorative broths, bouillons, and other brews fit for fragile constitutions turned into establishments dedicated to gorging and display. Born in the 1760s to describe havens for delicate stomachs, transmogrified in the 1790s to cover the appetites of exigent palates, the label "restaurant" would come to apply to almost every Paris eatery: "invention of the capital and icon of its pleasures" (p. 172). From ministering to the medicalized fastidiousness and nervous sensibilities of a few, restaurants adjusted to the

appetites of the many. And thus, between mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, a minor and exclusive branch of the catering trade became the incarnation not only of its profession but of France, its capital, and its culture.

Spang presents her story as an excursive and discursive feast, seasons it with wit and gentle irony, lards it with cameos, quotations, illustrations. Her appetizing message is served with a deft touch. The chronology of the restaurant business is revised: no longer born at the hand of chefs left at a loose end when aristocratic employers emigrated during the French Revolution, Spang demonstrates the existence of *restaurateurs* (and even of *nouvelle cuisine*) in the previous generation, their triumph over arcane guild restrictions, and their evolution and survival through the shenanigans of the 1790s when the Palais Royal became the Maison Egalité.

Colorful chapters parse the storm cooked up by the revolution, the epidemic of mandatory fraternity, the didacticism of forced conviviality, the banqueting by decree supposed to inculcate civic frugality, solidarity, and sharing, and the political rhetoric of unity and festive participation: feed together and you will feel together. Resourcefully exploiting the imagery and anecdotalism of incidents like the flight to Varennes or the murder of Le Peletier de Saint-Fargeau, Spang proves no less ingenious when mining the cartoons and songbooks of the Restoration and July Monarchy.

The evolution and poesy of menus get much of one chapter that shows their morphology growing ever less minute and more bewilderingly inspired. It goes on to reveal the obvious move from mapping the fare (gastrotitillation) to mapping the land in terms of representative products (a gastrocartography of patés, pastries, pullets, Champagne, Bordeaux, Bresse, Brie), then even to mapping society: a gastrohierarchy of patrons, consumption, and taste.

The imaginative presentation, interpretation, and exegesis are splendid. The deconstruction and theorizing are a bit less so. Information that could be conveyed in one page or three is probed, scanned, slanted, turned on every seam. This can prove suggestive, illuminating, entertaining; it can also, *à la longue*, be a bore. That too is a matter of taste. As in a restaurant, you pay your money and you make your choice.

My other cavil is that the book's title, and especially its subtitle, can be misinterpreted as promising more than it serves up. Writing about the *invention* of the restaurant, Spang gives very fair value; but an account that leads us to the banquets ushering in the Revolutions of 1848 and then breaks off leaves one, as the French say, on one's hunger. It could at least have carried its coverage to the Second Empire and expanded it to the 1855 foundation of the Bouillons Duval, McDonalds of the epoch and ultimate democratization of the original restorative bouillon. The least

Spang can do now that she has pricked our appetites is to prepare a second course as savory as the first.

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WARREN ROBERTS. *Jacques-Louis David and Jean-Louis Prieur, Revolutionary Artists: The Public, the Populace, and Images of the French Revolution*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 2000. Pp. xx, 370. \$24.95.

Although they were contemporaries, Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825) and Jean-Louis Prieur (1759–1795) had little in common. One was a major history painter, the other a little-known illustrator, which is to say that their training, ambition, talent, rank, and achievements as artists were, in the context of eighteenth-century culture, incommensurable. What links them, however, is that both artists participated culturally and politically in the French Revolution.

Warren Roberts proposes to compare Prieur's and David's artistic contributions to the revolution, different as they were in scope and nature. Prieur is known principally for his drawings for the *Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française*, a publication commemorating the most important events of revolutionary history as it was unfolding. Engraved by Pierre-Gabriel Berthault, Prieur's illustrations, covering the period between 1789 and 1792, catered to an educated, well-to-do audience. Accompanied by commentaries written by Sébastien Roche Nicolas de Chamfort and Abbé Claude Fauchet, they were initially sold in sets of two for a comparatively steep price of six livres each. A three-volume deluxe edition covering the whole revolutionary decade was published in 1802.

Almost the entire corpus of Prieur's drawings has been preserved at the Musée Carnavalet in Paris. It is a fascinating body of work and Roberts's discussion of it is most useful, given that, aside from a few drawings, the corpus as such has not until now received sufficient scholarly attention. The same cannot be said about David. His complex and multifarious aesthetic productions from the revolutionary period—from paintings, to caricatures, to festivals—have been examined and interpreted at length. Roberts has chosen, rather arbitrarily, to concentrate only on two aspects of David's revolutionary oeuvre—his unfinished project of the *Tennis Court Oath*, and his revolutionary festivals—justifying his decision by the fact that he has already considered the whole output in his previous book. But both his choice of David's works in the present publication and what he has to say about them remain unconvincing. The connection that Roberts seeks to establish between the *Tennis Court Oath* and the festivals—namely, Maximilien Robespierre as a person of paramount influence on David—is at once too obvious and, for the purposes of his argument, insufficiently explained by art, thus appearing reductive. This is also due to the fact that Roberts ignores a

vast amount of recent literature on David's art in general and on his revolutionary works in particular. Consequently, his analyses come across as uninformed and far too general(izing) to contribute much to the present state of research on David.

The main problem of the book, though, has to do with its over-arching comparative argument. Roberts invites us to consider the revolutionary output of Prieur and David through the prism of two oppositional categories, the populace versus the public, which he sees as key notions of the new scholarship on the French Revolution. Whether these are indeed crucial new concepts is debatable—what about gender as a new category of historical analysis?—but what matters is the use to which they are put here. In a nutshell, Roberts's argument is that Prieur's illustrations for the *Tableaux* offered a visual language of the populace and as such constituted a truly revolutionary artistic achievement. David's project, by contrast, spoke the language of the public. There is, of course, nothing new about the association of David's art with the idea of the public: Thomas Crow was first to introduce it in *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (1985). Although Roberts acknowledges Crow's book, he never produces Crow's argument, nor does he situate his own in relation to it. Notwithstanding his references to Jürgen Habermas's notion of the public sphere, crucial for Crow, Roberts understands the public differently, not as the new institutions of collective debate, or as a discourse, but essentially as a class of people: the educated leaders of the revolution, such as Robespierre, as opposed to the sans-culottes, whom Roberts identifies as the subject and audience of Prieur (never mind the elite clients Prieur's *Tableaux* actually targeted).

Quite aside from who did their art address—both artists may be seen, in fact, to have addressed the *same* audience, i.e. the educated public who thought it worthwhile to look at, if not to pay for, images—this seems to me a comparison between apples and oranges. The two artists used different languages to visualize the revolution because of the entirely different purpose of their respective projects (not to mention their talents). Equally problematic is Roberts's suggestion that Prieur's art, insofar as it speaks of and for the populace, is more “authentic” than that of David, whom the author half reproaches for never having “view[ed] the Revolution from the perspective of the street” (p. 317). What haunts such diagnoses are, I am afraid, the ghosts of the cherished Marxist antinomies (the “good” people vs. the “bad” bourgeoisie), notwithstanding the author's dismissal of Marxist exegesis of the French Revolution as outmoded. Roberts also deems Prieur's manner more personal in relation to David's “official” propagandist touch, an odd claim, given the rather schematic and repetitive character of Prieur's compositions—a work clearly made to be engraved. Not enough formal analysis has been presented to back this suggestion, and, more generally, to support this book's larger claims. This is

a methodological problem: Roberts insists on the status of art as a historical document, but he eschews a thorough examination of its form. Yet, it is precisely the *form* of images and cultural practices that produces historical meaning. Roberts privileges historical events and the artists's biographies as the source of meaning. That he reproduces a copy of David's painting from the North Carolina Museum in Raleigh as the artist's *Self-portrait* from the Uffizi Galleries, despite obvious differences in the format and style of these works, cannot but appear as a symptom of the regrettable disregard for the formal specificity of the image in this book on art.

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VICKI CARON. *Uneasy Asylum: France and the Jewish Refugee Crisis, 1933–1942*. (Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 605. \$65.00.

On the eve of World War II, France was the principal refuge for asylum-seekers fleeing anti-Semitic or fascist regimes in Germany, Central Europe, Eastern Europe, and Spain. French refugee policy from 1933 to 1942 charted, nonetheless, a spotty course, oscillating between welcoming and barring immigrants, allowing refugees to work and internment them. Vicki Caron recounts the history of the three forces that shaped Jewish refugee policy during this period: government, public opinion, and native Jewry. Although not entirely felicitous in its prose, and despite the fact that it could have benefited from elimination of redundancies, the volume rewards the reader with an exhaustive account of a topic that has not previously been examined systematically.

Until recently, the study of French immigration policy was made difficult by the inaccessibility of relevant archives (some of which continue to require special authorization for use). An ideologically driven perception of French society as possessing a monolithic identity likewise discouraged research that would demonstrate France's multi-ethnic, multicultural character. Even the emerging French literature of immigration of the last two decades has not paid sufficient attention to the specific case of Central European Jewish refugees.

Caron situates French refugee policy against the background of competing views within both the general and the Jewish populations of France. The pro-immigration lobby was driven by a French tradition of granting asylum (which dates back to the *ancien régime*), labor shortages deriving from both the introduction of the forty-hour week and the lack of certain skilled laborers, and a growing military need that could best be met by pressing refugees into service. Caron shows that although governments with positive attitudes toward immigration did not necessarily accomplish their goals, neither were governments with negative attitudes unremittingly hostile. Even during the

worst of the anti-immigration periods, voices favoring an open door and the refugees' right to work were never silenced.

Anti-refugee sentiment is sometimes attributed to latent anti-Semitism, but Caron dismisses metaphysical or ideological explanations of anti-Semitism. She favors an interpretation that emphasizes misguided self-interest. The physicians, lawyers, artisans, and merchants who sought protectionist legislation certainly fueled anti-immigration and anti-Semitic attitudes, which helped pave the way for Vichy legislation; but Caron claims they succeeded because the government wished to be seen as fighting the Depression and because it needed middle-class support.

In addition to a pro-immigration left and an anti-immigration right, there was a body of centrist opinion that tolerated asylum. After 1936, however, this centrist position eroded. By 1938, afraid that refugees would drag France into war (and maybe even civil war), political moderates joined with the radical right in an anti-immigration stance that addressed economic and political concerns simultaneously.

Much of the previous literature on French Jewish leaders in the interwar years has deplored their reluctance to rescue escapees from Nazism. Offering a more nuanced view, Caron agrees that hard-line anti-immigration Jewish leadership dominated prior to 1936. She commends, however, the motives of subsequent, more liberal, Jewish leaders. A major contribution of this book is the full-scale rehabilitation of the memory of these leaders who went beyond conventional philanthropy and attempted to organize and support projects to resettle Jews in provincial centers and in colonial territories. Eventually they campaigned, albeit unsuccessfully, for the repeal of all restrictions. Their fault was one of political or tactical error in the execution of "their fervent desire to sustain the relief effort" (p. 320). The fact that immigrant Jews blamed the native Jewish leadership for the disasters that befell their families is attributed to the success of the Nazis in creating Jewish councils precisely for the purpose of deflecting blame from themselves onto visible but powerless Jewish leadership.

French immigration policy traversed various phases, beginning with active recruitment in the 1920s, when the labor shortage provoked by the Great War made the valuable technical and commercial skills of some prospective immigrants attractive. Crackdowns during 1934–1935 were occasioned by economic factors linked to the Depression. The government of the Popular Front developed schemes in 1936 and 1937 to alleviate refugees' problems, but little was actually achieved as a result. In 1938 and 1939, the pendulum of governmental policy swung again as the Daladier government, reacting to the arrival of refugees fleeing the Anschluss, the Munich crisis, and Kristallnacht, implemented a second crackdown that reflected popular fears of warmongering among Jews. Yet, even during this period, there was some interest in luring immigrant business, in settling refugees in underpop-

ulated areas, and in impressing immigrants into military service.

Why, then, did the French government opt on the eve of the war for a policy of mass internments? Caron's answer is that "there can be little doubt that [the reason] was the Nazi-Soviet nonaggression pact" (p. 247). She describes at length the exacerbation of fear of the left that was provoked by this alliance, and argues, with Arthur Koestler, that "the government hated its enemies on the left, particularly the foreigners, far more than its enemies on the right" (p. 265). Fear now prevailed over considerations of the possible usefulness of the refugees, and Caron laments France's failure to utilize "an enormous reservoir of manpower, talent, and professional skills" (p. 264) that she estimates would have improved its chances of resisting the German invasion.

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MIRANDA POLLARD. *Reign of Virtue: Mobilizing Gender in Vichy France*. (Women in Culture and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1998. Pp. xxi, 285. Cloth \$45.00. Paper \$20.00.

Talk is cheap, but certainly the masculine authorities of Vichy France did a great deal of talking on the subject of family and on the particular hierarchical form of relations between the sexes that Philippe Pétain and his minions wished to restore. Miranda Pollard has mined a seemingly inexhaustible lode of prescriptive literature in the official and quasi-official archives and publications of this curious but short-lived French regime (1940–1945) and has added a great many more words of her own, by way of explanation. Her findings are clear, though variously expressed: "Vichy's antifeminism . . . was integral to its entire political agenda" (p. 6) and "With Vichy, antifeminism was turned inside out; made blatant, celebrated explicitly, and mobilized in support of the New Order" (p. 41). En route to such firm conclusions, however, readers are treated to gazes, scripts, paradoxes, performances, dualisms, discursive conjunctures, and a broad array of other terms that have become indispensable to enthusiasts of "discourse analysis." Whether these terms sharpen or clarify our understanding of the phenomenon under discussion seems questionable. The evidence Pollard cites appears quite comprehensible without such interpretative baggage.

This book takes an honorable place in a growing list of studies of male-dominated European regimes "mobilizing women" in the early and middle decades of the twentieth century. These studies (one can consult a compelling array of excellent articles on this subject in volume five of the George Duby-Michelle Perrot *History of Women in the West*, edited by Françoise Thébaud) persistently interrogate gender relations as a central feature of twentieth-century state-building, both on the political right and on the left. In such

studies—and they are important studies—women more often than not are examined as the objects (signifiers) of official male-initiated policies, discourses, visions, and acts. They are not the subjects of their own lives, the actors; they are the acted-upon. In short, much of this literature, including the book under review, primarily concerns male discourse about women. This is not the same thing as "women's history" (which, for this period, is exemplified by Sarah Fishman's fine study of the wives of French prisoners of war, or Margaret Collins Weitz's engaging book on women in the French Resistance). It almost seems as though the act of looking "through the lens of gender" effectively disempowers historical actors and acted-upon alike, particularly when the objects of the gaze are women.

The Vichy regime in France lasted only four years but continues to generate a significant scholarly literature. Pollard's particular contribution is to establish that Vichy did "need gender to have its program succeed" (p. 3); "restoring French men and women to their naturally differentiated destinies, restoring French masculinity and femininity, was a key priority, underlying and generating the National Revolution itself" (p. 4). Pollard's data does suggest that indeed Vichy officials took seriously the problem of mobilizing women; one might even say (though I am certain Pollard would strongly disagree with me) that, within rigidly defined roles as housewives and mothers, Vichy attempted to empower women by appropriating an earlier feminist discourse that revalued this "non-economic" work and called for professional training for these roles. Emancipating women, whether by encouraging their workforce participation or by facilitating their sexual or reproductive emancipation, however, was not on the agenda, and indeed, Vichy authorities and supporters numbered many men earlier associated with the pronatalist, populationist, and familialist lobbies (Catholic or secular conservative in inspiration) that had sprung up during the past half-century. Instead, the objective was remasculinization, a return to male authority and order, via the refeminization of women, the theory being that if women would return to being womanly, then men could effectively return to being manly: husbands of domesticized women, fathers of large numbers of children, and male breadwinners for the familial ensemble thus constituted.

Pollard pounds home, through example after eloquent example, just how Vichy authorities did attempt to mobilize women—or at least paid lip service to doing so. Their follow-through was another matter. One question that troubles me, and to which Pollard pays little attention, is the extent to which much of this Vichy agenda to strengthen families by positioning women and remasculinizing men had to do strictly with general sexual confusion indigenous to France and how much it was a response to a broader "Bolshevik scare" that so colored both the neo-conservative and fascist responses of the mid-to-late 1930s and for

which the emblem had become women's massive employment and the reconfiguration (however misleading) of sexual relations. There are many traces of anti-Bolshevik propaganda in the evidence Pollard cites, but she does not make much of it, focusing instead and more fully on the internal French context. Within this internal context, her evidence takes her through a range of subjects, from marriage and divorce to homosexuality, Mother's Day, film and iconography, physical education, anti-Semitism, welfare, prostitution, and food shortages. What readers will miss here is a chronology and any discussion of development or change over time. Sequence seems important to this discussion, but the thematic organization of the book does not allow it to emerge as vividly as would be desirable. Despite such reservations, however, the book definitely advances our understanding of what French neo-conservative men hoped to achieve during the Vichy years.

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FRÉDÉRIC MARTEL. *The Pink and the Black: Homosexuals in France since 1968*. Translated by FRÉDÉRIC MARTEL. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. xx, 442. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$19.95.

Frédéric Martel's valuable book is not the first to offer an account of the gay rights movement in France, but it is the first to offer a systematic overview of the struggle for gay equality that extends through the fight against AIDS to the present. Martel provides a detailed chronology and description of this struggle, from the discretion of those who found refuge in *Arcadie* after 1954, to Guy Hocquenghem's open proclamation of his homosexuality in 1972, to the debates of the Front Homosexuel d'Action Révolutionnaire in the 1970s. The narrative traces a mosaic of "movements" or groups that emerged out of the tumult of 1968, including the women's liberation movement, in which many lesbians defined themselves as such for the first time. The first stage of gay liberation in France was thus aligned with the radical left and focused on aggressively declaring a gay identity, on political mobilization, and on fostering a "community of desire" in bars and backrooms. These movements coalesced around François Mitterand's presidential candidacy in 1981, after whose election homosexuality was finally decriminalized.

Just after this victory, which stopped police raids on gay bars, the first cases of AIDS began showing up in France. According to Martel's useful account, medical evidence that the disease targeted gay men was ignored and even repudiated by the gay community, whose leaders refused to help disseminate information and whose businesses tossed out those trying to distribute condoms in bars and backrooms. Martel links this repudiation of the "facts" to a combination of fear of stigmatization, mistrust of the state and the medical

profession, and complicated mechanisms of denial which the organization Aides began to combat in 1984. Formed by Michel Foucault's companion Daniel Defert after the philosopher's death of AIDS-related complications, Aides sought to educate the gay community by melding a universalist discourse of disease prevention (focusing on the disease rather than those who were its victims) and a communitarian model of solidarity that mobilized those infected by the disease. By 1989, ACT-UP, essentially imported from the United States, represented a new face of gay activism. Where Aides did not emphasize homosexuality and worked with establishment professionals, ACT-UP focused on gay identity and developed blistering critiques of the government's glacial response to helping the afflicted. In contrast to its American cousin, however, ACT-UP France did not engage in self-criticism, nor did it criticize gay bar owners who refused to participate in prevention efforts. Nevertheless, by the end of the 1980s, AIDS had given gay men unprecedented if tragic visibility and laid the ground for a resurgence of "identity politics" in France that is now being consolidated (but whose future is not certain).

The history of the gay movement in France thus began with declarations of identity and was punctuated by AIDS, which exposed the shortcomings of a movement based on identity. In Martel's view, it is identity politics—the demand to be "different"—which accounts for the gay community's astonishing denial in the face of an epidemic. Gays responded to the epidemic from a perspective of "difference" that the disease threatened and stigmatized instead of a perspective of "indifference" from which they would be citizens like everyone else. Martel is sensitive to gay men's fears but still insists persuasively that fear alone cannot explain the initially weak response by the community.

This polemic against American-style identity politics informs this whole book and marks its significance and its limitations, as does the absence of any analysis of gender. Martel is aware of some of the problems of French universalism—a model that integrates citizens as individuals rather than groups and is thus often excessively individualistic. But he underestimates some of its more pernicious effects: for the full integration of gays into the universal community of the state remains a distant goal as long as the state is invested in normative gender roles and the heterosexual family (the new civil unions are specifically not "marriages"). And "difference" is not only internally generated by groups but externally imposed on them, as Martel knows but seems at times to neglect: "Almost nothing remains of homophobia but a few backward-looking individuals" (p. 258). Although Martel tries to address lesbians, it is obvious that the categories he uses to define gay men's identities do not work for women. The point is not to give lesbians more of a role than they played—in the struggle against AIDS, for example—but to ask where in fact they were, and why they

are so very marginal. We might begin by exploring the problems intrinsic in French universalism.

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PETER DAVIES. *The National Front in France: Ideology, Discourse and Power*. New York: Routledge. 1999. Pp. viii, 278.

In January 1999, the French National Front (FN) suffered a major blow when Bruno Mégret, the party's second in command, quit the FN to form his own rival party, the Mouvement Républicain National (MNR). The result has been electoral disaster: whereas the FN was expected to win ten percent of the vote in the June 1999 European elections, after the split the FN won 5.69 percent and the MNR a derisory 3.28 percent. Although Peter Davies's book appeared before the split, its focus on the party's ideology and discourse reminds us that a party's success, especially an ideological party like the FN, should not be measured solely in terms of the ballot box.

Davies approaches the FN with a critical but non-polemical eye. He warns: "We should not fall into the trap of dismissing the FN as 'fascists' and worse as 'fascists with no ideas'" (p. 2). This is very wise: trying to fit the FN, or any of the more successful European extreme right parties such as Jörg Haider's Freedom Party, into an ideological straitjacket may distort one's perspective and lead to a misunderstanding of the party's beliefs and the nature of its appeal.

Davies's argument is that nationalism is the "core" theme of the FN's ideology and that the FN's policy positions on issues such as immigration, the economy, Europe, and even birth control reflect its particular understanding of the nation and of nationalism. He notes that the FN's policies on ostensibly "left-wing issues" such as environmentalism, ecology, and a maternal income, when examined closely, turn out to serve the FN's highly exclusionist brand of nationalism. In the FN, ecology is defined in terms of concern for French national identity and French roots and is contrasted with "internationalism" (p. 111). The Lyon branch of the FN advocates a "municipal allocation for parents," which looks progressive but is intended for "French families" and would exclude immigrants. In the end, as Davies points out, the FN's proposals on the family come from an anti-individualistic, organic, corporatist philosophy that sees the family as the primary unit of society and women as the bearers of children.

Davies's explanation of the FN's contrarian stance on the Gulf War and Québec is particularly interesting. Not only does it stem from the FN's fierce anti-Americanism but, more important, it is consistent with a certain kind of extremist nationalism. For a long time, the French far right, like the German far right, has defined nationalism, and nationality, in terms of tradition, culture, language, and a mystical bond with the soil, that is, "blood and soil." Defending this kind

of nationalism against recent immigrants, people from a different culture and/or religion, or from any outside power set on imposing its foreign values on a nation is at the heart of the FN's program. It follows, therefore, that the FN must defend Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, because it sees the latter as a recent and artificially constructed nation, and that it must defend Québec's right to nationhood against the homogenizing tendencies of English Canada. The FN also defends France against the "mondialists" of Europe, the bureaucrats who want to take away from France the last vestiges of its independence in the name of the "new world order." In its place, the FN advocates a "Europe of nations," a loose confederation that would leave untouched and undamaged the unique attributes of language, culture, and history that make up the individual countries.

Above all, the FN levels an unrelenting attack on non-European immigrants who, in the FN's discourse, symbolize the most deadly threat to the French nation. Perhaps the most ingenious aspect of the FN's policy on immigration is that it is couched in terms of "differentialism." Ostensibly, the FN rejects the notion that races can be ranked on a scale from inferior to superior, and it argues that all nations deserve equal respect because each has a unique culture, language, and history worth preserving and defending—as long as their citizens stay home. But when Muslims try to build mosques in France or to get French schools to teach Arabic to their children, then, according to the FN, by "threatening French traditions" they are engaging in "anti-French racism." In other words, when non-Europeans threaten to "swamp" France, then the nation must defend itself by taking measures against immigrants.

Davies's chapter on local politics is particularly interesting because it shows how the FN's hard-line policies have played out in local politics and how the party has "used the conquered towns as laboratories in which to experiment" (p. 218). Davies's book is a well-written, well-documented, intelligent analysis that, by analyzing the FN's ideas and discourse on nationalism, focuses on those areas where the FN has been the most influential, and the most dangerous.

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PAUL BRUSSE. *Overleven door Ondernemen: De agrarische geschiedenis van de Over-Betuwe 1650–1850*. (A. A. G. Bijdragen, number 38.) Wageningen, The Netherlands: Landbouwniversiteit. 1999. Pp. 566.

The Over-Betuwe is an area in the east of the northern Netherlands between the rivers Rhine and Waal. The region between the great rivers has been relatively neglected by agrarian historians but, on the evidence of this study, the make-up of the soil and intractable drainage problems created particular difficulties for agriculture. As a consequence, the nature of farming and the rhythm of economic development in this

region were significantly different from the pattern of much of the rest of the Dutch countryside. Paul Brusse has chosen to concentrate on a rather small area—the population of the Over-Betuwe was only 8,000 in 1650, rising to about 24,100 in 1849—but this has enabled him to examine the agrarian economy over two hundred years in the sort of detail that would have been impracticable on a larger scale.

The book sets out to answer three main questions: how did the people of the region deal with the depression in agricultural prices that lasted from about 1650 to the middle of the following century? Did they do as well as the rest of the Netherlands out of the improved circumstances after 1750? What were the effects of the crisis caused by the sudden drop in agricultural prices in 1817? In sharp contrast to the experience of much of the rest of the Netherlands, the population of the Over-Betuwe grew considerably during the depression in agricultural prices of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, apparently without this leading to the widespread poverty that might have been expected. Brusse argues that the farmers of larger holdings survived by adopting extensive farming methods, choosing to minimize labor costs rather than maximize output. For smallholders, on the other hand, the introduction of tobacco provided a cash crop that could be fitted in with other rural occupations, helping to provide a reasonable income for the expanding population.

Agriculture in the Over-Betuwe was already strongly market-oriented by 1650, partly because of its geographical position. Not only was the area situated between substantial local markets in Arnhem and Nijmegen, but, more importantly, easy and cheap transport down the rivers gave its producers access to the large market of Holland and the west of the Netherlands in general. While wheat was and remained the major crop, however, the influence of the market did not lead to specialization; farmers evidently preferred a flexible mixed-farming system that allowed them to spread their risks rather than aim for maximum profits. A variety of other crops in addition to wheat were combined with sheep, pigs, horse-breeding, and the fattening of beef cattle to give farmers a range of options, although in practice the extent to which arable and pasture could be switched was rather limited because of intractable drainage problems. This system of mixed farming appears to have enabled the farmers in the region to weather the long depression after 1650, and it remained the dominant way of farming during the agricultural up-turn of the late eighteenth century and the varying conditions of the early nineteenth century. In the later periods, the introduction of the potato added to the options open to the poorer sections of the population.

Although the Over-Betuwe had the reputation of being one of the less prosperous areas of the country, this account is on the whole positive, in sharp contrast to the rather gloomy picture that still prevails with regard to the eastern provinces of the Netherlands

throughout this period. The larger tenant farmers survived the depression relatively well and then began to buy the land they farmed, emerging as a distinct rural elite by the early nineteenth century. Meanwhile, the proportion of the population holding less than about two and a half hectares rose from about thirty percent of the population in 1650 to around seventy-five percent in 1850. Nevertheless, Brusse argues that these non-farmers were mostly able to make a decent living through a combination of work in and outside agriculture, especially through small-scale tobacco cultivation. As most of this book is concerned with the economics of farming, too little attention is given to the experience of the non-farming population for this assertion to be completely convincing, though it is a valuable counter-weight to older assertions of small-holder misery.

Nineteenth-century agricultural reformers castigated the farming system of this area as being both backward and inefficient. This study shows that the way the farmers of the Over-Betuwe operated during these two centuries made economic sense in their own terms, and this conclusion fits in with the general thrust of recent revisionist work in Dutch agrarian history.

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KNUT EINAR ERIKSEN and HELGE OYSTEIN PHARO. *Kald Krig og internasjonalisering 1949–1965* [Cold War and Internationalization, 1949–1965]. (Norsk utenrikspolitikkens historie, number 5.) Oslo: Universitetsforlaget Oslo. 1997. Pp. 505.

This is volume five in an ambitious series that documents and analyzes Norwegian foreign policy from the Middle Ages until the present time; five of the six volumes in the series treat the period following the dissolution of the Swedish-Norwegian Union in 1905. The significance of the series in a Norwegian historiographical context is clear, but it will be of interest also to historians outside Norway.

The volume under consideration provides vivid insights into how a small nation with a traditional neutralist stance in its foreign relations adjusted to the tensions of the Cold War and the demands of internationalization in the period 1949–1965. Knut Einar Eriksen and Helge Oystein Pharo delineate and interpret the postwar global diplomacy Norway engaged in—frequently as a reluctant participant—with in-depth knowledge, based on a careful reading of secondary and primary sources, including previously classified documents. They present a credible, well-informed, and surprisingly detailed account of international and domestic issues and events, as well as of major political actors, during these intense years of the Cold War. It is, perhaps unavoidably, a study from the top down. Sociocultural and historical interpretations, although not absent, seem to disappear in an

excessive reliance on the documentation of a political elite and of government policy makers.

In 1946, the long-time Norwegian minister of foreign affairs, Halvard Lange, following the national trauma of German occupation during World War II, naively formulated the goals of Norwegian policy as non-involvement in political blocs but, instead, acting as a loyal and active member of the United Nations and serving as a bridge-builder between West and East. The worsening international climate dictated an entirely different course. The social-democratic Labor Party dominated political life for the entire period, led for most of it by Prime Minister Einar Gerhardsen, one of the most influential Norwegian politicians in the twentieth century.

Security considerations, with the Soviet Union as the only real threat to national security, overcame strong reservations as Norway entered into a transatlantic military cooperation with the United States. In 1949, Norway became a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Norway was a reluctant ally, rejecting an integrated defense in the North Commando and foreign troops, bases, and the deployment of nuclear weapons on Norwegian soil. Norwegian politicians did not wish to provoke the Soviet Union; Gerhardsen worked to normalize relations with the USSR, which was made easier after a thaw in the Cold War in 1955. Defense was nevertheless built on American guarantees and on an acceptance of the dogmatic anticommunism expressed in the "massive retribution" policy of John Foster Dulles.

A historical Norwegian need for self-assertion as the underdog among the Scandinavian states, an unwillingness to relinquish national sovereignty to international bodies, and the country's geographic and climatic limitations determined much of Norway's postwar economic policy. Strong isolationist proclivities were apparent. The Labor Party pursued an economic growth ideology in order to increase prosperity but was ambivalent toward Nordic economic cooperation, and domestic opposition prevented membership in an integrated European Economic Community (EEC) established in 1957. A happy solution was found in joining, along with Great Britain, the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) organized in 1960, which created a free trade area for industrial products. The need to follow Great Britain, dictated by commercial and security considerations, became a major argument for membership. Within EFTA, Norwegian shipping and trade prospered.

A dramatic expansion of Norway's territorial waters, including its fishing zone, occurred. Its fishing industry was greatly modernized, and Norway became the major fishing nation in Europe during the entire period; ninety percent of the catch was sold abroad. Norwegian efforts to gain special concessions for its fishing operations failed within EFTA, and when the Labor government in 1962, encouraged by British and Danish overtures to the EEC and defying opposition at home, applied for EEC membership, its negotiations

for exceptions for its agricultural and fishing sectors isolated Norway and caused a final breach.

Compensation for the country's isolation in Europe was partly found in a greater Norwegian global engagement in trade and diplomacy. As a member of the United Nations, Norway became politically involved with the massive decolonization occurring in European overseas areas, increased greatly its foreign aid to Third World countries, modified its earlier pro-Israel policy, and distanced itself from many of the foreign initiatives of its powerful transatlantic ally. Both isolation and international participation thus characterized Norwegian foreign policy in the first two postwar decades.

This incisive study of how Norway conducted its foreign affairs during a period that put the mettle of its political leadership to the test, and of the compromises and political reorientation that these policy makers pursued, enhances our understanding of the global interdependence of the nations of the world, small and large. It, and indeed the entire series, deserve to be made accessible to a larger audience in English translation.

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KUSTAA H. J. VILKUNA. *Arkielämää patriarkalisessa työmiestyhteisössä: Rautaruukkilaiset suurvalta-ajan Suomessa*. [Everyday Life in a Patriarchal Working Man's Community: Ironworkers in Finland during the Great Power Period (1616–1720).] (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 196.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1996. Pp. 196.

Everyone in the home is tied by gender into the economic structure and social fabric of the nuclear family. The mother's responsibility centers on the bearing and rearing of children. She does all of the cooking, sewing, and laundry. The general cleaning, care, and management of the household are also included among her many tasks. The father's main function is to earn the family's daily bread, and for that reason he holds the honored place at the head of the table. The children, depending upon whether they are male or female, are expected to follow in the footsteps of one or the other of their parents. Such a family portrait could have come from the Middle America of the 1950s that was so lovingly immortalized in the old *Father Knows Best* television series, but it does not.

Finnish social historian Kustaa H. J. Vilkinson outlines such a view of family life based on his study of the ironworkers of Finland during Sweden's "Great Power Era" of 1616–1720. The Swedish kingdom then reached its greatest extent and stood first among the European powers. Finland, as an internal province of Sweden, was expected to contribute its share to the maintenance of Swedish supremacy (and, at least in theory, to reap some of the benefits therefrom). At the onset of that period, the king, as "father" to his

subjects in his patriarchally ordered kingdom, decreed the exploitation of Finland's iron deposits for the greater good of Sweden. The defense of the realm and its economy required ever-increasing supplies of armaments, tools for domestic use, and trade goods manufactured from iron. Because Finland then had no indigenous labor force of skilled ironworkers, the Swedish state encouraged the immigration there of Swedish and foreign ironworkers, as well as other workmen in related trades, to mine the iron ore and to set up the ironworks it required.

To attract the necessary expertise from abroad, the Swedish crown offered foreign entrepreneurs and master ironworkers attractive incentives. It accorded to guilds involved in the industrial production of iron privileges not given to others. It fostered the establishment of new communities for accommodating the influx of ironworkers from abroad, of which fully a third were Germans and Walloons. Both the dynamics of immigration and the nature of the iron industry itself influenced the rise of nuclear families within the existing patriarchal structures that characterized the rest of Finnish society. Clearly, those people employed in ironworking and the ancillary trades of mining, wood felling, charcoal burning, and cartage were unlike the general Finnish population in many ways. For example, the agrarian Finnish majority neither enjoyed the privileges nor the status accorded to ironworkers. Nor were they of the same ethnic composition, and their social and economic organization still emphasized the utility of the extended family.

Vilkuna discusses all of this and more. Just as the title of his book advertises, he is particularly attentive to the details animating the everyday life of the ironworkers and their families. His topics include the matter of wages and regulation of working conditions, the hierarchical structure in the workplace, the differing roles of males and females in the ironworking milieu. Vilkuna also examines the place of religion, the use of alcohol, the occurrence of crime, and the role of courts in the lives of ironworkers. Equally important is the emphasis that he gives to the changing conditions in the daily life of ironworkers over the entire span of the Great Power period. After all, it was an era that lasted more than a hundred years, and, as we know, a lot can happen during that length of time.

The amazing thing is that Vilkuna has been able to pack so much detailed research and analysis in a short book of 196 pages, including indexes. His command of the subject and his ability to impart that knowledge to the reader is exceptional. Surely some of the credit for this must be attributed to the fact that his knowledge base and thinking have deepened considerably since the publication of *Valtakunnan eduksi, isänmaan kunniaksi, ruukinpatruunalle hyödyksi—Suomen rautateollisuus suurvalha-ajalla* [For the Advancement of the State, for the Honor of the Fatherland, for the Benefit of the Ironmaster—Finland's Iron Industry During the Great Power Period] (1994), his earlier work in the field. A comparison of that title with the one gracing

his current book is enough to show how far Vilkuna has developed his artistry and skill as a social historian.

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BERNHARD JUSSEN and CRAIG KOSLOFSKY, editors. *Kulturelle Reformation: Sinnformationen im Umbruch 1400–1600*. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 145.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1999. Pp. 386.

This volume makes a considerable contribution to an emerging field that might be called the cultural history of the Reformation, but that is actually the cultural history of the later Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation. The contributors attack social historians' preoccupation with modern social and political categories of analysis (class, political faction, professional group) at the expense of such actors' categories as gender, devotional mode, manly honor, emotion, poverty, sorcery, and heresy. In addition to insisting on those phenomena that seemed most important to contemporaries, the contributors make clear that even if (traditional) political and social history can be done as though the Reformation began a new chapter in European history in 1517, cultural history must by its very nature take a longer-term view of historical continuity and change—as Heiko Oberman has amply demonstrated for the history of theology and of ideas.

Unfortunately, not all the articles live up to the promise of the volume's coordinated approach and methodologically explicit program. Thomas Lentes's essay, "Das religiöse Ausdrucksverhalten" (Modes of Religious Expression), rightly emphasizes the different messages and modalities of images from those of texts and tracks the development of religious expression from imagistic and corporeal to textual formations over the course of the later Middle Ages. However, his conclusions blow his very interesting findings out of proportion. I do not think that the history of Christian art, or a change from image-oriented to text-oriented religion, can explain the Reformation any better than interpretations based on theology. Lentes doubts, plausibly enough, that religions change their dogmatic stance merely as a result of new theological insights (yet such insights do play a crucial role!), and he rejects as inadequate Bernd Moeller's recent formulation that the new doctrine of justification explains both the essence and the dynamics of the Reformation. Fundamental attacks on the scholarly consensus require far more elaboration than these throw-away references at the end of an otherwise interesting and challenging article. Similarly, co-editor Craig Koslofsky overstates his case at the end of his essay on competing concepts of community (*Gemeinschaft*) as seen through the removal of cemeteries from inner-city churchyards to extramural sites. It might well be true that cemeteries were moved because a new sense of community based on hygiene and safety had displaced an older sacramental and devotional concept;

the case is at least plausible as concerns the (re)ordering of civic and religious space. But the author fails to prove that a new overarching concept of community based on hygiene (granting its existence for the sake of argument) actually replaced competing concepts (there were other, theological reasons for segregating the dead) or affected anything more than the location of cemeteries.

Charles Zika's richly detailed study rings the changes on a particular tradition of images: in the woodcut illustrations in incunabula, well-known images of sorcery and magic involving weather, food, and love revealed older beliefs, but under the influence of the developing demonological literature (as Stuart Clark has recently shown), these *topoi* were recycled to cast witches and sorcerers as dupes of the Devil, part of the production of the full-blown "elaborated concept of witchcraft" (Wolfgang Behringer).

Christopher Ocker's article on mendicants, poverty, and ideas about the truly poor stands out as a daring fusion of church history and social history, history of ideas and texts with the history of welfare. The Reformation captured and enlarged upon existing tendencies to disqualify mendicants from the definition of worthy and true poverty—thus lumping them with vagabonds, "sturdy beggars," and con artists who faked injuries or illnesses. Co-editor Bernhard Jussen's learned article on the disappearance, by the end of the thirteenth century, of the old morally laden ideal categories of "virgins, widows and married women" traces a long development in detail but does not add a great deal to our understanding of gender dynamics during the Protestant Reformation itself. Susan Karant-Nunn concentrates on the Protestant suppression of emotion and affective piety and its consequences during and after the Reformation. One wonders whether affective piety had actually been as important as Karant-Nunn suggests and as the reformers thought it was. The author notes that Mikhail Bakhtin's opposition of fleshly Carnival to ascetic Lent obscures a mutual strengthening function, and she asks the important question as to how the (putatively) bare-bones piety of the early Reformation gave way, after the middle of the sixteenth century, to increasing affective expression and finally to Pietism.

Valentin Groebner (on the image of the crucified Jesus and the authorities' use of coercive violence) and Mireille Othenin-Girard (on the dead and the "economy of exchange" with the living) make original but more narrowly focused contributions. Norbert Schnitzler proposes an entirely new way to study such religious movements as the iconoclastic riots (*Kirchenbruch*) at Stralsund in 1525. He focuses not on class interests or group dynamics but on detailed, local, family, and elite prosopographical histories that allow the historian to make sense of the individual targets, local peculiarities, and long-standing conflicts that were expressed in such episodes. Susanne Pohl's chapter on the varieties of manslaughter in Zurich law tracks social and cultural change from 1376 through

the end of the sixteenth century. Pohl's conclusions fit very neatly into the recently revived, rather controversial (and rather whiggish) theories of Norbert Elias concerning the development of affect control, the disciplining of impulse and emotion, and the "civilizing process." Her material also sheds some light on incipient state formation via the state's assumption of the monopoly of violence. However, Pohl fails to situate her evidence with regard to these historiographical contexts.

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KEITH H. PICKUS. *Constructing Modern Identities: Jewish University Students in Germany 1815–1914*. Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 1999. Pp. 222. \$29.95.

This is a case study in the formation of identities in a particular place, at a particular time, and within a particular social category. The place is Germany, the time the "long nineteenth century," the category the Jewish university student. The subject is well chosen, because the debate on national identity dominated much of the public discourse in nineteenth-century Germany, because students were at the heart of disputes about national cultures, and because Jews emerging from a segregated existence faced multiple challenges. This combination of factors justifies Keith H. Pickus's agenda of "emphasizing both the mutability and the social function of identity formation" (p. 11). He pursues this agenda under a number of headings. The first is that with emancipation, however partial, the question of Jewish identity ceases to be unproblematic. The second is that secularization raises the question of how far religion alone could continue to define Jewish existence. The third asks how realistic or helpful it was for Jews to seek complete assimilation into their surrounding society. The fourth is what the choices of associational affiliation made by Jewish students tell us about their aspirations and the limits to fulfilling these. Last there is the question of how far Jews in general, and Jewish students in particular, defined their identities in response to anti-Semitism.

To begin with the last question: anti-Semitism was certainly a factor and one that never went away, but entry into general society brought its own challenges, which would have existed even in the absence of hostility and discrimination. Until well into the nineteenth century, the Jewish student was likely to be the first in his family to enter secular higher education in a system that had, as Pickus stresses, highly peculiar intellectual and cultural characteristics: a dedication to *Bildung* (self-cultivation through learning and reflection) and pressures towards a certain kind of sociability that included beer drinking and dueling but also more serious pursuits and the worship of nature.

Jewish responses to these challenges predictably varied. There was no typical German Jewish student. Some became members of fraternities, including *Bur-*

schenschaften, whose liberalism in this matter fluctuated; if they did not, this was as likely to be due to the social gap between the newly arrived Jew and the established ethos of student associational life as to anti-Semitism. Up to the foundation of the empire in 1871 at least, Jewish students were still “construct[ing] identities that allowed them to remain Jews, yet participate in German society” (p. 168). From the 1880s onward the revival of purely Jewish student associations was certainly a response to organized anti-Semitism, but it also arose out of “the internal dynamics within the process of Jewish self-definition” (p. 88). It took many forms. There were the fraternities organized in the *Kartell-Convent*, which were Jewish versions of their Gentile analogues, but there were also, from the turn of the century onward, Orthodox, Jewish nationalist, and Zionist groupings. Chapter six is devoted to the fierce and at times libellous disputes between them. The story of these bodies is well told, even if not all the material is new. One would, however, have liked to know more about the relative roles of Russian and Polish students and about Jewish participation in Socialist groupings.

Because organizations leave records behind, they are easy to chronicle. Only one of the six chapters is devoted to “the silent and overlooked majority” (p. 110) of the unaffiliated, based on both published and unpublished memoirs. Many of the unaffiliated simply socialized informally, others formed non-political clubs for drama, music, or hiking. Some mixed predominantly with other Jews, others had little difficulty in mixing more freely. It is a relief to learn that “the ‘burning’ issues of *Deutschtum* and *Judentum* did not inform the identity formation employed by every Jew in Imperial Germany” (p. 134).

The probably unavoidable emphasis on the affiliated Jewish student does leave a slightly skewed picture of the various identities that emerged in this period. The self-importance of many of the bodies covered often hid a miniscule membership. Although Pickus states that there exists no comprehensive statistical analysis (p. 188), the raw data, at least for Prussia, are available in the archives of the Prussian Ministerium für Kultus. They show that in 1904–1905 the *Vereinigung jüdischer Studierender* had twelve members in Breslau, seven in Königsberg, and even in Berlin only forty-two. The Jewish corporations fared little better. Overall, however, this is a sensitive and balanced discussion of the openings available to German Jewish students and of the many factors that informed their choices.

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KENNETH F. LEDFORD. *From General Estate to Special Interest: German Lawyers 1878–1933*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xxxv, 351. \$49.95.

The term *Rechtsstaat*, like the similarly euphonious “civil society,” entices those who do not enjoy its

benefits. When, for example, American law school missionaries reached Eastern Europe after 1990, they thought that introducing the “rule of law” into the former realm of darkness and arbitrariness would transform countries that had never known democracy into Tocquevillian territories. After all, the “rule of law,” or, less reverentially, “procedural liberalism”—uniformity, regularity, and certainty in outcome determination—was a commodity all would benefit from having. Now that fascination with the former East has yielded to ennui, it seems clear that *Rechtsstaatlichkeit* can simply be an ideology and is, in any event, insufficient for the maintenance of either a liberal democratic state or a plausible civil society.

Readers of Kenneth F. Ledford’s learned, balanced, insightful, and punctilious book on German lawyers and the state will be both reminded that they have “been there” before and newly enlightened as to how the *Bürgertum-Rechtsstaat* model rose and fell: how a group aspiring to be the carrier of a universalist and humane regulatory ideology turned into a narrow vocational interest group, a guild that ultimately surrendered itself in 1933, like so many others, with no evident enthusiasm yet without a fight and with nary a peep.

Built on a close study of both the elite and ordinary bar in the Hannover region from 1878–1933, Ledford’s analysis of the legal profession offers the reader a new and rewarding angle on an established story, earlier told by Leonard Krieger, Ralf Dahrendorf, Konrad Jarausch, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and others. Lawyers and judges belong to a well-organized and disciplined elite profession dedicated to the public service and deeply imbued with an ethos of responsibility and self-importance that, purportedly, insulates it against both crass materialism and naked political power. Even when operating as agents of the state, lawyers and judges are committed to a different Weberian “ethic of responsibility” from politicians. Of course, we believe now, after witnessing the behavior of lawyers in a host of twentieth-century dictatorships, that such a view is at best naïve and, most likely, self-serving as well.

To be sure, as Ledford amply demonstrates, a commitment to *Rechtsstaatlichkeit* and a bourgeois public sphere was instrumental in liberalizing the authoritarian Prusso-German Empire. Thus, Rudolf von Gneist could plausibly believe in 1867 that a free legal profession would be the Archimedean lever for accomplishing the liberal project of personal rights and the rule of law. The *Honoratienpolitik* of the empire and the notables who then dominated the legal profession might well have served as a pale substitute for real democratization. Come the Weimar years, however, those sometimes shallow politics were outflanked by the pressures of a real democracy.

Lawyers, legal thinking, and the *Bürgertum* all get a fair shake from Ledford. Like Max Weber, E. W. Böckenförde and others, Ledford credits lawyers with helping move Prussia and the empire from a *Ständ-*

estaat to a rational, more universalist entity. He also argues, however, that the coincidence of their narrow private interests as middle-class professionals and their larger claim for all of society was very tenuous from the start. Here Ledford mirrors Karl Marx's critique of Hegel's *Philosophy of Right*. Indeed, most of Ledford's book is taken up by intensive analysis of the long struggle between district court and superior court lawyers and the campaigns to limit entry into the profession and to prevent its degradation. Although he sometimes conveys more detail here than any but the most committed might need to know, Ledford tells the story well and persuasively.

Past its heyday, the liberal proceduralism and general-estate consciousness of the bar slowly became less compelling in the later empire. The money side showed too much, and the various tensions within the *Bürgertum* of the late imperial years affected law and lawyers as well, yielding to calls for protectionism and undermining what was left of deference and *Honoratiorenpolitik*.

The Weimar Republic proved to be too much. Just as the dignitaries among the National Liberals and Progressives could not make a lastingly successful transition into Weimar, so the legal profession and its elite failed as well. Not only was their presence in the Reichstag and city halls vastly reduced, but they could not deal with the "democratization" of their own profession: a byproduct of the liberal abolition of the often class and ethnicity-tinged admission quotas (*numerus clausus*) in favor of open entry into the legal profession, which widened the rift between notables and the rank and file. (In Hannover, the private bar became socially more diverse and nearly quadrupled in size between 1884 and 1932, with half the growth coming after 1911.) Even more so, the profession could not deal with the democratization of the polity and the society as a whole. Ledford confirms the long-standing view that German liberals and "mass politics" could not be wed by procedural mechanisms and "above it all" notables.

Much of Weimar society, especially on the left, came to see lawyers as just another business profession, and a fairly conservative and often hostile one at that, used to undemocratic state sanctions buttressing its market and social power. Left and right put forward strong substantive legal claims to which proceduralism had no adequate response. Although it is not Ledford's topic, it seems to me there could have been a significant place for lawyers in the Weimar framework. Much of the social democratic project then consisted of efforts at the juridification (*Verrechtlichung*) of class tensions. Socialist lawyers also tried to move legal processes beyond politics, but they did so by seeking to acknowledge and integrate social reality into the law and opening the law and courts to all (sometimes at the expense of lawyers) rather than proceeding as if social reality were a thing beneath the law. Perhaps if the Weimar system had survived, many lawyers would have

found employment as contented *soziale Rechtstaatler*, helping to administer the welfare state.

But, Ledford argues, these free professionals were averse to social welfare policy, both as something to administer and to participate in. They feared nothing more than becoming—or being treated as—just another trade, one more player in Weimar's game of interest politics. In the end, Ledford seems ambivalent about the relationship between the ideal and the ideology of liberal proceduralist German lawyers. Yet could it be otherwise? Ideologies are, after all, only rarely mere mystifications. Generally they embody self-understandings containing the most useful and beneficial of aspirations. The delusional quality of the German lawyers' ideology was surely no worse than that of market ideologies or others we have experienced. As with the German middle classes themselves, however, we would all have been better off if the progressive Enlightenment facets of their project had more successfully joined with the democratic and egalitarian impulses of the age. German lawyers might have saved themselves from such a thoroughgoing capitulation in 1933. In that they were, unfortunately, far from alone.

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WOLFGANG G. NATTER. *Literature at War, 1914–1940: Representing the "Time of Greatness" in Germany*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. 280. \$35.00.

Germany stands at the forefront of those nations that historically have viewed warfare as ennobling. Poets and writers have employed their talents both to inspire combatants in the line of fire and to lend meaning to their sacrifice by determining the contours of national memory. When one reads the storied lines of the student, soldier, and youthful idealist Walter Flex, penned in *The Wanderer Between Two Worlds* in 1917 ("We died for Germany's glory. Flower, Germany, as a garland of death to us!"), the hearts of nationalists beat faster, while the rationalist left is appalled. But Wolfgang G. Natter sees something entirely different. Inspired by the doyens of the critical establishment—among others, Michel Foucault and Hayden White—Natter rejects as an "aesthetic construct" the notion that Flex's sentiments were the autonomous expression of his war experience. Rather, he argues, "Like history, the literary text is a construction, the product of the interaction of a host of mediating agencies and institutions" (p. 175). The institutions of literary culture, not authors, are the source of textual meaning, whereby literary analysis has been reformulated as a social process.

Natter's work offers fascinating insights into the publishing industry. It begins with an analysis of Walter Bloem's *Kriegspressstelle*, a model for the author's contention that war literature was subjected to the heavy hand of institutional control. Another chapter details the genre of letters from the front,

complemented by an investigation of the editorial direction of literature directed to the fighting man. Analysis of the activities of the esteemed Cotta publishing house as well as an assessment of Anton Kippenberg of Insel Publishing and the place of war literature in the Weimar Republic form important components of the book. It must be observed that clarity of expression and a pleasing style are not the author's strengths. Readers must remain patient as "paradigms" are framed and "parameters of the iterable" are probed.

The author marshals his evidence effectively in his appraisal of Bloem, who was certain that the German army was the guardian of the national ethos. Bloem's war trilogy on the victory over France in 1870–1871 sold some 734,000 copies and established his nationalist credentials. Bloem was successful in orchestrating the work of a corps of wartime journalists, whose writing fulfilled the demands placed on them by the Supreme Army Command. These writers wove variations on heroic motifs and propagated patriotic ideals. When defeat came, they forged the myths of the "stab in the back" and Jewish betrayal, thus setting the stage for the fulminations of the alienated right-wing politicians and literati in the Weimar Republic.

Natter is at his best in the chapter devoted to the genre of war letters, where he is particularly effective in debunking historic myths. He tears to shreds the idea that the war letters of the fallen represented revelatory testimony of students as they approached their death for the nation, following Friedrich Hölderlin's poetic affirmation: "Live on high, O Fatherland, and do not count the dead! Not one too many has died for you!" The truth was something quite different. Readers learn that Philipp Witkop, a Germanist from Freiburg University, was responsible for publishing several editions of the letters of the fallen between 1916 and 1933. These moving testimonies were said to be the objectification of the Hegelian "world spirit," as well as the expression of the longing for wholeness of godlike warriors whose blood sacrifice served the nation as a bridge to eternity. Allegedly they had created a poetic cemetery of honor.

Sadly, the letters were manipulated to seem as if they were "authorless" affirmations of an epic national destiny. Hailed by both right and left, they actually were edited to meet the expectations of various military offices, the Foreign Ministry, and state education ministries. One searches in vain for mention of the famous Christmas truce of 1914, narratives describing the horrors of close combat, or attacks on military and political leaders, not to mention letters from Jewish or pacifist students.

Natter posits that the literature produced for the fighting man also mirrored a bureaucratization of culture, the result of an alliance among publishers, the state, and the military. Their cooperation reached its full flowering when Ullstein Publishers brought out its phenomenally successful war series, featuring such titles as *Der rote Kampfflieger* (1917) by the flying ace,

Manfred von Richthofen. Culture was married to heroism, and a letter from one grateful student rhapsodized: "What a mood there was in our bunker; I have never witnessed such enthusiasm for Goethe" (p. 146).

The case that Natter makes for his thesis is sound, but it is exaggerated and far too exclusive. Readers must be on their guard when confronted with the claim that authors are not the real source of textual meaning but merely cogs in a social process. If not, they will fall victim to the seductions of post-Marxist literary determinism, which so often blurs historical truth.

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DAVID THOMAS MURPHY. *The Heroic Earth: Geopolitical Thought in Weimar Germany, 1918–1933*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1997. Pp. xv, 338. \$39.00.

Unlike traditional interpretations, this book situates the flourishing of German geopolitical thought in the "open and pluralistic system" of the Weimar Republic (p. xi). According to David Thomas Murphy, the profession of geopolitics, which arose in several countries in the late nineteenth century and was greatly stimulated by imperial Germany's territorial losses in World War I, was an important emblem of Weimar's modernist thought and culture, a broad, often inconsistent blend of standard political geography and popular journalism with a colorful language that fused pseudo-science, history, and poetry.

Centered on the influential journal, the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, which was founded in 1924, Weimar's coterie of geopolitical thinkers spanned a broad ideological spectrum from moderate Social Democrats to the nationalist right. Their opaque, malleable theory, which was "sufficiently imprecise and . . . pliable to prevent its internal contradictions from drawing undue attention" (p. 25), was espoused by a diverse group, including prophets of *Lebensraum* in the East and maritime enthusiasts demanding the return of Germany's colonies overseas, predictors of overpopulation and prophets of population decline, technophiles and urbanophobes. What held it all together after 1918 was a shared vision of space (*Raum*) as a vibrant "sculptor of peoples" (p. 27), in which races either became master or retreated into political insignificance. Weimar's geopoliticians, strikingly confident in the unique destiny of their "land in the middle," believed in a "dynamic unity of culture and race shaped decisively by geography and animated by will" (p. 59). Geopolitical writers, sharing an abiding hatred of Versailles, produced the maps and ethnographic studies that castigated the mutilation of German *Raum* and made expansionist historic and demographic claims at the expense of Germany's neighbors.

In his clear, concise monograph, based on an extensive examination of private papers and organizational and governmental records, Murphy examines the careers and writings of Weimar's core group of zealots:

Friedrich Burgdörfer, Arthur Dix, Adolf Grabowsky, Karl Haushofer, Manfred Langhans-Ratzburg, and Walther Vogel, who added geo prefixes to the study of topography, demography, politics, law, and history. Murphy demonstrates these men's widespread influence not only on the republic's geography textbooks, maps, and literature and on its irredentist movements but also on Weimar Germany's obsessively revisionist foreign policy, which aimed at undermining the postwar settlement and the League of Nations and halting all pan-European initiatives.

Murphy admits that much that was produced under Weimar survived in the Third Reich's schools, universities, and public discourse, but he observes a considerable "gap between geopolitical doctrine and national socialist practice" (p. 246). Millions of Germans continued to thrill to Haushofer's writing and radio broadcasts; but for Adolf Hitler, race and Realpolitik took precedence over vague notions of *Raum*.

Murphy characterizes Weimar's robust geocentrism as "a misguided but perfectly understandable response to the shattering upheaval of war, defeat, and revolution . . . a way to understand what had happened and, just as importantly, [to] hope that the results of the war need not be permanent" (p. 248). He nevertheless recognizes the "corrosive and reductivist determinism" (p. 252) of Weimar's geopolitical thought and revisionist striving and its disturbing remnants in the contemporary world. This book breaks new ground in German political and intellectual history, but its readers may question its premise of a national consensus on geopolitics and miss the voices of Weimar (and other European) critics of geopolitics, who questioned its bogus coherence and the blurring of the boundaries as well as the links between the physical world and human responsibility.

CAROLE FINK
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PAMELA POTTER. *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1998. Pp. xx, 364. \$40.00.

Music holds a distinguished place in German culture. Universally recognized for its excellence, its significance has transcended the cultural realm, having helped to shape German identity and character before national unification and after 1871 in periods of social tension: through World War I, during the Weimar Republic, and into the Nazi period. As custodians of Germany's celebrated art, German musicologists have contributed their part to explaining the significance of German music in national terms. The Nazis not only continued to value German music upon their assumption of power in 1933, but they increased financial and organizational support for this "most German art" and reinforced the national focus of musicology in accordance with their own ideas on culture. Nazi cultural policy formulators sharpened the focus, stressing na-

tional characteristics of music and rejecting "alien" ones, especially those identified as Jewish but also much of modernist expression. Appreciated, flattered, and supported, those German musicians, musicologists, music journalists, and educators who survived the purges joined Nazi professional organizations and, thus, continued to ply their trades; they contributed to a rich musical culture, buttressing Nazi ideology and helping to construct a cultural facade for the Third Reich. The bulk of this musical and musicological establishment managed to transfer its skills into the postwar era on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Pamela Potter has written a compelling account of this line of continuity that nicely complements existing studies of music in the Third Reich. In fact, she places her account of musicology into historical context with special reference to music: a fortunate kind of socially and ideologically informed scholarship that is necessary for this project. Art in totalitarian context mandates sensitivity to the dimension of totalitarian policy. To demonstrate continuities between the cultures of the Weimar Republic and the Nazi period, Potter develops her book not chronologically but thematically; all but the last chapter span the period from the end of World War I to the end of the Third Reich.

Chapter one summarizes the by now extensive secondary literature on the changing role of music in German society since World War I through the Nazi era. In this "background" to her real topic, musicology, Potter examines both the situation of professional musicians and Germany's thriving amateur music culture (i.e. choral societies, the youth movement, and education). By emphasizing music's redemptive qualities, the security needs of musicians, and traditionalist and nationalist sentiment across the divide of 1933, as well as noting the absorption of both professional and amateur institutions like the choral societies, the youth movement, and education into Nazi organizations after 1933, she recognizes "the seamless transitions in musical life from one system to the other" (p. 29). Indeed, the creation of a national organization for musicians, the Reich Music Chamber, and other national organizations in and after 1933, fulfilled the dream of many musicians, cultural policy makers, and musicologists before 1933. Potter's selection of the noted musicologist Hans Joachim Moser as a commentator and participant in both eras confirms her argument for continuity.

A "seamless" transition of musicology is documented in chapter two. Here Potter examines the function of musicology in the Weimar Republic in terms of those characteristics and attitudes that were easily channeled into the cultural policies and organizations of the Third Reich. Not exclusively rooted in academia, many musicologists had entered the public sphere as "public educators" and as "music directors" and, as such, were well-prepared for public definition and assignments under the Nazis. Bridging the gap between music and "the people," many wrote in other than professional journals and were involved in public

education, amateur music culture, the youth movement. They commented on the contemporary music scene. Apart from their public-orientedness, their views toward music and society facilitated accommodation during the Third Reich. Potter cites many prominent professionals who propagated a traditionalist view toward the German classical musical heritage and who stressed the folk song and communal music making in conservative, nationalist, and—in some cases—racialist and anti-Semitic terms. The career of the noted musicologist Friedrich Blume illustrates continuity of the profession. He rose to prominence during the Weimar Republic and retained positions and influence under the Nazis (giving the keynote address on “Music and Race” at the first national meeting of the musicological profession in 1938) and beyond 1945 as founder of the new national musicological society and editor of the major German musical reference work, the impressive, multivolumed *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. His international reputation carried him into the presidency of the International Musicological Society in 1958.

The following three chapters document continuity of musicology institutionally from the end of World War I through the Nazi period and beyond: in scholarship, at the university and “outside the university,” with special emphasis on new opportunities for musicologists after 1933 in such Nazi cultural/ideological organizations as the SS “Ahnenerbe” (German Ancestral Heritage), the Propaganda Ministry, and the Rosenberg Bureau. The same continuity is documented in the actual musicological writing, covered in the next two chapters. Taking note of a methodological crisis early in the twentieth century in the humanities in general, including musicology, Potter focuses on the application of racial theory and “the Jewish question” to music, on the popularity of German folk music research, and on the quest for the nature of “Germanness” in German music—in all cases, before and after 1933. A final chapter on postwar denazification reveals continuity again, although, ironically, the review of several biographies under different circumstances with different emphases results in suggestions of discontinuity.

This book is indeed a valuable contribution to the field of cultural politics: a contribution, though not quite the revision the author suggests. Others have pursued Potter’s line of continuity in nuanced manner. Peter Gay, for instance, has not only explored modernist expression of Weimar culture, as she acknowledges, but also “conservative . . . taste” (p. 2) in several essays. Earlier works on music in the Nazi period (by Josef Wulf, Fred K. Prieberg, Michael Meyer, Hans-Günter and Hans-Werner Klein Heister, Michael Kater, Alan Steinweis, Eric Levi, for example)—not equally and consistently cited by her—have documented continuities as well as breaks. The earlier works were influenced by a general historical search for Nazi “roots,” a tradition that became much maligned because of occasional excess, distortion, and

lack of sensitivity to the context of various ideas but that nonetheless represents a form of continuity that has been argued and demonstrated in just about every study of music in the Third Reich. The term “Nazi musicology” used by some authors did not suggest isolation from historical context, as Potter suggests (p. xv) or “unfamiliarity with the interest in folk song and the Germanness question predating 1933” (p. 261). But the Nazi state also constituted a break with tradition; it differed from Weimar and from Bonn—not that Potter claims otherwise, but that impression might be gained by the emphasis on continuity in her book. She is able to document continuity by focusing on the writings and activities of select professional musicologists rather than on contrary views and actions or on the Nazi state’s policies and mechanisms of control and propaganda. The author of a Master’s thesis submitted in 1992 at Heidelberg, Birgitta Schmid examined the same files of the musicologist Heinrich Bessler that Potter used to document continuity. The thesis documents difficult choices, discontinuity in scholarly productivity, compromises, and statements and writings that demonstrated solidarity with National Socialism, a fact that disappointed his student friend Karl Löwith after their meeting in Rome in 1935. A qualified continuity thesis in combination with more generous acknowledgment of other literature would do justice to ambiguities.

The controversy over emphasis aside, this book offers the non-specialist a lucid and richly documented account of a distinct though representative scholarly discipline in transition from the Weimar Republic to Adolf Hitler’s Reich in terms of continuity. For specialists, it makes a significant contribution to a debate that will not cease with the publication of the book or of this review.

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DIRK WALTER. *Antisemitische Kriminalität und Gewalt: Judenfeindschaft in der Weimarer Republik*. Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz. 1999. Pp. 349.

In the aftermath of Germany’s loss in the Great War and the proclamation of the new republic, anti-Semitic expression had a vaguely “eliminationist” and “pogromist” feel to it with violent incidents in the streets. But it soon became clear, even to the likes of Adolf Hitler, that this type of *Radauantisemitismus* (rowdy, violent anti-Semitism) could not achieve real political goals. The fate of the Jews in Germany was clearly wedded to that of the Weimar Republic itself. The *Deutschnationale Volkspartei* (DNVP), fearful of losing its political hegemony over the nationalists, rejected the violence of the extremists by championing a kind of “rational” anti-Semitism that had as its centerpiece the *Ostjudenfrage*, the question of the Eastern European Jews living in the reich.

The views of the DNVP in this regard were put into

practice by the government in Bavaria. Since immigration policy in the Weimar constitution was a state matter, Bavaria attempted to stop the immigration of Eastern European Jews and to deport or detain those who were already living on Bavarian soil. This led to the organization of the first "concentration camps," which held not only Eastern European Jews but other "undesirables" as well. The abuse suffered by individuals under these conditions was scandalous, and public opinion would not tolerate it. The extremist elements in the anti-Semitic camp, however, felt that these measures were insufficient since they failed to address the "foreignness" of all Jews, not just those of recent Eastern European provenance.

The situation changed again after the murders of Matthias Erzberger and then Walter Rathenau as pro-republican forces went on the offensive. Here Dirk Walter emphasizes the political and legal activities by the Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens (Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith, or CV), the mainstream organization of German Jews. Realizing that the attempt to outlaw anti-Semitism outright could not succeed (it would require a special law for the Jews), the lawyers for the CV tried using existing laws—especially Paragraph 130 (incitement to class hatred) and Paragraph 166 (religious insult)—to bring anti-Semitic perpetrators to justice. This strategy led to only limited and isolated successes. In a last effort to use the law to prevent anti-Semitic expression, the CV unsuccessfully tried to get the courts to extend the concept of group libel to the Jews of Germany after 1929.

Anti-Semitic actions were part of the 1923 Hitler Putsch in Munich as Jewish hostages were taken to force federal and occupation forces to accede to putschist demands. The picture that Walter paints of the putschist forces trying to round up Jewish hostages is a farcical one, given their total reliance on popular anti-Semitic prejudices of Jewish topography, Jewish physiognomy, and Jewish-sounding names. Walter also contends that specific Jews were singled out for attack because of personal grudges held against them by their attackers, because of their involvement in leftist or anti-Nazi politics, or because of their symbolic value (for example, people previously charged with fraudulent business practices).

Radauantisemitismus resurfaced with the weakening of the anti-Semitic appeal in the mid-1920s. This weakness was expressed in the violent pogrom in the Jewish Scheunenviertel (district) of Berlin. The wave of attacks on Jewish cemeteries and synagogues called forth popular indignation. Once again, the respectable nationalists tried to distance themselves morally from these outrages and from the voyeuristic anti-Semitism of the late 1920s (ritual murder libel, the supposed violation of German women, Talmud trials) without condemning anti-Semitism per se.

Walter informs us that physical attacks against Jews and Jewish institutions increased dramatically as the political fortunes of the Nazi Party rose. But he makes

the point that the Jews remained an "abstract" target of largely symbolic value: the Kurfürstendamm riot in Berlin (September 1931) showed the indiscriminate violence of the Sturmabteilung (SA) against anyone who looked Jewish or who was physically present in this symbolically Jewish area of the city.

In the closing days of the Weimar Republic, the Nazi leadership proclaimed adherence to a "rational" anti-Semitism based on the separation of Germans and Jews, the distinction between citizenship and membership in the *volk* community, and the elimination of Jews from public life and their influence in German culture. Walter gives us a view of anti-Semitism and its vicissitudes in the Weimar Republic that is complex and nuanced. Without apologies and with a concern for the facts on the ground, he shows us the shifting balance of political and juridical forces within which anti-Semitism was embedded.

CYRIL LEVITT

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RUDOLPH M. BELL. *How to Do It: Guides to Good Living for Renaissance Italians*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 375. \$25.00.

Aiming at a general audience, Rudolph M. Bell may provoke the typical professional historian by the externals of this book on sixteenth-century Italian advice manuals. His own cover blurb characterizes the work as "surprisingly fun, and funny, social history," and near the end of the work Bell hopes he has provided just such fun (p. 292). The cover reproduces Bronzino's "Venus, Cupid, Folly, and Time," with Cupid's buttocks on the spine, while Venus's pinched-breast form graces the cover itself. The allure is heightened by a scroll that carries the book's subtitle but also coyly covers the god's genitalia. The title itself rounds out the book's seductive armor.

Within the work itself, Bell continues trying to break down the formalities separating him from the reader, addressing us as "you," helping us get the joke, insisting he wants to avoid as much "historiographic" claptrap as possible, and in the text deviating only thrice from this goal. Like his sources, the author shapes this book in a down-to-earth experiential fashion as well, leading the reader in seven chapters from "Conception" to "Marital Relations." Puzzlingly, he omits any advice these manuals did offer on growing old and dying. This is definitely a book for the living, ending with a three-page paean to the ever forward-looking, Nasdaq and Dow-driven Bill Gates.

I will leave it to the publisher's sales figures to determine if in fact the author succeeds in attracting this hoped-for general audience and will limit myself here to a judgment on Bell's contribution to scholarship. First off, note that the book is really two, the text being addressed to the public, the sixty-eight pages of notes at the end of the work more conventionally scholarly. The latter are invaluable, for Bell has read a large amount indeed of the recent social history of

sixteenth-century Italy. The professional reader may in fact study these notes but neglect the text itself.

But the text itself is certainly not without value for the English-speaking scholar. The author has read a goodly number of often subject-indexed Italian-language advice manuals rather than the more famous Latin manners dialogues of the age, which he omits as not addressed to the middle-class audience Bell thinks read his manuals. He describes their thoroughly pragmatic organization and indexing, which aim to provide answers to a series of popular questions about everyday problems (how to make a male child, how to dress children, how to choose a mate, and so forth). Bell, too, proceeds serially, citing one authority after the other on each question identified. He is thoroughly realistic, ready to identify the ubiquitous misogyny of the age and of these works and to recognize the social disequilibrium evident in a literature that is almost entirely male, though it seems equally directed to both men and women. Itself furnished with a good index, Bell's work can be consulted by students to get the answers Bell's sources provided to the questions posed.

However, I came away dissatisfied with this richly documented work. The book's most serious fault is that while it is self-indulgently overwritten—mirroring the proto-baroque character of his sources—this work has no sustained argument undergirding it. On those occasions when Bell does enter the historiographic lists, for example, he provides mere shotgun opinions ("my sense," he says repeatedly) with nothing more than a solitary bit of evidence to buttress his view. There is, alas, no sustained argument in this book, so the author's "sense" carries little authority. The text itself amounts to little more than paraphrases of the views of various authors on dozens of questions without much evidence of a critical intelligence determined to impose order upon this type of literature or society. I had a laugh or two, but I would have wished for another type of hilarity, the exhilaration one takes from an author who imposes to then perceive (often ironic) order.

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CATHERINE BRICE, *Monumentalité publique et politique à Rome: Le Vittoriano*. (Bibliothèque des École Française d'Athènes et de Rome.) Rome: Ecole Française de Rome. 1998. Pp. 439.

CATHARINE EDWARDS, editor, *Roman Presences: Reception of Rome in European Culture, 1789–1945*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. 279.

Contemplating the Vittoriano, that much lamented "wedding cake" structure that disfigures the center of Rome, there is some comfort in knowing things might have been still worse, at least to judge by some of the alternative plans for the commemorative site docu-

mented in Catherine Brice's history of this most prominent of modern Italian monuments. Brice studies the intricate saga of the vast white edifice, analyzing in meticulous detail the myriad submissions made to the Concorsi of the 1880s that were instituted to select a winning design. Brice demonstrates the wealth of archival material available on this subject and offers an intriguing optic on the cultural fantasies of the new nation in post-Unification Italy. Not all the 293 blueprints for the project were produced by Italians; enthusiasts from Argentina, Spain, Russia, America, Japan, and Turkey all put forward proposals.

Although the style of presentation is somewhat dour, readers who persevere with the book will find that the commentary is thoughtful and wide-ranging; moreover the account is lightened by intriguing subsidiary tales, such as the strange case of Carlo Dossi, a late nineteenth-century onlooker so disturbed by the bizarre schemes dreamed up by would-be architects of the day that he produced a psychiatric diagnosis of the competitors in the style of the psychiatrist and criminal anthropologist Cesare Lombroso. Here the applicants were viewed as symptoms of contemporary depravity and madness: *I mattoidi al concorso del monumento a Vittorio Emanuele* (1884) is clearly a neglected pearl of late nineteenth-century degenerationist literature.

In contrast to the close exploration of a single architectural project, a new, multi-authored study, edited by Catherine Edwards, spreads its net very wide. This ambitious collaborative exploration of the symbolic place of the "Eternal City" in modern European culture spans material from three centuries and figures as diverse as Edward Gibbon, J. W. von Goethe, Henry James, and Sigmund Freud (to say nothing of Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler, who appear late in the book). Disparate as that sounds (and sometimes is), each chapter reveals the city as one of the most symbolically over-determined of all imaginable modern urban sites. There is a great deal to interest specialists of Italian history here as well as those intrigued by the evolution of travel writing. Students of psychohistory will also find a mine of evidence as to the sheer intensity and diversity of the feelings and passions that Rome has stirred up in its best-known literary visitors. It would have been interesting to have been offered more sustained comparative reference between these "Roman Presences" and contemporaneous perspectives on other remarkable Italian cities. Indeed, Tony Tanner's *Venice Desired* (1992), a brilliant exploration of desire, death, and much besides in the representation of "la Serenissima" would have been an obvious starting point for the present study—surely an opportunity missed.

Although, as suggested, these Roman explorations would have benefited from a more obvious organizing architecture and a clearer rationale for the principle of selection and exclusion, there are certain common threads: for example, a number of the contributors invite us to relate Rome to the concept of the uncanny. The city, as Edwards remarks in her introduction, is

inevitably “known” before it is “seen,” a point on which many of the primary authors under discussion also dwell, either in august contemplation or in more prosaic descriptions of their own unease about the over-familiarity of tourist sites. For Goethe, arrival in the city in 1786 meant that “All the dreams of my youth have come to life.” Goethe relished the strange familiarity of the city he saw before him and made Rome into the place of a deeply personal artistic and sexual renaissance: “everything I have known through paintings, drawings, etchings, woodcuts, plaster casts and cork models is now assembled before me. Wherever I walk, I come upon familiar objects in an unfamiliar world; everything is just as I imagined it, yet everything is new” (p. 19).

Many years later, in a close evocation of Goethe’s own first response to Rome, Henry James would breathlessly declare to his brother William: “At last, for the first time—I live!” The relationship of preconception to spontaneous experience and of language to feeling in this kind of literary echo chamber itself gave writers pause for thought: that Rome was inevitably “previewed” before it was directly encountered by the individual visitor was frequently taken up in the nineteenth century, whether in grand philosophising or in banal passing comment. Contemplating St. Peter’s, Augustus Hare, the author of *Walks in Rome* (1871), asked rhetorically: “Who is not familiar with the aspect of the dome, of the wide-spreading piazza, and the foaming fountains, for long years before they come to gaze upon the reality?” Hare’s much-thumbed itineraries provided yet another mediating presence, guiding the visitor through the city.

If Rome was often contrasted to other sites on the “Grand Tour,” it was also viewed as a place that defied comparison. Its “infinite superpositions of history” (as James put it in *Roderick Hudson* [1876]) were shown to inspire and to disillusion like nowhere else; Rome’s great writers endlessly played around with its contradictions and complications and were often to be found reminiscing about the unique pleasures and pains of the city. James insisted not only that the real Rome he saw far outstripped the city he had imagined but also that “[i]t beats everything: it leaves the Rome of your fancy—your education—nowhere. It makes Venice—Florence—Oxford—London—seem like little cities of pasteboard.” In a fine essay on James and the anxiety of Rome contained in Edwards’s volume, John Lyon shows how the master abandoned any attempt to compete with guidebooks or historical chronicles and how the city became an increasingly shadowy and complicated backdrop to his fiction.

In novels and political commentaries, the Eternal City was often associated not just with specific images or individuals, past and present, but also with particular kinds of narrative and psychological development. It was cast again and again as the place in which the ingenue came unstuck, the new world met the old world, great expectations turned to crushing disappointments and naïve aspirations crumbled into ruins.

Given that such storylines featured so prominently in the writings of the great prophet and soldier figures of Italian unification, Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi, it is puzzling that no place is found for their Roman interventions in this inquiry.

“Rome, or death” had been Garibaldi’s famous battle cry. In the voluminous writings of Mazzini, the realization of a “third Rome” was continually held up as the necessary condition for Italian regeneration. The new nation would reclaim the city for posterity, building on an ancient tradition and redeeming it from the corruption of the Vatican. But even when integrated into the new state, Rome also came repeatedly to symbolize the impossibility of transformation and continued to be seen (perhaps after unification more even than before) as the city that fatally seduced and paralyzed the visitor. Instead of being the site of modern transformation and secular salvation, Rome was cast as the quintessential city of moral stagnation. Instead of the new Italy subsuming and transforming Rome, it seemed to the horrified nationalists increasingly as though Rome had infected and degraded the fledgling nation.

Nostalgia and disillusionment were to prove endemic in post-unification Italian culture and politics, long before the upbeat Vittoriano monument ever saw the light of day, as Richard Drake demonstrated some years ago in an important study, *Byzantium for Rome: The Politics of Nostalgia in Umbertian Italy, 1878–1900* (1992). Indeed, “failed hopes” or “thwarted dreams” could entitle many a nineteenth-century meditation on the Eternal City. For Dorothea in George Eliot’s *Middlemarch* (1872), Rome is a place “where the past of a whole hemisphere seems moving in funeral procession with strange ancestral images and trophies gathered from afar,” whereas for Hippolyte Taine, visiting the city in 1864, few more depressing places could be imagined: he found it dark and lifeless, a giant mausoleum. Here Rome and the feverish countryside signified all that was inimical to modernity, a vast terrain and symbol of backwardness, night, and death.

If “Roman fever” sometimes described a peculiar state of infatuation or even love, it also signified the city’s mysterious deadliness. Again, this reviewer was disappointed that the present volume did not do more to relate Rome’s cultural reception to its perception both as an infinitely alluring and as a physically dangerous place. The prospect of death in Rome was not simply some fanciful literary trope. To be there at certain times of year could indeed be a potentially serious health risk, and the mystery of the origins of its fever were often explored by writers across the period under discussion in this book. The important discoveries of Rome’s key malariologists (such as Giovanni Battista Grassi and Angelo Celli) were to have a major impact on the understanding of the disease worldwide, but they were also surely significant to the wider representation of the capital after 1900. Strangely, in an age where the circumstances and connotations of

the fatal European city have been so widely explored (from Hamburg to Venice, from London to Naples), the medico-moral politics of Rome have been largely neglected. And certainly a more prosaic inquiry into the material environment of Rome and the Campagna, as well as the often treacherous social and political conditions endured by its past inhabitants, would nicely complement the extraordinary "city of words" explored by the contributors to this volume.

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MIKULÁŠ TEICH, editor. *Bohemia in History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998. pp. xiv, 389. \$64.95.

In this handsomely produced volume, Mikuláš Teich—who after his unwilling emigration from Czechoslovakia in 1968 coedited a series of volumes placing major historical topics "in national perspective"—puts his nation in historical perspective. The present book is also a kind of homage to a remarkable collection of essays, *Naše živá i mrtvá minulost* [Our Living and Dead Past] (1968), published during the brief intellectual relaxation connected with the Prague Spring. The eight essays in that original work provided both a survey of the state of historical scholarship in Czechoslovakia at the time and compelling meditations on key moments in Czech history. Teich's aim in this book is similar. What is different is the present work's size (eighteen contributions) and methodological diversity. The increase in the number of contributions allows for a much wider coverage of issues, including chapters devoted to the Germans in Bohemia, to Czechs and Jews, to Czechs and Slovaks, and to art and science in Bohemia. The trade-off for this wider scope is an unavoidable loss of focus. Similarly, while the original book's authors approached their topics with a general commitment to Marxist historical method, the present contributions are quite diverse. Again, the loss of focus is compensated for by a clearer picture of the variety of approaches present in current historiography in the Czech Republic.

In spite of the variety of topic and approach, this collection shows that Czech historians continue to be attracted to themes that have been central to Czech historical consciousness at least since the nineteenth century. Jiří Sláma's essay sees in tenth-century Bohemia under the Přemyslid Duke Boleslav I (929–967) "a true early medieval state" that "erected an effective barrier to German expansion in Bohemia, and thus saved the Czech population from the fate of both the Elbe and the Baltic Slavs who, losing their political independence at first, were subsequently fully Germanized" (p. 36). Zdeněk Měřinský and Jaroslav Mezník then follow the fortunes of this state under the Přemyslids and later their Luxemburg successors to "the apogee of its power" in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while František Kavka writes of its greatest medieval monarch, Charles IV. These authors mention the significance of a German element in

Bohemia, thanks to increased colonization and the influence of foreign models on court life and the nobility, but they do not directly address the tangled problem of awareness of "national" identity during these centuries, and they all continue to refer to Bohemia as a Czech state. Kavka's article also emphasizes the wider dynastic ambitions of Charles IV and his role as patron of arts and culture.

František Šmahel, the author of four-volume survey of the Hussite period, *Husitská revoluce* [Hussite Revolution] (1993), provides readers with a welcome summary of his interpretations. Šmahel risks a more speculative mood, noting that, as in 1968 in the Czech lands, "it does not always pay to be the first or to refuse to toe the line" (p. 79). He admits that Bohemia paid a price for its separation from the commonwealth of Christendom, as would other European states a century later, but the Hussite period also decisively contributed to the "long-term maturation of the Czech state into a developed monarchy of the estates" (p. 96). This estates monarchy gives the late Josef Macek his theme, which stresses this form of participatory politics as a type of democratization and the contribution of the estates to Czech statehood and culture (p. 98). Josef Válka deals with a cultural apogee of this estates monarchy under the Habsburg emperor Rudolf II, a time marked by political tensions. Válka recognizes that "the least tension emanated from the national question" (p. 119), giving a concise account of the problems of early modern political identity in Bohemia and discussing its other cleavages. His survey of Rudolfine culture, ending after the Thirty Years' War with the towering but isolated figure of Jan Komenský, situates it in its wider European context.

Josef Petrů and Lydia Petrůvá study the next great trauma in Bohemian history, the defeat at the White Mountain in 1618 that ended the Bohemian estates' rebellion and opened the Thirty Years' War. They focus on the myth of this event in its various forms, spanning three centuries to the present and showing how various political forces reinterpreted its "meaning" to suit themselves. Two essays cover the nineteenth-century national "awakening": Vladimír Macura's stimulating semio-historical account of the "problems and paradoxes" of the national revival and Otto Urban's discussion of the maturation of Czech society into a modern nation. Sadly both authors have since died. Specialized essays by Jiří Kroupa (the Enlightenment in Moravia), Jan Havránek (universities in nineteenth-century Bohemia), and Irena Seidlerová (science in a bilingual country) provide glimpses of subjects beyond the traditional "great moments" in Czech history. Robert Kvaček and Milan Otáhal give balanced accounts of the interwar and postwar years in Czechoslovakia without asserting startling new interpretations. Alice Teichová summarizes German policies (especially economic) in occupied Bohemia and Moravia, where the contribution of Czech industry to the war effort outweighed temporarily the goal of "Germanizing" the territory of the protectorate. Three

interesting contributions conclude the volume: Jan Křen's study of Bohemian German identity in modern times, Helena Krejčová's regrettably compressed and narrative discussion of Czechs and Jews, and Dušan Kováč's account of Czech-Slovak relations.

This book does not provide a narrative survey of its topic, but that is not its goal. It is a concise, English-language introduction to Czech historiography (both topics and important authors) not otherwise available, and as such it is most welcome. It also, perhaps inadvertently, leaves the reader pondering the Petráň's conclusion: "A society which needs to define itself almost purely in terms of its past—either because it feels threatened or because it is uncertain of its own strength—seeks support in ideology or historical myth" (p. 161).

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RANDOLPH L. BRAHAM and SCOTT MILLER, editors. *The Nazis' Last Victims: The Holocaust in Hungary*. Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press; in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 1998. Pp. 200. \$34.95.

VERA RANKI. *The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion: Jews and Nationalism in Hungary*. New York: Holmes and Meier. 1999. Pp. xviii, 269. \$18.95.

The facts, as we know them, are these. Despite intense Nazi pressure to conspire in the persecution and eventual annihilation of Jews, the Hungarian government of Miklós Kállay continued to provide a haven for its 825,000 citizens of Jewish extraction. True, prior governments had enacted a series of discriminatory laws, but Kállay did what he could to minimize their effect while ensuring the personal safety of everyone subject to his authority. By 1944, with the war's outcome no longer in doubt, the Jews of Hungary had every reason to believe that they would survive.

But on March 19 of that year, the Germans occupied Hungary, forced Regent Miklós Horthy to dismiss Kállay, and implemented a plan of deportation that by early July, when Horthy suspended operations, had delivered over 400,000 Jews into the hands of the Auschwitz murderers. It was only as a result of Horthy's tardy intervention, the assistance of foreign diplomats (most notably, Raoul Wallenberg), and the efforts of Jewish activists and "righteous Gentiles" that many of Budapest's Jews managed to evade their tormentors, even after the Germans replaced Horthy with the delusional Arrow Cross "Nation Leader," Ferenc Szálasi.

Truly, then, the Jews of Hungary were "the Nazis' last victims." In 1994, the fiftieth anniversary of the Hungarian Holocaust, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, aided by Randolph L. Braham, the leading authority on the subject, hosted a commemorative conference, the proceedings of which are now before us. Vera Ranki, a Hungarian Jew (as she

prefers to identify herself) now resident in Australia, did not participate in the conference, but Braham thought highly enough of her book on the origins of the Holocaust to write a foreword.

The question that these books pose is this: how responsible were the non-Jewish Hungarian people, and their governments, for the mass murder of their fellow citizens? That this is a complex and sensitive issue is evidenced by the fact that students of Hungarian history are often sharply divided in their estimates. Though she sometimes contradicts herself, Ranki states her conclusion without equivocation: the Hungarians have always been prone to anti-Semitism, and when they divorced their national feeling from a modernizing (enlightened) liberalism and allied it with antimodern conservatism, the Holocaust became all but inevitable.

She does not deny that Hungarians supported a politics of inclusion (emancipation and assimilation) during the period of liberal nationalism (1867–1918), but Ranki suggests that they did so only because they needed assimilated Jews to secure a numerical majority in their own, multinational country. Their true colors were revealed by the blood libel trial at Tiszaeszlár (1882) and the anti-Semitic movement launched soon thereafter by Győző Istóczy. And yet, Ranki herself points out that, unlike the Dreyfus Affair, Tiszaeszlár was handled in an "exemplary manner" and the government and the defendants' Gentile lawyer demonstrated an unshakable commitment to "liberal values" (p. 68). For precisely that reason, Istóczy's National Antisemitic Party soon disbanded.

It is true that the interwar period witnessed a dramatic rise in anti-Semitism, partly though not exclusively as a reaction to the large number of assimilated Jews among the leaders of the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic. But in dealing with this subject, Ranki is so eager to pass judgment that she is unable to make necessary discriminations. For example, she miscasts Count István Bethlen, the right-wing liberal who dominated Hungarian political life as prime minister from 1921 to 1931, as a fellow-traveling "Right radical" with a distaste only for the cruder expressions of anti-Semitism. At the time of the deportations (June 25, 1944), Bethlen, who not so incidentally was Kállay's political mentor, sent Horthy a memorandum in which he condemned the "inhuman and stupid persecution of Jews with which the present government stains the Hungarian name . . . and threatens to corrupt once and for all large segments of gentile society."

It is only fair to say that Ranki is following historiographical convention when she identifies Gyula Gömbös—an early admirer of Adolf Hitler who served as prime minister from 1932 to 1936—and those like him as adherents of a "radical Right," but she is mistaken nevertheless. Such men were self-proclaimed national socialists: social and political revolutionaries, not conservatives or reactionaries. Unlike genuine rightists of Bethlen's stamp, unapologetic elitists all, the national socialists were populists, and populism, as

Ranki herself points out in one place, is an enthusiasm of the left. Indeed, she devotes several pages to the anti-Semitic tendencies of the Hungarian Populists, some of whom were attracted by Gömbös's talk of radical land reform before opting for communism (or fellow traveling)—a by no means unprecedented shift from one variety of socialism to another.

In his foreword to Ranki's book, Braham rejects the inevitability thesis. He rightly condemns the interwar anti-Semitic atmosphere and legislation that undoubtedly made the "Final Solution" more acceptable to many Hungarians, but he concludes that the evidence indicates that "it was the German occupation that sealed the fate of Hungarian Jewry" (p. xii). In his conference essay he reiterates this view, one shared by the Hungarian historian Attila Pók, who insists that "the various forms of anti-Semitism in Hungary did not necessarily have to lead to the Holocaust" (p. 51).

But even if it was the Nazis who instigated mass murder in Hungary, the conference participants recognized that the harmonious pre-1914 relationship between Jewish and Gentile Hungarians had been destroyed by the Hungarian government's pre-Occupation organization of forced "labor service" and by the apparent indifference to Jewish suffering of too many Gentiles. Jewish Hungarians were deeply hurt by such rejection, for they had loved their homeland and been fiercely loyal to it: too loyal, according to Ranki, who views the Jews' eagerness to assimilate as a tragic mistake. No doubt the Hungarian publisher Miklós Hernádi agrees, for he argues that the rift that the Holocaust opened between Jewish and Gentile Hungarians is too great ever to be healed.

Perhaps that is so, but such pessimism does not recommend itself to Charles Fenyevesi, a Washington journalist and author of *When the World Was Whole: Three Centuries of Memories* (1990), a wonderful evocation of Jewish life in Central Europe. Fenyevesi concludes his essay on a note of reconciliation. "Like Jews from other communities," he writes, "Hungarian Jews remember the demons of the Holocaust—but along with the rescuers responsible for the survival of many of us who got out alive. Despite the risk of angering other Jews who faced unrelieved hatred, we keep saying: there were the killers and there were the angels" (p. 176).

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JOHN-PAUL HIMKA. *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine: The Greek Catholic Church and the Ruthenian National Movement in Galicia, 1867–1900*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, series 2.) Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 236. \$65.00.

The final volume of John-Paul Himka's trilogy rounds out his impressive study of the rise of nationalism among the Ruthenians of Austrian Galicia in the late nineteenth century. While each volume stands on its

own, the three form a composite whole. Representing different historiographical and methodological trends, they reflect a poststructural paradigm that emphasizes multiple layers of understanding. Through a case study of a Central European province that he most recently characterizes as "so peculiar and . . . a people so individual that it may be regarded as typical for this complex and variegated part of the world," Himka demonstrates the various forces behind the creation of a distinctive Ukrainian nationality (p. 3). In his *Socialism in Galicia: The Emergence of Polish Social Democracy and Ukrainian Radicalism (1860–1890)* (1983), he consciously avoided examining the variant of nationalism—national populist—that triumphed among Galician Ruthenians. His focus then shifted to social history. In *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (1988), Himka set out to demonstrate how literate peasants became conscious of a Ukrainian national identity configured by urban intellectuals. Finally, this book, concentrating on the interrelationship between nationalism and religion, illuminates the ways in which actions of the Austrian state and Vatican ensured that the national populist Ukrainophile (as opposed to Russophile) national movement emerged victorious among Galician Ruthenians. Taken together, the three approaches highlight the complexity of national identity formation as well as "a multidimensional portrait of an East European society in transition" (p. 14). The volumes should serve as a model for the study of nationalism among East European groups for whom the nation state was not a reality for all or much of the modern period.

Utilizing the archives of the Vatican and the Habsburg state, regional archives in the cities of Lviv and Przemyśl, as well as the contemporary press, Himka painstakingly reconstructs the drama of nationalist trends among Galician Ruthenians through the lens of religion. Greek Catholic churches in Galicia, which retained the Eastern Orthodox rite but acknowledged the authority of the pope, were caught in a web of national conflicts between Poles and Ruthenians as well as among Ruthenians torn between Russophilism and Ukrainophilism. Pan-Russianism implied rapprochement with Orthodox Russia, while Ukrainian national populism championed a Greek Catholic Church relatively free from Vatican and Polish interference. As far as the Galician Ruthenian intelligentsia and clergy were concerned, efforts by local ecclesiastics and the Vatican to reform the church's Eastern Orthodox practices to conform with Catholicism smacked of Polonism. At the same time, the state and Vatican were suspicious of any local ecclesiastical support for some Eastern Orthodox traditions as representative of Russophilic and schismatic tendencies.

According to Himka, an 1882 crisis at the local level served as the turning point in the national conflict between Russophilism and Ukrainian national populism. Having been denied permission to create their own separate parish by the Lviv consistory, villagers of

Hnylychky announced their intention to convert from Catholicism to Orthodoxy. That request caught the attention of civil authorities when evidence surfaced that a prominent Russophile priest had drafted the peasants' letter. Although the instigators of what the state deemed a pan-Slavist plot were acquitted of the charge of high treason, the trial cast a shadow on the Russophile movement and pushed the Vatican to reform the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia. Vatican attempts to reorganize Basilian monasticism, introduce celibacy as the appropriate model for the Greek Catholic priesthood, and do away with three-barred crosses, for example, caused consternation among Ruthenian priests, intellectuals, and in some cases parishioners.

What emerges from Himka's narrative of the tensions surrounding the Greek Catholic Church between 1867 and 1900 is the vitality and subversiveness of the Russophile nationalist movement in Galicia, which in the standard national conception has been dismissed as conservative and retrograde. The decisive role of the Vatican and Vienna in squashing the Russophile alternative to the Ukrainophile movement and the weakness of the Greek Catholic Church after 1882 until an energetic bishop, Andrei Sheptytsky, in 1900 galvanized the church to support the national movement also become evident from the author's nuanced discussion. Although nationality can still be understood as a cultural construct, the intelligentsia fashioning the precise nature of that nationality, as Himka persuasively argues, did not possess unlimited choice and free agency. Henceforth, no study of Eastern European nationalism can afford to ignore *Hochpolitik*.

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BOHDAN NAHAYLO. *The Ukrainian Resurgence*. Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. 1999. Pp. xix, 608. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

In a lecture first delivered at the Sorbonne in 1882, Ernest Renan claimed that a nation's existence is "a daily plebiscite, just as an individual's existence is a perpetual affirmation of life." Bohdan Nahaylo's book attempts to describe the dynamics of this Ukrainian plebiscite during Mikhail Gorbachev's tenure and after the collapse of the USSR in late 1991. How and why did the allegiance of the citizens of Ukraine toward the USSR change? How and why did the Soviet Ukrainian government and the Communist Party of Ukraine support Ukrainian independence?

To answer these complex questions, Nahaylo follows a standard format. His first two chapters provide a brief historical background of Ukraine. The second chapter deals with Ukraine in the post-Stalinist period. The next sixteen chapters describe the Gorbachev period, the political consequences of the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear accident, and the emergence of a mass-based Ukrainian nationalism, which achieved its great-

est success on December 1, 1991, when the overwhelming majority of the population of Ukraine, including its non-Ukrainian minorities, approved the Ukrainian parliament's August 24, 1991 declaration of independence. Nahaylo then outlines the first five years of post-Soviet Ukraine and its struggles to create a post-Soviet constitution and to establish an open economy.

Although the author concentrates on events and trends in Ukraine, not in Moscow, his study is a valuable contribution to studies on the emergence of nationalism and the end of the USSR. Through a careful reading of the Soviet and post-Soviet press and by interviewing many of the main Ukrainian political actors in this drama, Nahaylo successfully traces how, over the course of a short period, a small group of dissidents used Gorbachev's reforms to help create a powerful movement for national renewal. He then describes how the peoples of Ukraine transferred their allegiance from the Soviet Union to Ukraine and how the Communist Party of Ukraine split over its response to this political transformation. Most importantly, he provides new information on the leader of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Volodymyr Shcherbytsky (1972-1989), "the personification of Brezhnevist stagnation," and his complex political relationship with Gorbachev the reformer.

Nahaylo's book provides an excellent chronology of facts, dates, and trends, but little analysis. Important questions are not explored in depth. Why did Leonid Kravchuk, the wily chief of ideology under Shcherbytsky, who then became the head of the Ukrainian parliament after the elections of 1990, lead Ukraine to independence? What caused this party stalwart to experience a political conversion? What were Kravchuk's motivations? What did Kravchuk believe? Why did his beliefs change? The author, unfortunately, does not explain.

Nahaylo's book emphasizes the role of "daily plebiscites" in Ukraine during the Gorbachev period, when changes in self-perception—including one's national identity and political allegiances—fueled the struggle for power. At times, Nahaylo implies that identity is constant and changeless. But as his text convincingly proves, national identity at both the individual and social levels is a "permanent referendum," always in flux.

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FREDERICK W. KAGAN. *The Military Reforms of Nicholas I: The Origins of the Modern Russian Army*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xii, 337.

Nicholas I has never enjoyed a reputation as a reformer, and correctly so if one accepts, at least in a political context, the widely held Western equation of "reformer" with "liberal." However, reform can simply mean "improve" or even just "reorganize." Under-

stood in that way. Nicholas easily qualifies. During his reign, improvements were made in the management of the appanage peasants and of the state peasants; the monetary system was simplified; railroad construction was begun on a substantial scale; and, most significantly, the laws were finally codified. Nicholas was devoted to maintaining the status quo, but he was well aware that the Russian state needed to be strengthened to achieve that goal in what he saw as an era of disorder and revolution.

These various efforts with respect to peasants, the currency, railroads, and laws have all been discussed, at least to some extent, in both Western and Russian scholarship. Frederick W. Kagan addresses an important aspect of Nicholas's activity that, to my knowledge, has not received any significant attention in either Western or modern Russian studies.

The bulk of the text concerns the structure of military administration and proposals to improve it, initial attempts to do so, and the final measures actually enacted, all this stretching over the years between 1825, when Nicholas became tsar, and 1838. These sections are based on exhaustive research in both published works and documents in the Archive of Military History, the latter only recently available to foreign researchers. Each chapter requires close attention, but the reader is rewarded with insight not just into the issues of military administrative organization but also into the way in which legislation developed in an autocratic state. The final result was the centralization of military administration in the War Ministry, in contrast to the old system with many separate units reporting directly to the tsar. The decentralized system had produced confusion and endless unnecessary correspondence and was highly inefficient. Kagan argues that the new centralized system remained in effect down to the end of the old regime, notwithstanding D. A. Milyutin's introduction of military districts in 1864, and even influenced the structure of Soviet military administration.

The administrative reforms were an attempt to deal with what Kagan correctly sees as the basic strategic problem confronting Nicolaevan Russia. It was a poor country with a huge territory to defend and a social system (serfdom) that made the introduction of the cadre-reserve system impossible. Despite the huge standing army, Russia did not have enough soldiers to deal easily with the Turks in 1828–1829 or the rebellious Poles in 1830–1831. There was always the possibility of hostile intervention by one or more foreign powers—England, France, or Austria—so troops had to be widely distributed to guard the long frontiers. Indeed, that is exactly what did happen in 1854 when Britain and France joined Turkey and the Crimean War commenced. Given the problems it faced, Kagan argues that the Russian army did very well in that war.

Kagan is absolutely right. The basic problem was that Russia could not afford the military establishment that it had, much less the larger one that it needed. The lack of money was the result of the low level of

economic development, particularly the poverty of the peasant agriculture that produced most of Russia's national income. This was certainly not a new problem in the age of Nicholas I. His predecessor, Alexander I, had faced the same problem, and so had all previous Russian rulers. The great difference was that until the end of the eighteenth century, Russia's rivals to the West operated under the financial constraints of the old regime monarchies and the need to field armies, at least partly consisting of mercenaries. In the years following the French Revolution, the Western continental powers were able to shift gradually to the cadre-reserve system of manpower mobilization. Economic development, particularly in England, was far more rapid than in Russia, which had hardly begun to come to grips with that issue.

As with virtually all Russian old regime reforms, Nicholas's military reforms were a step forward but insufficient. So, too, were the much more extensive "Great Reforms" of his successor, Alexander II. On the eve of World War I, Russia was still trying to play the role of a great European power without the economic base needed for the military forces that its geographic and strategic position dictated.

Kagan is to be congratulated on a remarkably fine, original, and useful work.

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JONATHAN A. GRANT, *Big Business in Russia: The Putilov Company in Late Imperial Russia*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999. Pp. viii, 203. \$45.00.

This volume focuses on the investment and development strategies of the Putilov factory, for many years Russia's largest metal-working complex, from its privatization in the hands of N. I. Putilov in 1868, to its re-privatization after the collapse of the USSR. Jonathan A. Grant's aim is to refute Alexander Gerschenkron's thesis of "the economic advantages of technological backwardness," Thomas Owen's thesis that the autocratic state and the modern corporation were essentially incompatible, and the conventional wisdom that in tsarist Russia, industry and commerce were largely dependent on the state. His conclusion, on the basis of Putilov's history, is "that a contemporary corporation could indeed coexist and prosper under the autocratic state" (p. 150).

To develop evidence in support of these ambitious theses, Grant has used a wide range of Russian and non-Russian sources from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These include Russian archives, newspapers, and journals as well as secondary materials. Broad and deep as his sources are, they are not exhaustive, and Grant lacks important information regarding dividend distributions over the years, wages, and labor relations, on all of which the reader is given only the scantiest of information.

Nevertheless, the author presents a detailed picture of the Putilov factory's vicissitudes, with particular emphasis on the strategies adopted by the Board of Directors. Although these strategies might have superficially resembled those of other similar companies in the world, Putilov never managed to become the integrated conglomerate that was Krupp or Carnegie, nor did Putilov realize the profits of Skoda, Creusot, or Bethlehem Steel from military production. The reasons lie very much in Russia, both in its limited business experience and in its strangling bureaucracy and Russian society's hostility to industrial entrepreneurship. All of these may be fairly said to be products of the regime and its culture. If Grant was not convinced by the discussions of Owen, Heather Hogan, and my own modest contribution, a reading of Richard Pipes's *Russia Under the Old Regime* (1974), or the bitter 1903 report of a Credit Lyonnaise analyst, *Special General Costs of Coal Mines in Russia*, might have injected a more cautious element into his analysis.

The problems of this volume lie not with the nature of the evidence presented, for Grant presents the firm's history clearly and forcefully, but with the overly categorical conclusions drawn from this evidence. Certainly there was coexistence between the state and the Putilov factory, but what sort? Three times between 1868 and 1917 the state took over the factory: first when it went bankrupt at the end of the 1870s, largely because of over-extension and mismanagement; then in 1916 when, in the midst of World War I, the company lacked the capital to fulfill its commitments for production of artillery and munitions; and finally when the Bolsheviks nationalized all heavy industry in 1918. In all three cases, it was the nature of the autocratic state that determined the firm's fate and its lack of recourse against government actions. Grant does not consider such questions. As for dependence on the state, the directors' choice of artillery and munitions production as an alternative to rails did not lessen their dependence on the state, nor did it provide a steady source of increased profit as expected. It merely involved different, and more demanding, ministries and eventually led the company into renewed financial difficulty. Indeed, although the company evidently paid substantial dividends, it can hardly be said to have prospered, for its history is a series of financial crises and recurrent failures.

Although Grant points to Putilov's efforts to produce for the Russian private market, he does not discuss the nature or the extent of this market. Neither does he refer to what was one of the central economic disputes of the period in Russia as to whether an effective internal market existed. After all, with all its late burst of modernization and industrialization, Russia remained overwhelmingly a peasant country, and the peasant's slogan was "Happy is the farm that needs not a single nail nor a gram of iron." Autarky was the household god of the village dweller. It was the state that was the chief market for rails, railway equipment,

bridging iron, and such products through much of the period surveyed. It goes without saying that the state was the sole domestic customer for war materials. In Russia, heavy industry was of necessity largely dependent on state orders, and a firm looking to military production as the basis of its income was at the mercy of the state.

As with so many works dealing with Russia, the question here may well be one of proportions. Large as Putilov was, it was only a tiny part of peasant Russia, and as such it was unable to impose its own values on its environment. Yet small and weak as the firm was in an all-Russian perspective, it was large enough to be indispensable to the regime as a tool toward the industrial and technical modernization that both the imperial and Soviet Russian states sought. Thus a symbiosis was formed that preserved the factory's existence, if not its independence. This Grant demonstrates effectively, even though it contradicts a large part of what he set out to prove.

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REGINALD E. ZELNIK, editor. *Workers and Intelligentsia in Late Imperial Russia: Realities, Representations, Reflections*. (Research Series, number 101.) Berkeley, Calif.: International and Area Studies. 1999. Pp. xi, 349. \$24.50.

The fourteen essays collected in this volume were selected from twenty-four papers presented at the "International Colloquium on Workers and the Intelligentsia in Russia in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries" held in St. Petersburg in June 1995. Organized in this volume chronologically, the conference papers were grouped around three thematic foci: the ideals, self-identification, cast of mind (*oblik*), and mentality of Russian workers; workers in the Russian social movement; and workers and the intelligentsia.

At the core of the volume is an argument concerning the shifting and complicated identities of workers, an interpretative emphasis that reflects the attention historians now accord the subjective experience of workers, as well as the move away from the materialist, teleological, and "objectively" defined categories of working-class behavior that characterized much Soviet labor history. By examining the moral and intellectual world of workers, these essays problematize notions of class consciousness and its alleged trajectories and contest the older, binary models of "advanced vs. backward," "conscious vs. unconscious" workers espoused by radical *intelligentsia* and carried over into subsequent historical interpretation. Most essays also argue that workers' beliefs and experiences were shaped by their interactions with members of the educated strata of society; that these interactions were complex and not simply ideological in content; and that throughout the late imperial period, workers remained highly ambivalent toward their would-be

intelligentsia mentors and the privileged world they represented.

Editor Reginald E. Zelnik's introductory essay sets the context for the volume by sketching the many ways in which the intelligentsia imagined "the people" and situated them in their quest to transform autocratic Russia's social and political institutions. These representations, often contradictory and bitterly contested, shifted over the years, as opportunities for interaction expanded and as activists vied for leadership of the oppositional movement. As amplified in Leopold Haimson's essay, the images held by both factions of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (SD) were rooted in a core set of beliefs about "the conflicting political cultures and aspirations of city and village, workers and peasants" (p. 164), beliefs conditioned by the theoretical battles waged between Populists and Marxists. Thus, "consciousness" was often defined by distance from the village; "spontaneity" reflected peasant "backwardness." Both terms were deployed at different times to describe different worker behaviors, depending, Haimson argues, on the successes and failures of Bolsheviks or Mensheviks over the decades.

No less important were the understandings workers came to hold of the *intelligenty* they encountered and the ideas they advanced. Seeking to probe the tension that often characterized these relationships, Zelnik eschews analysis of ideological issues and focuses instead on patterns of sociability: differences in dress, forms of address, and places of residence or relaxation reveal awkward personal encounters that lingered on to inform social experience. Workers provided *entr e*, *intelligenty* "gave" knowledge; workers uneasily "performed" for their teachers; students tried "to pass" as workers. Zelnik is particularly sensitive to the human aspects of these encounters and his conclusions suggest that although difficult, such exchanges were also enriching: taken together, they nourished the desire for autonomy among workers. Haimson articulates other dimensions of these interactions, demonstrating how worker self-conceptions were at once shaped by their identification with the city but understood through the prism of Social Democratic propaganda that stressed the unique role that they, urbanized workers, were destined to play in Russia's historical development.

E. Anthony Swift's study of worker theater explores how workers appropriated those aspects of "high" culture that they valued by investing their own meanings into the repertoire of conventional playhouses. Joan Neuberger shows how typically marginalized workers—those who worked in small workshops or stores, on the street or as servants—utilized the Justice of the Peace courts to articulate a public persona endowed with human rights and a sense of self-worth, an identity often ascribed to skilled factory workers but denied the "masses" who failed to conform to intelligentsia representations. Note here that workers interacted not only with the radical intelligentsia (Populists,

Social Revolutionaries, and Social Democrats as discussed in essays by Deborah L. Pearl, Manfred Hildermeier, S. A. Smith, Haimson) as well as liberals (William Rosenberg), but also with the artistic intelligentsia (Swift, Jutta Scherrer), representatives of the tsarist order (Neuberger), and the broader urban lower class (Hubertus Jahn, Mark Steinberg).

Most provocative in challenging established images of class-conscious workers is Steinberg's discussion of worker-writers and their exploration of the self. Steinberg is concerned with a particular ethical ideal, found in much worker writing, based on a "notion of an interior and autonomous self, by nature endowed with a universal humanity" (p. 309). This ideal was not only reflected in worker demands for polite address or respectful treatment but also embedded in their larger understandings of a just society. Such beliefs seem to juxtapose the inalienable rights and human dignity of the individual to the particularistic claims of class, and as such they pose a fundamental challenge to Marxist representations of a distinctly proletarian ethics. Interestingly, Rosenberg's essay highlights the ways in which Kadet representations of workers floundered as they tried to theorize and then articulate programatically the primacy of the autonomous and rational individual in the liberal narrative of Russia's historical development in light of the collective, and often violent, actions of the working class. Both essays thus neatly express the multiple and complex interpretative issues engaged under the broad rubric of identities and representations.

This volume is "revisionist" in another sense: several essays challenge the standard story regarding specific aspects of the labor and socialist movement. Pearl's paper argues against the established image of People's Will as a party isolated from workers and focused exclusively on political terror; rather, she asserts the importance of People's Will propaganda efforts in laying the foundation for the subsequent workers' movement. Gerald Surh argues against an interpretation of the early twentieth-century Workers' Organization (RO) as "economist" and reflective of a primitive stage in worker development; he finds that the RO and similar groups purposefully resisted attempts to centralize the party and sought instead a "party controlled by its worker membership [and] acting in the perceived and verifiable (rather than the ascribed or theoretical) interest of workers" (p. 117). Iurii I. Kir'ianov challenges such venerable assertions of Soviet historiography as worker attitudes toward tsar and religion (more complicated and ambiguous than supposed) and the strength of SDs among workers on the eve of 1905 (weaker than believed).

If generalizations are to be made, then most of these authors would stress the ambivalent character of worker-intelligentsia interactions and the historically contingent nature of worker identities. Several would conclude that Russian workers sought autonomy,

equality, and respect but also separation from privileged Russia.

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BETH HOLMGREN. *Rewriting Capitalism: Literature and the Market in Late Tsarist Russia and the Kingdom of Poland*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 240. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

Beth Holmgren's new book deals with a vitally important topic: the issue of East European cultural backwardness. Most scholars continue to cling to the notion that Russia and Poland remained cultural backwaters when compared to the West. Holmgren wants to explode this notion. To do this, she focuses on three interrelated themes: the development of a literary market in Russia and Poland, changing views toward capitalism, and the creation of a new form of literature that combined high cultural concerns with attempts to write for a growing literary market. According to Holmgren, "In both Russian and Polish texts, it seemed essential that writers and publishers rewrite scripts of capitalist progress as well as the formulas for successful marketing in order to assert and advertise national distinction" (p. 12). For Holmgren, the romance novel represents these new developments best, and she uses two of them, Anastasia Verbitskaia's *Keys of Happiness* (1909) and Helena Mniszek's *The Leper* (1916), to illustrate particular Russian and Polish cultural concerns.

Holmgren does an excellent job of recreating the vibrant and increasingly sophisticated book market in Russia and Poland during the second half of the nineteenth century. Building upon the work of both Western and Eastern European scholars, she deftly illustrates the growing power of print media to attract a diverse readership. Technological advancements and new marketing strategies helped to create a publishing industry in both countries that was increasingly concerned with creating a literature reflective of the interests of its consumers. The development of commercial book publishing also changed the relationship between writer and reader in Russia and Poland. Before the second half of the nineteenth century, serious writers in both cultures were usually aristocrats or members of the intelligentsia who renounced wealth and self-interest in favor of serving the public good as artists. By mid-century, a new set of writers, interested in expanding their readers beyond the traditional consumers of literature, tried to reach out to the "middle groups" in both societies. As a result, both Russian and Polish writers (of whom Verbitskaia and Mniszek are good examples) tailored their works to account for the middle groups' growing interest in commercial life and personal fulfillment. At the same time, writers in both countries reflected their own national preoccupations. Instead of direct emulation of the West, Holmgren finds that Russian publishers

and writers emphasized that nation's spiritual superiority over its more technologically advanced Western neighbors. In Poland, by way of contrast, she argues that capitalism was seen as a means to overcome foreign domination, particularly over the Russians. A short review simply cannot do justice to Holmgren's rich and thorough reading of these Russian and Polish texts.

Holmgren's attempts to find an appropriate term to label this new literature are troubled by the issue of class. She uses the term, "middlebrow" to describe the trends she is studying, but this presents problems. "Middlebrow" was first used to describe bestsellers that reflected the tastes and concerns of middle-class Americans in the 1920s, thereby making a strong connection between class and literary tastes. But Holmgren argues that in Russia and Poland there was no middle class in the late nineteenth century. Instead, she finds middling groups deeply divided along ethnic, religious, and occupational lines. As a result, the whole issue of whether Russia and Poland had a "middlebrow" literature or not remains unanswered. What is so interesting about all of this is that new research on the Western European bourgeoisie suggests that the European middle classes were deeply divided and not nearly so monolithic as scholars had previously assumed. Thus, Holmgren's findings fit very nicely with this revisionist look at middle-class identity, and her findings also support her larger agenda of demonstrating that Eastern Europe was not "backward" but rather emphasized different cultural values than those expressed in Western Europe. Indeed, the real value of Holmgren's contribution is to show a Russian and Polish middle class in the process of formation rather than as a fixed and rigid entity.

This book has much to offer a wide audience of literary scholars and historians. Holmgren has used her prodigious linguistic skills to write a fascinating study of Russian and Polish literary culture. In the process, she has asked us all to rethink our understanding of what really divides Europe into East and West.

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DAVID M. GLANTZ. *Zhukov's Greatest Defeat: The Red Army's Epic Disaster in Operation Mars, 1942*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1999. Pp. x, 421. \$39.95.

It is somewhat fashionable, in Britain at least, to focus on military defeats rather than victories, particularly where commanders of heroic reputation are involved: a pale reflection of national decline, perhaps. One gathers that this is less done in the United States. In respect of the former Soviet Union, such an approach might be justified by the fact that military historiography still conceals from us at least as much of significance as it reveals. It is, however, a hazardous enterprise to shake the high reputation of a great general by

focusing in on one defeat in lofty judgement about lives lost from the safety of one's office, not least when access to archives is so restricted and when information on the circumstances that might enable us to locate the responsibility of the commanding officer is still buried in vaults in distant Moscow. David M. Glantz's book contributes a great deal to our understanding of Operation Mars. The strength of the book lies, as with his other histories of the Soviet military, in the immense care with which the intricate detail of army operations is presented across an impossibly broad canvas of activity. By working through German and Russian language sources, Glantz is able to present both sides of the picture with considerable skill and dispassion. The only stylistic irritation is the author's habit of repeatedly introducing fictional comment as to Joseph Stalin's expression or state of mind without reference to any attested authority. More importantly, however, he also jumps to harsh conclusions as to G. K. Zhukov's contribution to the collapse of Operation Mars that do not appear altogether justified by the evidence.

As everyone knows, Adolf Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, taking Stalin by complete surprise on June 22, 1941. His advance was devastating to Soviet forces, although Hitler himself very soon realized that this was one objective too far, particularly once the autumn closed in and the capture of Moscow proved ever more elusive. Stalin turned the tide in November, and the Germans were soon rolled back across a land barely recognizable, now smothered in snow. After the initial successes that lasted till February 1942, Stalin, against better professional advice, lost his judgment, ignored intelligence material that indicated that Moscow was no longer Hitler's primary objective, and embarked on a series of daring counteroffensives whose net result was that German armies successfully closed in on the critical target of Stalingrad much further to the south. The story is well told in John Erickson, *The Road to Stalingrad* (1975).

As Soviet armies were once more forced into retreat, Stalin's bargaining position vis-à-vis his allies in the West crumbled. Winston Churchill and Franklin Delano Roosevelt delayed the launching of the second front in Europe; and after the disaster of PQ17, the British cancelled further Arctic convoys. Once again, speculation arose as to whether Russia would survive. Pro-Westerners like Ilya Ehrenburg and Maksim Litvinov warned their counterparts of the grim and bitter state of mind of all Russians at being left to face the Axis almost entirely alone and hinted at dire consequences for the future of East-West relations. Stalin, always given to the deepest suspicion and the most uncharitable of suppositions, began reflecting on the possibility of the artful British prime minister coming to terms with Berlin likely as not by means of Rudolf Hess, then in British custody, leaving the Russians to fight on (and lose) alone. The conduct of the war in the East at this critical juncture thus had implications for

relations in the postwar world that went entirely unrecognized in the West at the time and largely continue unacknowledged, because little studied, today.

These were the desperate circumstances in which Stalin authorized the bold operations described in great detail by Glantz: Operation Mars and Operation Uranus. The latter succeeded. The former failed. Glantz argues that the failure lay entirely at Zhukov's door, insisting that "Sufficient German and Soviet archival materials are now available to reconstruct the factual historical framework of Operation Mars" (p. 2). But this is not entirely true, since he did not have access to Soviet intelligence operations that critically affected the course of the battles Zhukov so relentlessly fought.

Throughout this key phase of the war, Soviet intelligence was running a deception operation on the basis of its successful penetration of the German spy ring run by Reinhard Gehlen and the *Fremde Heere Ost* (I). What Zhukov was apparently not told by Stalin was that, in order to ensure the success of Operation Uranus, disinformation was conveyed through agent "Max" to the German High Command to the effect that the Red Army would not attack the Germans on November 15, 1942, below Stalingrad but in the North Caucasus, below Rzhev, which was where Zhukov had concentrated his forces. The Germans were thus unprepared for a major blow in the region of Stalingrad and focused instead in the North Caucasus. It was for this reason that Zhukov suffered defeat, and, in a real sense, intentionally so, in order that Uranus would succeed. This information is given by Pavel Sudoplatov in *Spetsoperatsii: Lubianka i Kreml', 1930-1950 gody* [Special Operations: Lubianka and the Kremlin, 1930-1950] (1998). Erickson gives circumstantial support to this in his book, citing Gehlen's intelligence appreciation of November 6, followed up with another on November 12, all suggesting the main blow would aim at Army Group Center (Erickson, *Road to Stalingrad*, pp. 617-18). Ironically, Glantz, not yet knowing of Sudoplatov's revelations, refers to the information reaching Gehlen from Max (see p. 37) but fails to conclude that this news would have affected German judgment as to the direction of the likely assault and the disposition of their strongest forces. In sending out this information through clandestine sources, Stalin anticipated that Zhukov would have to bear the brunt of battle, operating what was effectively a feint rather than the main attack. Instead of indicating Zhukov's limits as a general, it rather throws into sharp focus Stalin's ruthless conduct of strategy, the way in which military planning was conducted from above, and the role of intelligence, hidden even from the most senior commanders, in the war on the Eastern front.

All of this suggests that Glantz's explanation for the defeat of Operation Mars should, at the very least, not be taken at face value but subjected as a suggestive

hypothesis to further research, once more archival data become available.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

TREVOR BRYCE. *The Kingdom of the Hittites*. New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1998. Pp. xiv, 464. \$60.00.

As the author of this volume writes in his introduction, the book's focus is "primarily on the political and military history of the Hittite world" (p. 3). Is the title then a misnomer? I am inclined to answer in the affirmative. There are few, if any, other syntheses on the Hittites that ignore their rich religious traditions, and this is hardly surprising, given the fact that religious writings constitute the vast majority of Hittite texts excavated to date. One may quibble over this and say, for example, if it is possible and defensible to write a history of Hittite religion (e.g. V. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* [1994]), then surely one can write a politico-military history of the Hittite kingdom. The answer, at least in part, is that one certainly can, but such a work should not be entitled *The Kingdom of the Hittites*. That one can truly come to grips with the Hittite kingdom without understanding Hittite religion, art, agricultural practices, and many other functional and intellectual domains seems to me a dubious premise.

Given the emphasis on military and political history in this work, it is no coincidence, therefore, that Trevor Bryce is an ancient historian. Readers of the *AHR* would probably be surprised to learn how few historians there are in the varied fields of ancient Near Eastern studies, but such is the case. Books that attempt to give holistic, synthetic accounts of ancient peoples like the Hittites are normally written either by philologists (e.g. Hittitologists) or by archaeologists. Ancient historians who specialize in the ancient Near East are a rare breed in the modern era (gone are the days of an Eduard Meyer who controlled all ancient history from Roman Britain to the Hindu Kush), and the number who can truly claim to have mastered the languages, epigraphic and literary sources, archaeology, and ancient technologies of the past, and thereby gained the overarching perspective required to write a true synthesis, can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

Bryce's strength, however, is precisely his background as a historian. Perhaps more than anything else, this distinguishes his approach from that of Oliver Gurney and Julius Cornelius (philologists) or Kurt Bittel (archaeologist), just a few of Bryce's predecessors in the quest to synthesize what we know about the ancient kingdom of the Hittites. One of the few ancient historians with whom one can compare Bryce, Amélie Kuhrt at University College London, has also

dealt *in extenso* with Hittite history, but her work (*The Ancient Near East, c. 3000–330 B.C.; Vol. 1* [1995], pp. 225–82) was not used by Bryce. This gives some idea of how dated Bryce's work already is, since the acknowledgements were written in June 1996 and the book published in 1998. It is a pity that Kuhrt's work was not used, for she is one of the few scholars whose approach could be considered similar to that of Bryce. Readers of Bryce's volume would be advised to compare many of his ideas with those of Kuhrt, whose understanding of the ancient Near Eastern context of Hittite military history is far more profound than Bryce's.

Bryce's approach is in fact comparable to that of most historians approaching the political history of a European kingdom or a Chinese dynasty. He examines issues with an historian's eye and often casts events in a light which might not have appeared to an archaeologist or philologist attempting to write a work of history. At the same time, the limitations of this effort are apparent. One senses a certain lack of familiarity with the subject that comes from an intimate acquaintance with the archaeology and/or the grammar and language of an ancient culture. There is a sense in which this is a book written by an ancient historian, schooled in Greek and Roman history, who has branched out into Asia Minor (viz. his very well received *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources* [1986]) and kept on heading back in time into the more remote past of the region. There is nothing wrong with such a progression per se, and I applaud a scholar like Bryce who obviously has a grasp of the later periods in Anatolia that must be superior to that of most Hittitologists. But there is a nagging sense in which this is a book written by an amateur in the most literal sense, by a scholar who loves what he is writing about but is not quite there in depth of understanding. Bryce's book is eminently readable, well researched, and impeccably assembled. But I fear that Hittitologists will view it as the work of an outsider, albeit a very well-informed one, and that non-specialists will still be forced to wade through the morass of philological studies in the Hittitological literature in order to come to grips with issues of detail and to access the opinions of Hittitologists, as opposed to historians.

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HALA FATTAH. *The Politics of Regional Trade in Iraq, Arabia, and the Gulf 1745–1900*. (SUNY Series in the Social and Economic History of the Middle East.) Albany: State University of New York press. 1997. Pp. xi, 254. \$18.95.

Hala Fattah has provided a remarkably nuanced and intriguing study of the emergence, development, and transformation of a regional commercial market in southern Iraq, southwestern Iran, eastern Arabia, and the northern Persian Gulf. She has carefully situated her work within the framework of Indian Ocean

commercial history while also paying attention to such broad topics as frontiers, tribalism, political-economic interrelationships, and resistance to European imperialism. The author gives ample evidence to support her contention that a flexible regional market provided opportunity for networks of merchants to operate over great distances well before Britain incorporated the area into its sphere of economic domination. As a result, Fattah has made a substantial contribution to countering earlier scholars who overly emphasized the role of British traders and Ottoman modernizers while largely ignoring Arab merchants.

This richly detailed book first examines the concepts to be used and the historical background of the Ottoman Empire, the rise of the first and second Saudi states, and the anti-Saudi reaction in the Gulf region. The author then turns to the structure of the regional market with emphasis on family firms, trade diasporas, secondary towns, production and marketing cycles, and coinage. A discussion of Ottoman policy in Iraq usefully shifts the center of analysis away from the reforms of Midhat Pasha to include the changing nature and consequences of centralization during the whole of the nineteenth century, while a similarly revisionist view demonstrates that the Anglo-Ottoman (Balta Liman) Convention of 1838 had very few immediate consequences in Iraq because of widespread opposition.

The heart of the book consists of detailed discussions of river routes, grain trade, commerce in horses, and regional market towns, all centering on southern Iraq during the period from 1830 to 1900. Much to the displeasure of British merchants, tribes along the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers collected duties on merchants' goods, often in collaboration with Ottoman authorities. British opposition and Ottoman centralization eventually curbed the power of the tribes and shifted trade routes toward Basrah. Eastern Arabian groups, Ottoman governors, and some Iraqi merchants originally controlled marketing and trade in grains and horses, while often using monopolies and manipulation of local markets as means of enriching themselves. As in riverine customs duties issues, British merchants after the 1860s also became preponderant in the grain and horse exporting business. When existing trading conditions became too adverse, merchants and even on occasion government officials would establish new trading emporia in which they could function more freely.

Unfortunately, these enlightening discussions are marred by several factors. The book assumes a high degree of knowledge among its readers, so there is not enough introductory material to make it accessible to non-specialists. This is particularly a problem in regard to the Mamluk epoch in Ottoman Iraq, a complex era that requires greater explanation than the author provides. Fattah rightly identifies the chief destination of Iraqi and Gulf exports as India, but she somewhat neglects the role of networks of merchants operating from Anatolia, northern Iraq, and western Arabia in

the commerce of the region. Only one map is present and it does not show some of the main places mentioned in the book. There are an annoyingly large number of minor typographical mistakes that the author or publisher should have corrected before publication.

For sources, Fattah relies chiefly on British records, local Arabic-language chronicles, and many seldom-utilized Arabic secondary studies, particularly Iraqi scholarly publications. Although these sources are deftly analyzed, she has not consulted one of the most important potential locations for information on her subject: the Ottoman archives located in Istanbul, Turkey. No primary or secondary Turkish or Persian-language sources are indicated in the bibliography. The author would have benefitted from consulting works dealing with northern Iraq written by Sarah D. Shields.

Despite these reservations, this book marks a major advance in the analysis of nineteenth-century Gulf economic history. Fattah's central thesis of the importance of flexible, regional, town-based merchant networks predating and resisting Western economic control will serve as the beginning point for many future historical studies.

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ABBAS AMANAT. *Pivot of the Universe: Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar and the Iranian Monarchy, 1831–1896*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xix, 536. \$45.00.

Nasir al-Din Shah ruled Iran from 1848 to 1896, during a period when its medieval institutions began to be challenged and transformed by changing circumstances both inside and outside the country. The rise of modern Western civilization and growing European international dominance reduced that country's status from a respectable player on the world scene to a nation whose fate was at the mercy of Britain and Russia, two powerful European superpowers.

Along with the neighboring Ottoman Empire and the Egyptian state, Iran was drawn into the world market. Although this involvement promoted economic growth in many sectors of Iranian society, the central government was not strong enough to share in the increased revenue generated by economic growth in order to enhance its authority. The empty treasury also prevented Iran from creating a strong military, introducing modern education, improving the antiquated infrastructure, and implementing other Western-style reforms.

Despite three visits to Europe, Nasir al-Din remained skeptical toward Western civilization. By contrast, the Ottoman and Egyptian rulers borrowed money from European banks and financial institutions whenever their resources ran out. Not surprisingly, both countries were forced to accept the dictates of European governments, who used the unpaid loans to

justify their intervention. Nasir al-Din's cautious and parsimonious character kept Iran out of debt, and as a result, less Westernized Iran maintained its territorial integrity.

Despite the fact that he presided over Iran's history in this crucial period, historians have considered few aspects of the political development of Nasir al-Din's reign. In particular, his role in the internal affairs of the country and in relations with Britain and Russia have been maligned. He has been described as indifferent, lethargic, and unconcerned about the condition of his country and its dealings with the outside world. He has been criticized for not initiating the types of reforms that the Ottoman and Egyptian rulers carried out. But he has not received credit for protecting Iran's territorial integrity and keeping it out of debt.

The absence of serious studies has made it difficult to judge Nasir al-Din's accomplishments and failures. But this lacuna is now filled by Abbas Amanat's excellent biography. He draws on a wide range of Persian and foreign sources to construct a nuanced narrative of the formative period of Nasir al-Din's reign. Amanat justifies his focus on the first decade of the reign by showing that during this period Nasir al-Din was transformed from a shy and insecure prince to an effective political leader. He became skilled at maneuvering and balancing conflicting elements within his kingdom and with the European superpowers.

Nasir al-Din's troubled relationship with his father, Muhammad Shah, who preferred his younger son, Abbas, to the heir apparent, left indelible marks on this ruler's personality. Amanat's discussion suggests that the sixteen-year old ruler viewed his first minister, Amir Kabir, as a father figure and explains why he was submissive and trusting in his dealings with him. Nasir al-Din apparently never forgave himself for going along with court intrigues against his beloved mentor, whom he dismissed and ordered killed. He never developed a similarly close relationship with any other subordinates.

Nasir al-Din's deeply rooted insecurity may account for his conservative regime. Amanat shows that Nasir al-Din was not uninterested in promoting change, since Iranian society did undergo substantial change during his period. But his dislike of confrontation prompted him to go along with the desire of the majority of his subjects rather than the aims of a small elite. His concern with preserving his own authority also made him abandon reform plans when faced with serious opposition. For example, he granted a concession for building a railroad in Iran to Baron Paul Julius von Reuter during his first trip to Europe in 1872. On his return, he discovered a large coalition against the concession and the vizier who had pushed for it. He sacrificed his minister and the plan to preserve his authority. The strength of this coalition prevented him from contemplating anything so vast again.

Amanat's is a masterful, detailed, and complex portrait of Nasir al-Din, which provides the reader with a good basis for appraising this ruler. He was

caught in the midst of serious external and internal forces over which he had little control. Moreover, in retrospect, his cautiousness may have served the country better than the frenzied efforts at reform in Egypt and the Ottoman Empire. During his reign, Iran did not plunge into hasty European-type reforms, which could have mortgaged large sectors of its economy to foreign institutions and governments.

Amanat's political biography of Nasir al-Din Shah will greatly benefit students of modern Iranian history. I hope that he will use his vast knowledge of this ruler and the period to give us a similar study of the remaining decades of Nasir al-Din's reign.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

MARSHALL S. CLOUGH. *Mau Mau Memoirs: History, Memory, and Politics*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner. 1998. Pp. x, 283. \$55.00.

This work is concerned with the role of memory in molding history, the role of history in shaping the present, and the responsibility of the present in shaping the past during the past half-century in Kenya. Its centerpiece is the Mau Mau revolt against British rule and the hegemonic dominance of the European settlers over the colonial state at mid-twentieth century. Marshall S. Clough foregrounds the memoirs of the Mau Mau combatants and detainees, giving them voices as witnesses of history and repositories of knowledge, experience, and meaning of Mau Mau, as well as critiques of the public memory of Mau Mau in independent Kenya since 1963. "The authors of Mau Mau memoirs have not only advanced their version of the past, but their narratives have often expressed, implicitly or explicitly, criticism of contemporary Kenya's treatment of the past and of the gap between the reality of the present day and the promise of the violent struggle for liberation" (p. 14).

The control of public memory of Mau Mau has always been contested: by the British Colonial Office and the colonial government in Nairobi, for both of whom it was an embarrassment; by the settlers and supportive anthropologist scholars like Louis Leakey and psychologist J. G. Carrothers, for whom it was a recusal back into barbarism and savagery; by the Christian missionaries to whom it appeared like a reincarnation of paganism; by the Kikuyu chiefs and landowners, for whom it was a negation of progress and primitive accumulation; by the vast majority of non-Kikuyu Kenyan Africans who could not understand the secrecy of the oaths and the usages of bodily fluids accompanying their taking, which smacked of bestiality; by a wide spectrum of society who believed in constitutionalism and abhorred the resort to violence; and by a postcolonial Kenyatta state that preached the message of "forgive and forget" as a way

of erasing the violent and differentiated Kikuyu past. The power of the Mau Mau past lies precisely in its positioning as the prior voice, of those who know best and feel most the experience and meaning of Mau Mau because they lived it while all their embarrassed detractors did not. Furthermore, as the veterans of the experiences they describe, they stand outside the academy in that they are not pursuing the scholarly detachment of the historians' guild, nor are their analyses displayed; rather, these are embedded in their narratives. Yet their voices remain clear about two issues: namely their nationalist credentials and their rightful place as the fighters for freedom who should not be forgotten.

The author identifies two cohorts of this corpus of writings. The first wave consisted of memoirs published immediately after independence by Josiah Mwangi Kariuki (1963), Karari Njama (1966), and Waruhiu Itote alias General China (1967). These works set out to refute the British version of Mau Mau as atavism. They sought to establish the credentials of Mau Mau as a nationalist movement by exposing the iniquities of British colonial rule, the brutality of the counterinsurgency, and the harshness of the detention camps. They denounced the collaborators and sought to bestow on the Mau Mau an honored place in the annals of Kenyan nationalism. They were remarkable in that the three authors had held very high positions during the revolt, Kariuki as a detainee spokesman, Njama as secretary to Dedan Kimathi, one of the two leading Mau Mau field marshals, and China as a prominent field commander in the forests and the first real insider to be captured by the British. Their perspectives brought into the open the high politics of Mau Mau as imbricated in Kikuyu and Kenyan nationalisms while creating a positive portrait of Mau Mau at both arenas.

The second cohort consisting of Joram Nyamweya (1971), Kiboi Muriithi (1971), Karigo Muchai (1973), Ngũgĩ Kabiro (1973), Mohammed Mathu (1974), Kahinga Wachanga (1975), Paul Maina (1976), Gucu Gikoyo (1979), published some ten years later, introduced subaltern perspectives on the movement and exposed the deep politics of the clan in Mau Mau and the fragmented nature of Mau Mau in action. The guts of this book lie in Clough's usage of these authors to construct narratives and interpretations on the key nodes of Mau Mau discourses: on the rise of militancy after World War II; on the crucial issue of the nature, content, and meaning of the oaths; on the war itself, both in the forests and in the reserves; on the role of the leaders, the obligations of the warriors and the gendered discourses in the camps; on the role of religion in the forests; on the relationship with civilians; on the ordeals of detention, rehabilitation, and resistance in the detention camps; and on the role of detention in confronting the memory of a bitter and conflicted past.

It was this conflicted past that fed into the politics of independent Kenya, with Mau Mau as the central

embarrassment that Jomo Kenyatta and his faction would wish away but that populist political leaders like Oginga Odinga, Bildad Kaggia, and later J. M. Kariuki would wish to sustain. Partial readings of the Mau Mau memoirs also served as the bedrock source of the frequently partisan salvoes that Kenyan historians and novelists have continued to fire across the great ideological and ethnic divides, characterized by the political tribalism of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o and Maina wa Kinyatti's appropriation of Mau Mau veterans as the only Kenyan nationalist war heroes as well as being the vanguard of Kikuyu moral ethnicity (but also, contradictorily, Marxist revolutionary heroes at the same time). The metanarratives of Mau Mau by Carl G. Rosberg and John Nottingham (1966), Robert Edgerton (1990), and Wunyabari Maloba (1993) continue to privilege academic analysis. The question remains as to whether there is any other narrative of Mau Mau better than that derived from the combatants as crafted by themselves. Clough suggests that their voices can carry the weight of the Mau Mau story as an event, memory, and history pretty much on their own. Where then does the guild historian begin, or come in?

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FLORENCE BERNAULT. *Démocraties ambiguës en Afrique centrale: Congo-Brazzaville, Gabon, 1940–1965*. (Collection Les Afriques.) Paris: Éditions Karthala. 1996. Pp. 423.

Florence Bernault's compelling book provides a political history of the last two decades of colonial rule in French Central Africa and concludes with the political consolidation of the newly independent regimes following the withdrawal of France in 1960. Her specific focus is on Gabon and Congo-Brazzaville and the political emergence of men like Léon M'ba and Fulbert Youlou, respectively the first heads of state of those two sparsely populated and densely forested countries. Bernault traces these men's political roots and explains the reasons for their rise to power in the remarkably fluid politics of the 1940s and 1950s. In the process, she has interesting things to say about such issues as the political role of ethnic identity, the manipulation of traditional symbols for political advantage, the emergence of a distinct urban African political culture, and elite and mass attitudes toward the electoral process.

To be sure, Bernault covers ground already well trodden by a generation of political scientists and journalists who analyzed the decolonization process as it was happening, and the reader will not find here startling new explanations for the independence-era politics of Africa. This is no revisionist work. Unlike her predecessors, however, Bernault has been able to make judicious use of recently released French colonial archives. In particular, her recourse to routine police reports allows her to provide a fascinating

account of events as seen through the eyes of the colonial administration.

Thanks to these new sources, the history that emerges does depart from previous accounts in several interesting ways. First, Bernault provides a clear reinterpretation of the role of ethnicity in independence politics. Historical analyses invariably viewed politicians like M'ba and Youlou as ethnic leaders who had mobilized their communities through clientelism. In these accounts, the sense of belonging to the Fang community in Gabon, or Lari identity in Congo, were longstanding and immutable facts of the region that politicians had merely harnessed to advance their own ambitions. In the intervening decades, the conventional wisdom has become that African political parties are essentially ethnic in nature and that ethnic identities are not primordial but rather largely a product of modernization. In sum, ethnic traditions have been invented, often rather recently. A great merit of the book is to document this process back to its roots. Bernault shows the remarkable fluidity of emerging ethnic identities and cleavages in Central Africa in the middle of the century, propelled by the rise in urbanization, various contingent circumstances, and the active manipulation of politicians jostling for short term advantage within the nascent electoral politics. The most successful politicians did not find a ready-made ethnic clientele but instead created and nurtured one through a discourse that ably manipulated both traditional and modern symbols.

Second, Bernault's account diverges from previous ones in showing the key role of European settlers in shaping local politics. In previous accounts, these settlers were either invisible or no more than auxiliaries of the colonial state and resolutely opposed to independence. Bernault demonstrates, on the contrary, that divisions within the European population shaped the independence struggle and that settler groups promoted African politicians in the hope of gaining leverage with the colonial states and thus better controlling their own political fates. Contrary to the nationalist iconography that was to emerge, successful African politicians were often those that had skillfully found an accommodation with key settler interests while simultaneously assembling an ethnic coalition—the latter, paradoxically, often thanks to antiwhite rhetoric. Indeed, both Youlou and M'ba cynically moved away from their settler supporters once they controlled the state apparatus and no longer needed their resources.

The book suffers from one minor flaw: Bernault writes for an audience already quite well informed about both countries and their histories. She moves back and forth between events in the two countries often, sometimes within the same paragraph. This leads to abrupt transitions that will leave some readers wondering in which country to place the obscure ethnic group or politician being referred to. Nonetheless, Bernault has produced quite an engaging account of decolonization in Central Africa that should prove

long useful to students of colonialism as well as of contemporary African politics.

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DAVID MAXWELL. *Christians and Chiefs in Zimbabwe: A Social History of the Hwesa People*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1999. Pp. x, 291. \$59.95.

David Maxwell's book is simultaneously an exploration of social, political, and religious changes specific to Northeastern Zimbabwe (Katerere) from the late pre-colonial period to the 1990s and a thoughtful and careful exploration of how religious change happens at the periphery of colonial and postcolonial development. This local study contributes significantly both to a growing historical literature on conversions to Christianity, and to the study of the construction and manipulation of tradition. Maxwell bridges his focus on local specificity and his general interest in religious change by emphasizing two themes: chieftaincy and Christianity.

The book begins with "the fundamental premise that there were never enough missionaries . . . to account for the remarkable expansion of Christianity in twentieth-century Africa" (p. 3). But instead of asserting this as an article of faith, Maxwell explains in detail, drawing on research that included interviewing "all the region's major religious and political leaders, and many of their practitioners and followers" (p. 5). Maxwell first reconstructs the precolonial economy and society, goes on to discuss the region's colonial political economy, and then integrates this context with a history of the various competing religious systems—indigenous ancestor and spirit faiths, Irish Carmelite Catholicism, and Ulster-derived Pentecostalism—as local people interpreted the faiths toward their own ends.

This discussion is extremely rich. Maxwell explores, for example, Pentecostals' multifaceted approach. Their medical missionaries, deeply devout, practiced "divine healing" (p. 85) and used their manipulation of sufferers' bodies as an opportunity to transform the local landscape. They allied themselves with local women, youth, and those constructing a new Manyika ethnic identity (rather than the Hwesa identity of local chiefs). This conversion of bodies, landscapes, and dissidents gradually tamed mediums. Razau Kaerezi, medium for Chikumbirike, watched his wife convert and his school-educated daughters join the Pentecostals. Then he found the river pools sacred to traditional practices taken over by Pentecostalist baptisms and testimony, and eventually he lost even the geography he had worked with, as the river was dammed and the Pentecostals controlled its flow. In the 1960s, he—albeit without accepting the mission's message—went to work as a cook for the Pentecostalist missionary, Dr. Cecil Brian (pp. 86–88).

Beyond an exploration of Christian conversion and inculturation in the 1950s and 1960s, Maxwell's study

takes us to the 1970s, adding to a rich historiography on the Chimurenga. In Katerere, he argues, guerillas drew on both indigenous religious expertise, such as that of mediums for nature and ancestral spirits, and popular Christianity. The medium Didi Rukadza, host of Nyawada, reworked local historical mythology as a "manifesto for resistance" (p. 131). Guerillas and local nationalists were suspicious of Christians and missions, seeing missions as agents of colonialism and opponents of socialism. Yet white missionaries could and did establish working relationships with guerillas when local Christians vouched for them. Christian hymns, reworked, became staples at guerilla meetings. African Christians working for the missions, however, experienced real dangers both from guerillas and government: workers at the Catholic station, Avila, for example, were interrogated and beaten arbitrarily by government forces after a visit by the guerillas (p. 129). And the white missionaries and their institutions were not workable when, concerned about violence, the mission moved from a region where the local population supported them to an area where they were strangers.

The book ends in postindependence Zimbabwe, with a succession dispute in Katerere that involved intricate politicking among lineages, factions, mediums, and the district administration. Traditional legitimacy became a vital issue. Maxwell characterizes the dispute and politics of the late 1980s as a time during which "Katerere's male gerontocratic elites reasserted themselves" through revivals of tradition and alliance with spirits and ancestors (p. 176). But, in an effective demonstration of the cyclical nature of change, he continues with a discussion of the newest pentecostalism, independent churches, and witchcraft eradication movements that have provided youth, women, and dissidents with cultural, spiritual, and organizational means for challenging and circumscribing neotraditional gerontocratic control.

This is an important book. It politely but firmly shows the complexities of local conversion, Christian institution building, ethnicity and traditional ideologies, and gerontocratic power. Attacking oversimplifications and assumptions about white and black, Christian and traditional, hegemony and resistance, it shows how the men, women, and youth of Katerere experienced and shaped colonial development, guerilla war, and the coming of Zimbabwe, coping locally with large-scale forces of change.

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ASHLEY JACKSON, *Botswana 1939-1945: An African Country at War*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University, 1999. Pp xiii, 281. \$72.00.

During World War II, some 600,000 Africans were enlisted as soldiers in the British Army. Most came from the East and West African colonies, with a much

smaller number being recruited from the High Commission Territories of southern Africa. Africans served in East and North Africa, the Levant, Italy, and the Indian and Burma theaters. Some men were recruited for combatant roles, but the majority of African soldiers were employed as noncombatants, laborers in uniform who dug trenches, guarded supply dumps and prisoners of war, unloaded ships, and head-carried military supplies up to the front line. A few Batswana troops served as gunners, a combatant role they viewed with great pride. The official view at the time was that African soldiers were volunteers, an idea that has been promoted by some historians. However, varying forms of compulsion were used by colonial and indigenous rulers to impress men for the war effort. Men might go with the appearance of dutiful response, but often they were effectively conscripted.

Ashley Jackson's book, which began life as a Ph.D. dissertation, looks at the impact of World War II on the Bechuanaland Protectorate. A main focus of the study (parts one and three) is on the recruitment, employment and demobilization of the 11,000 men of the African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps who served principally as military labor in the Mediterranean campaigns. Part two deals with the "Home Front" and the impact of war on Bechuanaland's society and economy. This section is particularly good on the role of wartime agriculture and the official "warlands" policy to boost grain production that proved so unpopular. As always in war, in the absence of men, the burdens of production and of maintaining family life were mainly borne by women and the elderly. Jackson uses this rather limited and exceptional example of an economically weak colony heavily dependent on South Africa to challenge the view that a war-weakened Britain was obliged to make concessions to African and international critics of colonial rule. The idea that toward the end of the war there was a "moral panic" among colonial officials at the prospect of the demobilization of African troops is discounted, and Jackson concludes, surely correctly for his own territory but equally for most other British colonies, that veterans did not make a significant contribution to the politics of postwar Bechuanaland.

This is a well-written study solidly based on the extensive official and private papers principally in London and Oxford but also in the Botswana National Archives in Gaborone. A most valuable part of the book is the voice of Africans, those often forgotten participants in the military and domestic business of war; in regimental records, Africans are usually only mentioned when they were involved in acts to be commended or condemned. Jackson's African voices of war are drawn from two sources, some sixty interviews recorded with veterans (and from a few soldiers' wives), and the cache of letters addressed by soldiers to Tshekedi Khama, chief of the Bangwato at Serowe, which were translated by students of the late Michael Crowder. The soldiers' accounts of their experience of war provide a rich patina of authenticity, adding color,

feel, and smell to a story that would have been rather dull if based only on official sources.

The Batswana chiefs Tshekedi and Bathoen aided colonial military recruitment for two reasons: as a way of getting rid of local troublemakers who might challenge their authority, and also as a way of indicating their loyalty to Britain in an attempt to guarantee against any transfer of Bechuanaland territory to South African administration. Most recruits enlisted because they were told to and obediently went off to war enduring the rigors of separation from family and friends. One soldier, writing to Tshekedi Khama, had heard of his wife's desertion: "I am asking myself the following question every day is that person whom I regard as my wife present or has she decided to venture for pastures green in other areas . . . Please question her on my behalf your honour." In Jackson's book, there are many such poignant voices, as well as those detailing the boredom of military life and the excitement of cities, ships, and battle. This oral evidence used so well here still remains a deep albeit ageing source for scholars that can be mined for this crucial watershed period of Africa's recent history.

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GESINE KRÜGER. *Kriegsbewältigung und Geschichtsbewußtsein: Realität, Deutung und Verarbeitung des deutschen Kolonialkriegs in Namibia 1904 bis 1907*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 133.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1999. Pp. 344.

This study of the German-Herero War of 1904–1907, which the author terms the "first genocide in German History" (p. 7), and its subsequent impact on the social, cultural, and historical consciousness of the Herero people, grows out of a 1995 Ph.D. dissertation done at the University of Hanover. Calling it a "contribution to both German and African history" (p. 7), Gesine Krüger's book is the second recent study on that war and its aftermath to come out of a German university; the other is Jan-Bart Gewald's *Herero Heroes, A Socio-Political History of the Herero of Namibia 1890–1923* (1999). Gewald argues that a new specific Herero identity came together at the funeral of Samuel Maharero in 1923. The funeral also brought back Herero that had been living in exile. On the basis then of the *Otruppe*, a social organization based upon the German army that gave Herero males some meaning, and Christian missionary endeavor, Herero society reconstituted itself after the genocide of the Herero War as it continued to struggle against the imposed South African regime.

Krüger's work deals more with the war itself, including new, detailed views of individual German soldiers as well as Herero constructs of the war in memory, tradition, and ritual, and she carries the story down to 1945. Even as military history, this reviewer believes Krüger goes beyond Jon M. Bridgman's *The Revolt of*

the Hereros (1981), still the classic short text on the war in English, and Gerhardus Poole's, *Die Herero-Opstand 1904–1907* (1979). In my own book on the war, *German Colonialism and the South West Africa Company* (1988), I have argued that German colonial policy in South West Africa had been determined by the expected profits. What is the final object of colonization anywhere, even if it does not come to pass? To make money. This realistic and practical assessment of colonialism guided German policy in South West Africa, and it would lead inevitably to the virtual destruction of the Herero people. In short, the Germans massacred the Hereros to take the land for British capital in the form of the South West Africa Company, Ltd. If one accepts the ideas of Helmut Bley, that the Herero genocide contributed to the later actions of the Nazis and the Shoah, then the British complicity in the attempted extermination leads to a logical conclusion that genocide was not merely utilized by the Germans but was common to all Europeans in the age of imperialism. This would support the thesis of the African writer Aimée Césaire that Nazism and Adolf Hitler's war came about as the culmination of European imperial capitalism. The question of whether or not genocide actually took place and its relationship to Nazi policies has subsequently gotten lost in a sea of meaningless debate about numbers acutely killed and definitions of genocide. Krüger cautiously assesses the evidence and concludes that everything about the Herero case seems to point to, but not necessarily make inevitable, the Shoah. As with so many historical questions, the German-Herero War seems to invite no final, right interpretation.

This study also marks the first serious attempt to deal with the experience of Herero women and children in the history of Namibia. Krüger reveals that women constituted an integral component of Herero nationalism. Strict chronology and narrative have been abandoned in favor of the development of a number of themes or reflections and speculations. Dare I say that Krüger has written a postmodern history? In the new postmodern historical genre, historians do not recount events or tell stories. Instead, they scrutinize the stories and accounts of events that others have told or written or, as in the case of the Hereros and the Germans, have not told or written. History is as much about forgetting as remembering. In Krüger's history the writing about the war and the ritualization of the war became as important as the actual waging of it. In methodology this book bears a resemblance to Jill Lepore's *The Name of War: King Philip's War and American Identity* (1998). The author seeks the significance of writing in everyday life, and the research done in Namibia convinced Krüger that more of the common people wrote than was previously thought. After the German-Herero War, work parties collectively organized evening literacy classes.

Ethnographically astute, Krüger argues along with Gewald that the funeral of Samuel Maharero in 1923 occupied a central place in the reformulation of Her-

ero identity. But she goes on to state that after the funeral, based on *Orte der Erinnerung* (places of memory), the Herero people recreated a point network representing the old watering holes in pre-German Namibia that defined Herero society and land, thus allowing them symbolically to reoccupy their homeland. Krüger seeks to counter the argument that the Hereros were so beaten down that they wanted to commit race suicide, as well as the ethnographic practice of attributing sickness and suffering to a group of people through the discourse of others (i.e. anthropologists and historians).

Krüger has written a significant and innovative study that, along with the work by Gewald, goes far beyond previous studies of the Hereros that offered almost no insight into Herero history and culture after (or even prior to) 1904. Such studies reveal just how hard the Herero people fought to maintain their freedom and just how resilient and determined they were in the struggle to regain it.

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RICHARD ELPHICK and RODNEY DAVENPORT, editors. *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History*. (Perspectives on Southern Africa, number 55.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 480. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport have edited a compilation of the research of twenty-nine authors of differing backgrounds from eight different countries. It seeks to provide a basis for making Christianity a defining theme in the history of South Africa. In his introduction, Elphick contends that religious history has been relegated to "only a marginal role, or to no role at all" in the general history of South Africa (p. 2). He contends that it is found now only in "micro-narratives," whereas general histories are dominated by the "macro-narratives" of colonialism, capitalism, and liberation. He acknowledges that this book confirms "the uneven state of research" in the area of religious history but sees it as a start toward creating the basis for a new macro-narrative of religion for the future histories of the country.

The book has five parts. The first narrates the history of Christianity during the colonial era, the second continues it from unification to the present. The third part examines the roles of religious "subcultures." The fifth part analyzes the theological basis of the four religious groups and evaluates how each applied them in their response to apartheid. The fourth part is a digression that does not contribute to the primary objective of this book.

The first part, "The Transplanting of Christianity," has seven chapters. The first chronicles the foundations of the Dutch Reformed Church at the Cape and the emergence of the doctrine that settlers were "covenant people." It describes the relationships of

colonists to indigenous Khoikhoi people and to immigrant slaves. The second chapter examines the introduction of missionary work in the Dutch period, first by the Moravian Brethren and then by the London Missionary Society and the Methodists. It chronicles the complex attempts by missionaries to obtain equitable treatment for the Khoi and slaves within the colony and to go to the interior to teach Africans.

Chapter three broadens the narrative to encompass the arrival of English settlers, the abolition of slavery, the encroachment of Dutch settlers on the lands of Africans, and the discovery of minerals. It explains how doctrine, language, ethnicity, race, and the mission system fragmented the religious community.

The next three chapters describe the introduction of Christianity among the Xhosa, the Zulu and Swazi, and the Sotho and Tswana. They explain how different African societies confronted similar problems of accommodating the new religion as well as facing the unequal competition of the white people, and how they used missionaries in their dealings with the colony, and how they experimented with ways to preserve their independence. Janet Hodgson illustrates this with the examples of two Xhosa prophets: Nxele, who tried unsuccessfully to revert to African spiritual beliefs as the basis for physical resistance, and Ntsikana, who absorbed the Christian message and gathered a following to worship the Christian god independent of the domination of missionaries. Both became examples that others followed. Although he died in 1821, Ntsikana's "Great Hymn" is still used in Christian services. The last chapter of this part describes the chaotic developments in Transorangia, where the Griqua, Sotho, and Tswana competed with migrant white trekkers and miners for dominance in the area, and traces how various missionary societies tried to plant their variety of Christianity.

Part two continues the narrative from the unification of South Africa in 1910 to the present. It has separate chapters that consider the Afrikaner churches, the English-speaking churches, the Lutheran missions and churches, the Roman Catholic Church, African Initiated Churches (AIC), and the Pentecostal movement. In the first of these chapters, Johann Kinghorn asserts that "political, ideological, or economic perspectives, though valuable, cannot alone penetrate the core of the matter" (p. 135). He declares that only by including the perspective of religion can we understand the political behavior of Afrikaners. He attempts to provide that perspective. The next chapter describes the persistent but often ineffectual reaction of the English churches. The third explains the increasing role of the Roman Catholic Church, which has recently grown into the largest denomination in the country and which has taken a courageous stand against apartheid. The next chapter evaluates the experience of the Lutherans to explain how the many different Lutheran missions, which once operated more than a third of the mission stations in the country, now number only 2.1 percent of the population, virtually all of whom are Africans. The

author attributes this decline to internal conflicts and to the Lutherans' timid approach to apartheid and political issues.

Two chapters on the AIC and the Pentecostals illuminate an astounding religious revolution in South Africa. The authors note that by 1991, 47 percent of all black Christians belonged to one of these churches, which exceeds the combined membership of all mainline South African churches (p. 211). These independent churches originated around 1880 when African clergy seceded from the mainline churches in order to assume leadership roles. The first group, known as "Ethiopian," thrived until about 1926. Then new "Spiritual" or "Zion" churches grew quickly to outnumber them. They emphasized different doctrines, such as "divine healing, baptism of adults by immersion in the name of the Trinity, and the belief in the imminent return of Christ" (p. 217). A third type, the Pentecostal movement, which includes Afrikaner as well as African branches, then rose to form the largest category. The authors challenge the claim that the AICs are apolitical by relating instances of their involvement in the political struggle. The authors make a convincing case for including the AICs in the macro narrative of modern South Africa.

The third section of this book discusses the role of "Christianity in South African Subcultures." The first subcultures they examine are the migrant workers on the mines and the women's organizations. Both of these groups have expanded the influence of Christianity in modern South Africa. For example, the author shows how missionaries followed their members to the mines in order to provide them social services and needed skills, such as literacy. Expanding their literacy classes to include non-Christians, they made many converts, who then returned home to share their new religion with their kinsmen. Women's organizations have become a vital part of modern churches. The most visible women's groups are in the AICs, where they wear distinctive colorful uniforms. The cover of this book features a photograph of an African women's group, colorfully dressed, waving the new South African flag. The author explains the significant roles women play in white and missions churches as well as in AICs. In the latter, some have assumed the mantle of prophet.

The next chapters detail the relationship of Christianity with Muslims, Jews, and Indians. The first explains how the early advantage Islam had in converting slaves disappeared with abolition, the massive Christian missionary endeavor, and the continuing immigration of Europeans through the nineteenth century. It overlooks the Indian Muslim immigrants in Natal. Two short chapters then discuss the changing fortunes of the Jews and Indians. The first explains the challenges Jews faced because of Nazi propaganda in World War II and their improved status since. The next discusses the experience of the Indians in Natal, who came as indentured workers on sugar plantations. Churches sent missionaries to the few who were Chris-

tian and made a few converts until 1925. Then Pentecostal ministers began a ministry among them. From then until 1980, the percent of Christian Indians rose from four percent to 12.5 percent, over half of them joining Pentecostal churches. Hindu leaders have since initiated a campaign to reactivate their interest in Hinduism.

Part four discusses "Christianity and the Creative Arts," including literature, music, and architecture. While these chapters offer interesting insights, they do not contribute to the main objectives of this book. The final part, entitled, "Christianity, Power and Race," analyzes the theological bases of the struggle over segregation and apartheid and how it was played out in the different categories of churches in South Africa. It first analyzes "Millennial Christianity, British Imperialism and African nationalism" by explaining the philosophical distinction between "Postmillennialism" and "Premillennialism" and how they influenced politics. The exposition of these theories and the evidence used to support it will undoubtedly trigger further study. The next chapter explores the ambiguous attempts to introduce "Social Christianity" to improve the material condition of Africans. Elphick concludes that the determined efforts of many well-intentioned people failed. He does, however, concede that the experiment "did inspire a dissenting opinion of faith in human equality and the possibility of ethnic and racial conciliation that, once purged of paternalism, inspired powerful strands of resistance in the era of Apartheid" (p. 369).

The next chapter provides a detailed theological analysis of how various constituent churches and groups responded to apartheid after 1948. Theological differences explain why the fight was so long and acrimonious. It is a tale of an excruciating process of creating a prophetic challenge that would galvanize action and of how it succeeded by heroic efforts of inspired leaders. The discussion ends with a cautionary note that the future still holds challenges for the whites who will lose their privileged positions in a free society and for the blacks who wait impatiently for their expected benefits.

This book, then, is a compendium of micro-narratives on topics related to the history of Christianity in South Africa. It is obvious that the macro-narrative Elphick seeks will require further exploration. As is typical of collections, there are varied writing styles and awkward duplications and omissions. Nonetheless, it offers thought-provoking analyses. Though it lacks a bibliography, the endnotes provide an excellent basis for further study. Judging the book by the editors' stated objectives, it succeeds in providing insightful micro-narratives for consideration in building a macro-narrative of religious history in a future general history of South Africa. It is a thought-provoking book that I highly recommend.

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Film Reviews

GLADIATOR. Produced by David H. Franzoni and Branko Lustig; directed by Ridley Scott; written by David H. Franzoni. 2000; color; 154 minutes. Distributor: Dreamworks and Universal Pictures.

The year 1999 was marked by the number of critically acclaimed films addressing masculinity and its discontents. The subject of compromised masculinity underpinned such notable productions such as Spike Jonze's *Being John Malkovich*, David Fincher's *Fight Club*, and Ben Younger's *Boiler Room* (premier January 2000), but perhaps no other film in recent history has lavished such serious attention on the threats and anxieties plaguing the contemporary American male than Sam Mendes's Academy Award-sweeping *American Beauty*. *American Beauty* did not just put a human face on male midlife crisis; it redeemed its pitiful lusts, justified its transparent compensations, and, ultimately, heroized its inherent misogyny through a glow of art and sympathy. In the martyring of Kevin Spacey's Lester Burnham, the wounded soul of American manhood was indeed touched by an angel.

Based on the evidence of such a collection of films, the late twentieth century would seem exclusively populated by physically, emotionally, and sexually compromised males. Perhaps for this reason, several recent high-profile films celebrating good old-fashioned masculinity and its values (muscle and honor) have been set either in the past, as in *The Patriot*, or the future, such as in *X-Men*. Grander and broader in audience appeal than either of these two films, Ridley Scott's *Gladiator* provides physically and cinematically muscled reassurance that there was once a time when men were men and the world loved them for it.

Set in 180 C.E., and admitting historical personages such as the emperor-philosopher Marcus Aurelius and his son and successor Commodus into its fictional storyline, *Gladiator* centers on Maximus Decimus Berilius (Russell Crowe), the emperor's finest general and chosen successor. Before the succession can be made official, Commodus (Joaquin Phoenix) murders his father, assumes the throne, and orders Maximus's execution, which, of course, fails. The film then follows Maximus's misfortunes—the murder of his wife and son, his abduction by slave traders and sale to an

owner of gladiators—to his eventual resurrection and revenge as a gladiator in the Roman arena.

Not surprisingly, *Gladiator* contains a number of tropes familiar to cinematic representations of ancient Rome. Many critics have already pointed out *Gladiator*'s debt to *I Claudius* (1976), in particular for the element of political intrigue, reinforced by the casting of Derek Jacobi as the senator Gracchus. To historical epics such as *Ben-Hur* (1959), *Quo Vadis* (1951), and *Spartacus* (1960), it owes such motifs as the duel between rivals and the carnage of the games. Echoes of Leni Riefenstahl's use of architecture to reinforce epic quality in *Triumph of the Will* (1934) are most evident in the sequences set in Rome itself. The extent to which *Gladiator* borrows from earlier Roman epics highlights the way historical dramas set in antiquity speak as much, if not more, to one another as they speak about the past. To this end, *Gladiator*'s engagement with cinematic history ranges beyond simple quotation. Richard Harris's brief appearance as the aging Marcus Aurelius suggests a link between the grandeur of Rome and the brief and shining moment that was Camelot; the casting of Djimon Hounsou, hero of *Amistad* (1997), as Juba, Maximus's fellow slave and gladiator, lends a certain gravity to the issues of slavery and cultural difference that the narrative itself touches upon only lightly.

That said, it must also be noted that, from the opening battle sequence, in which a superbly organized Roman army—featuring an appropriately stirrup-less cavalry—battles a horde of technologically impotent barbarians in Germania, to the stunning, computer-aided recreation of the Roman Colosseum, *Gladiator* presents ancient Rome in exquisite and often historically accurate detail. As in the case of cinematic history, however, the specific aspects of the late empire that the film foregrounds and the way they are deployed are most revealing about the contemporary West and its investment in history. For example, despite the fact that the film's "real Romans" speak with British accents, *Gladiator* makes clear that "Rome" included vast geographical territories and a broad cultural spectrum. Thus, not only does Maximus begin his career as a gladiator in North Africa, but the crowd nicknames him "The Spaniard" because of his origins. That a leading general could be a Spaniard is

hardly surprising, especially considering that many of the most noteworthy Silver Age writers, including Seneca, Lucian, Martial, and Quintilian, came from Spain. Yet, for all its historical accuracy, inclusion of or references to the far-flung reaches of the empire function above all to play up imperial Rome's multiculturalism.

The image of a multicultural Rome reflects, at one level, our contemporary investment in diversity. But as Maximus is grouped among a clique of racially mixed gladiators—none of whom speak with proper British accents—it also becomes an emblem of undervalued democratic ideals and a tool of the oppressed. Set against the plotting elitist senators and a psychologically twisted young emperor, Maximus and his diverse band (recalling the crew of *Star Trek*) prove once again that concerted difference is always the best strategy. Finally, set alongside Juba's Africanness, Maximus's Spanishness and the accented speech of Hagen the barbarian play up the notion of white ethnicity, following a trend established in *Rob Roy* (1995) and *Braveheart* (1995).

For all its investment in historical detail and contemporary concerns about race and class, *Gladiator* exhibits above all its stake in the recuperation of manliness through its unabashed delight in the male body. Whether on the battlefield or in the arena, honor is found in combat. Just as soldiers win freedom for the populace, gladiators are able to liberate themselves from servitude if they perform exceptionally. And because, as the film reminds us, "The beating heart of Rome is the sand of the Colosseum," Maximus's triumphs in the arena translate into political power. As Commodus's sister Lucilla puts it: "Today I saw a slave become more powerful than the Emperor of Rome." By wedding physical prowess to honor, mercy, and leadership, *Gladiator* suggests that masculine power and male aggression provide more than mere catharsis for marginal and disempowered young men. Quite the contrary, the ability to wield a well-muscled body constitutes the bedrock of civilized society.

And it is, finally, those well-muscled bodies that leave perhaps the most indelible impression. While the collective forms of Crowe, Hounsou, and Ralph Moeller offer a model for multiculturalism, they present to an even greater degree a study in masculine beauty. Highlighted by quick cuts and close-ups that recall the style of MTV, the gladiatorial combats ground humanity in sweaty male corporeality. At one point, a tired Marcus Aurelius laments: "There was a dream that was Rome." Rome here remains very much a dream. But whereas earlier dramas set in ancient times projected dreams of the idealized nation or technological superiority, *Gladiator's* dream is of simple "natural" manhood: a noble heart cloaked beneath iron-hard pecs and a gleaming breastplate.

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LONGITUDE. Produced by Selwyn Roberts; written and directed by Charles Sturridge. 2000; color; 250 minutes. Distributor: Arts and Entertainment Network.

At first glance, the idea of making an entertaining and informative film about the eighteenth-century search to establish the true position of invisible lines around the earth does not sound promising. After all, the success of costume dramas generally has a great deal to do with the visuals. But such films also depend on drama. While not lacking in visual effects, dramatically this movie has much to offer. Like Dava Sobel's highly successful book, *Longitude* (1995), upon which this movie is based, the filmmakers realized that they could provide a good deal of drama by showing the impact of *not* having a dependable way to determine longitude. Therefore, both the book and the film begin with the tragic misadventures of a British admiral with the marvelous name of Sir Clowdisley Shovell. In 1707, because he miscalculated his position in the English Channel, he managed to run a good portion of his fleet on to the rugged coast of the Scilly Isles and cause the death of over sixteen hundred men.

The answer to the navigation problem was a reliable time piece, a chronometer that worked reliably even on the high seas. The reason is that for every fifteen degrees traveled round the earth, the time changes by one hour. If the traveler knows the time at the starting point—say Greenwich, England—and the time of the current location, the position is easily calculated.

The story of the man who invented the device that enabled navigators accurately to keep track of time, John Harrison (1693–1776), provides the more personal aspects of the film's drama. Harrison was a carpenter from a little town in the north of England who was fascinated by clocks. A parliamentary act of 1714 offered £20,000 for any practical method to determine longitude to an accuracy of half a degree of the great circle. After more than a decade of wild proposals, two of which the film shows with great comic verve, the money remained unclaimed. Harrison then set to work to gain that prize. Along the way, he had to battle not only financial and technical problems but also a segment of the scientific establishment embodied in the Board of Longitude, which had the legal responsibility of awarding the prize.

The eighteenth-century focus of the story evidently made the filmmakers uneasy, so they used an actual twentieth-century figure, Rupert Gould, to guide the audience through the intricacies of the science. Gould, a naval veteran of World War I, became fascinated and ultimately totally obsessed with restoring the four original clocks Harrison had built two centuries earlier. The film thus tells parallel stories, sometimes switching between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries in alternating scenes, showing the similarities between Harrison and Gould as human beings and as geniuses who occasionally did more than just verge on madness.

The filmmakers provided a talented cast with a

script amazingly free of pain-inducing lines. Michael Gambon plays Harrison and Jeremy Irons portrays Gould. Besides bearing a striking resemblance to portraits of Harrison, Gambon got inside the character and made him entirely convincing. Irons has made a career out of playing tortured souls, and Gould was well within his range.

As is true of so many British productions, this one provides a good deal of fine social history. In the eighteenth-century segments, the film illustrates the social scene by showing upper-class attitudes toward the "mechanic" Harrison that ranged from contempt to paternalism. In the movie's portrait of the eighteenth-century British navy, the casual corruption and authoritarianism of its officers come through clearly. In the early twentieth-century segments, the film sketches in the social background by showing, for example, how people responded to the newspaper publicity about the scandal of Gould's marital problems.

Since this review is appearing in a journal devoted to history, the final question must be: how historically accurate is the film? The answer is that, for all the major matters, it is quite accurate. There are, of course, some minor things that those seeking perfection will find annoying: in one of the eighteenth-century scenes, when a naval captain orders the mizzen top sail lowered, the main topgallant goes down instead; in the twentieth century, Gould did not restore Harrison's four clocks in order of their construction, as the film indicates. Even so, anyone who finds that historical inaccuracies of this magnitude ruin the film probably should watch movies of another sort. *Longitude* is one of the few historical dramas that manages to maintain a high degree of historical accuracy while still working as an entertaining drama. Those responsible deserve full credit for that accomplishment.

ROY SCHREIBER
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THE CROSSING. Produced by David Coatsworth; directed by Robert Harmon; written by Howard Fast. 1999; color; 90 min. Broadcast by Arts and Entertainment Network.

THE PATRIOT. Produced by Dean Devlin, Mark Gordon, and Gary Levinsohn; directed by Roland Emmerich; written by Robat Rodat. 2000; color, 160 min. Distributor: Columbia Pictures.

The Civil War and Reconstruction have provided the background for hundreds of motion pictures, many of them classics. By contrast, the American Revolution has been highlighted in surprisingly few movies—most notably *Scouting for Washington* (1917), *The Spirit of '76* (1917), *Cardigan* (1922), *America* (1924), *Janice Meredith* (1924), *The Scarlet Coat* (1955), *Johnny Tremaine* (1957), *John Paul Jones* (1959), *The Devil's Disciple* (1959), *1776* (1973), and *Revolution* (1985)—

none of which achieved either popular success or critical favor. The most popular features set in colonial times elided themes related to the struggle for independence in favor of the Western's motifs of settlement and conflict with the Indians, such as *Allegheny Uprising* (1939), *Drums along the Mohawk* (1939), *The Howards of Virginia* (1940), and the many film versions of *The Last of the Mohicans*. Television offerings have included the short-lived series "The Young Rebels" (1970–1971), which tried to draw parallels with the radicalism of the 1960s; the two miniseries *George Washington* (1983, 1986), starring Barry Bostwick in the title role; and the miniseries "The Swamp Fox" (1959–1960), still frequently repeated on Disney commercial and cable programming.

From a commercial standpoint, the Revolution was the main American historical conflict that was adversarial for Hollywood's longtime principal secondary market, England. From the 1920s through the 1950s and beyond, Hollywood treated British history and institutions gingerly because that country's censorship could keep any unfavorable depictions from reaching British screens, rendering such productions predictably unprofitable. D. W. Griffith's *America* turned the Revolution's antagonists from the British to a fictional Walter Butler, an American Tory whose ultimate goal was establishing his own dominion. *The Scarlet Coat* was so skewed toward Anglo-American unity as to cast its English hero as a true visionary, while for the Americans, whether Tory or revolutionary, the ends justified the means. In "The Swamp Fox," the antagonists of the rebels were invariably referred to by such euphemisms as redcoats or His Majesty's troops; they were never called British even in Walt Disney's historical introductions. Only in very recent years, with such historical adventure pictures as *Rob Roy* and *Braveheart*, has the pro-British bias shifted.

The motivations for the American Revolution may also be too complex to adapt easily to the screen. A film about the American Revolution requires the implicit admission that the United States was once a colony, subject to an overseas power. More importantly, American audiences may be uncomfortable with the radicalism of their forebears. The dominant interpretation of the themes of the American Revolution has therefore been undertaken by Hollywood in metaphorical terms, as historical adventure films. The genre's political motif emphasizes the overthrow of tyranny and injustice and the triumph of the political values that underlie democratic institutions, with middle-class insurrections led by such cinematic figures as Robin Hood, Zorro, or William Wallace. The adventure genre's remote, often ill-defined setting allows all audiences to applaud a hero espousing these goals, regardless of their own nationality, with Hollywood applying fundamentally contemporary American political attitudes to any historical period.

Many films about the Revolution inherently fall into the historical adventure genre, as do the two most recent examples, *The Crossing* and, especially, *The*

Patriot. *The Patriot* emulates the single most successful dramatization of the Revolution, "The Swamp Fox," which forthrightly employs the historical adventure structure in relating the conflict between Francis Marion and Banastre Tarleton. The hero and villain of *The Patriot* are clearly reminiscent of Marion and Tarleton, as farmer Benjamin Martin reluctantly becomes the leader of a band fighting the British from the Carolina swamps. The emphasis in both *The Patriot* and "The Swamp Fox" is not on armies but on the potentially more interesting guerilla-type operations of irregulars, an adventure motif modeled on Robin Hood's band. The key tragedy of "The Swamp Fox" is the death in the fighting of Marion's teenage nephew, Gabe, just when he has fallen in love; the parallel loss in *The Patriot* is Martin's son, Gabriel, first in the family to join the Continental Army. *The Patriot* follows the lead of "The Swamp Fox" in showing significant black participation in the Revolution: a community of free ex-slaves that offers refuge to Martin's family becomes an ideal metaphor for the revolutionaries' own desire for freedom. Tarleton in "The Swamp Fox" is less evil than the similarly named Tavington in *The Patriot* only because of the limits on what could be shown at the time. The fighting itself is portrayed in a bloodier way than in years past, and the actions of the antagonists are heightened by the film's ascending violence. Martin's family, not politics, is his first concern, but he learns from his sons the necessity of the war for independence, just as they, in turn, come to realize the meaning of warfare that dismayed their father. A few critics have attempted to read ideological statements into *The Patriot*, just as *Patriot* star Mel Gibson's *Braveheart* was also interpreted by some in this way, but in fact both movies follow basic historical adventure genre conventions.

While *The Patriot* blurs the distinction between fact and fiction and is removed from well-known events because it depicts the American Revolution's less familiar southern campaign, *The Crossing* enacts a famous incident at least partly known to most viewers, and the film strives for authenticity in character and events. Howard Fast's script, from his own novelistic history of the same name (1971; reprinted to accompany the film), finds the inherent drama in fact. The film depicts a military episode at the end of 1776, when the Continental Army first retreated, then attacked, across the Delaware River. With the deepening of winter, the river would turn from a barrier to ice that opened the way to a British onslaught, but meanwhile it facilitated a surprise assault on the small force of Hessians placed opposite the American encampment. Concentrating on George Washington convincing his officers of his plan, rowing his entire army across the river at night, and the attack on Trenton the following morning, the events unfold in an ordered, labeled sequence.

Those around Washington figure prominently, principally Hugh Mercer, John Glover, Henry Knox, and especially a callow Alexander Hamilton as Washing-

ton's right-hand man, with the documentary element enhanced by a long postscript indicating what became of each man. Jeff Daniels proves to be an ideal Washington in perhaps the best performance ever achieved in this difficult role. While emphasizing Washington's human side and comparative youth, rather than the traditional stiff and sanctified image, Daniels is still an imposing figure who bears a physical resemblance to Washington and conveys his steadfastness in circumstances that led those around him to expect surrender. The film can only be faulted for its failure to note the immediate aftermath of the battle of Princeton and for two brief patches of dialogue in a wholly modern vernacular, one an attempt to provide humor and the other exonerating Hessian motives.

The Patriot benefits from convincing widescreen location photography in the South Carolina setting, epic length, a budget well over \$100 million, and the highly publicized assistance of the Smithsonian Institution in providing historical detail. *The Crossing*, shot around Toronto, has its share of poetic images but lacks this big-screen spectacle. *The Patriot* transforms history itself into an adventure by showing one family caught up in "the grand sweep of events," but *The Crossing* is unprecedented as a dramatically engaging yet primarily factual filmic treatment of the Revolution. By keeping invention to a minimum, *The Crossing* offers perhaps the most ideal reconstruction to date of both the Revolution and the elusive persona of Washington.

BRIAN TAVES

Library of Congress

CRADLE WILL ROCK. Produced by Jon Kilik, Lydia Jean Pilcher, and Tim Robbins; written and directed by Tim Robbins. 1999; color; 134 minutes. Distributor: Buena Vista Pictures.

In *Arena* (1940), her account of the Federal Theatre, Hallie Flanagan recalled an appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) to defend the Works Progress Administration (WPA) program she directed. During her testimony, she was questioned about an article she had written in a theatre magazine that alluded to Christopher Marlowe; Congressman Joseph Starnes wanted to know whether "this Marlowe" was a Communist. The hearing room broke up in laughter. That is just one of the multitude of stories that Tim Robbins weaves into the occasionally dizzying *Cradle Will Rock*, his film about the 1937 production of Marc Blitzstein's musical play, *The Cradle Will Rock*, and its tumultuous social, political, and cultural context. Robbins's juggling of intersecting narratives, the press of characters—famous, forgotten, and anonymous—and the film's often frenzied pacing reminded this reviewer of a man trying to keep a succession of plates spinning (a metaphor rendered redundant when we glimpse an old timer's self-same balancing act in a scene that augurs the death of vaudeville). What make the whole worthy of

our attention, however, are Robbins's larger ambitions and the film's triumphant finale, which recreates the historic first performance, described by Archibald MacLeish at the time as "the most exciting evening of theatre this New York generation has seen."

Blitzstein's work, written in 1936 and dedicated to Bertolt Brecht (in the film he acts as Blitzstein's muse/conscience), concerned a union-organizing drive in "Steeltown, U.S.A." Passionate, sardonic, and unabashedly pro-union, the play was snapped up by Flanagan for the Federal Theatre, and John Houseman and Orson Welles's Project 891 were recruited to produce it. All agreed that it represented a dramatic departure in American musical theatre. None could have envisioned just how timely it would be: the week that rehearsals began also saw the start of organizing drives against Little Steel, and the following months were marked by some of the bloodiest labor battles of the 1930s. Rich material, then, for a film, yet Robbins ranges much further afield to pursue his twin themes of artistic independence and the purpose of art. Thus, Diego Rivera and Nelson Rockefeller spar over a mural commissioned for the Rockefeller Center; William Randolph Hearst pays off Margherita Sarfatti, Benito Mussolini's lover and publicist, for smuggled art; fictional steel baron Gray Mathers conspires to undermine "communism" at home and abroad while Countess LaGrange, his dilettantish wife, cultivates her interest in theater; and ventriloquist Tommy Crickshaw (a brilliant performance by Bill Murray) fights a rearguard action in defense of his doomed art and rails against the Left's influence in the Federal Theatre ("Reds are glum, serious people").

Robbins's attempt to shoehorn as many as possible of the 1930s preoccupations into his script leads him to conflate events and time in a way that will perplex some viewers (though not this one) and infuriate others. Thus, Rivera's mural had been destroyed four years before the film's version of the event; Italy had invaded Ethiopia a year before Robbins's *faux* newsreel, which also reports the "degenerate" art exhibition in Berlin that did not open until months later; Flanagan testified before HUAC nearly eighteen months after the opening of *The Cradle Will Rock*; and so on. The film's tone also will likely offend those who prefer accounts of the Depression era to cleave to the social realism of much of its cultural production; it owes its tone more to the era's screwball comedies, as Robbins has noted. If one can get past the high-octane theatricality of some of the characters, the film is often successful in capturing something of the spirit of the 1930s: the everyday courage, the collective purpose, the sense of possibility that even a grinding Depression could not choke. While Robbins's sympathies are clear, his film is hardly a bath in nostalgia. Even unions take their licks. "You're all atheists!" Welles admonishes his unionized cast when its shop steward insists

on contractual rehearsal breaks. Art is not a fungible commodity: "This isn't a game," Welles continues, "this is work, and if you're not willing to give your blood to it, then it isn't worth it! You'll make pageants, without truth, without soul—bloodless, shallow, lily-white pageants." Welles, of course, was insulated from the vagaries of public support of the arts by his commercial success. "Artists," Brecht admonishes Blitzstein, "are the biggest whores," yet art itself is eternal, indestructible. A few days before Blitzstein's play was scheduled to open at the Maxine Elliott Theatre, Washington announced that, in light of anticipated cuts in the arts programs, no new productions were to open before the beginning of the new fiscal year. Washington had gotten cold feet, and *Cradle* had been sacrificed for the sake of other WPA programs. Revisiting this rehearsal of the cultural Cold War—and the resonance of more recent arts funding conflicts is obvious—Robbins juggles questions of compromise and betrayal, safety and survival. These conflicts are embodied in the character of Aldo Silvano (the excellent John Turturro), a struggling Italian-American actor with a young family to support, an idealist for whom principle trumps expediency every time, whose pro-fascist family is both anathema to his politics and an affront to his Americanism. In Blitzstein's play, he takes the role of union organizer Larry Foreman, whom Mr. Mister, the Steeltown tycoon, believes he can buy off.

Houseman refused to postpone the play's opening despite the federal order, whereupon the WPA locked up the theater, impounding sets, costumes, and props. At the last minute, he secured a vacant stage for a performance, but the musicians' union and Actors Equity forbade their members from participating. Blitzstein was drafted to perform the work alone, accompanying himself on a rented piano. On opening night, June 16, 1937, the audience marched the twenty blocks uptown from the Maxine Elliott to the Venice Theatre. The place was packed; among the audience were many of the production's actors and musicians. After an introduction, Blitzstein took the stage, described the setting, and began the opening number, which belonged to Moll, a young woman forced into prostitution by desperate poverty. After a few bars, the composer's voice was joined by another in the audience, tremulous and barely audible at first but gradually finding strength. Olive Stanton (Emily Watson), the destitute naïf who played Moll, in a spontaneous act of courage and faith, stood to perform her part. In solidarity Aldo/Larry, who could not be silenced or bought, bellowed his lines from the balcony. Others followed their lead, merging audience and performers and obliterating the line between art and the lives of the people. In this realm, all things are possible.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHOD/THEORY

JÖRN RÜSEN, editor. *Westliches Geschichtsd Denken: Eine interkulturelle Debatte*. (Sammlung Vandenhoeck.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1999. Pp. 322. DM 46.

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

While the facts may be correct in Thomas W. Gallant's article "Honor, Masculinity, and Ritual Knife Fighting in Nineteenth-Century Greece" [*AHR* 105 (April 2000): 358–82], what those facts may mean leaves us unconvinced. For example, words the article uses to show Greek culture instead reveal Italian: *stiletto* (pp. 361, 364, 366, and 382), *causae belli* (p. 363), *onoré* (p. 365), *sappiamo ch'e la vostra madre, ma suo padre il Dio sa* (p. 366), *pericolo di vita* (p. 367).

The northern Ionian Islands are within a hundred miles of Italy. For a thousand years, these islands were under many different foreign rulers, often Venetian. The influence of the Italian invaders is pervasive in the Ionian Islands. Gallant passes over the consideration that the Italians introduced and encouraged violence in general and stiletto knife fighting in particular. To keep the Greeks divided among themselves?

Whereas the Italians are essential to his story, the United States may not be. Gallant introduces dueling in the United States into the body of his text, nonetheless, at nine places (pp. 362, 371, 372 [twice], 373, 374–75 [twice], 380, and 381). If Gallant is going to introduce the U.S. perspective to his sense of aristocratic violence, he should also include the black reaction in the courts of the land. We still wonder whether the Greek reaction in the courts of their land was about eliminating foreign injustice rather than learning something new from the foreigners.

While we think Gallant has done commendable work researching his facts, we are not convinced he

understands the relationship of those facts to Greek experiences.

RAYMOND J. JIRAN and VAN POLYSON
Newport News, Virginia

Thomas W. Gallant does not wish to respond.

THE EDITORS

TO THE EDITOR:

Daniel A. Segal's article in your June issue [*AHR* 105 (June 2000): 770–805] is based on a false assumption: that authors of Western Civ and World Civ texts are free to write what they want. Anybody who knows anything about the college textbook business knows that this is not true: these textbooks are produced under the closest possible supervision of a publisher's staff.

It costs a minimum of a quarter of a million dollars to bring out a new Civ text: no publisher will allow the academic authors to roam free. A market has to be assured.

The authors first have to submit chapter outlines, which the publisher's staff approves, after submitting this outline to a group of college teachers in community and state colleges for comment and approval. Then as each chapter of the book is submitted, it is sent out for detailed review and comment by at least two—sometimes four or five—of these academic critics. Their proposals for revision are then sent back to the author of the chapter, with a checklist of changes the publisher's staff demands. When the revised chapter is submitted, the review process starts all over again.

In the end, a writer on the publisher's staff may write the final, published version, which can be at substantial variance from the original draft.

With this process, the finished book represents the publisher's sense of the market, not the ideas of the authors. This system makes the textbooks' contents intellectually conservative. One Civ book varies not more than 20 percent from any other; the differences lie more in the pictures, maps, and graphics than in the prose.

A radically new Civ text along anthropological lines

that Segal wants will never see the light of day, will never even get contracted for. Segal, you and your referees are living in a dream world.

NORMAN F. CANTOR
Hollywood, Florida

TO THE EDITOR:

We have read with interest and some degree of dismay Daniel A. Segal's "'Western Civ' and the Staging of History," in *AHR* 105 (June 2000). The article presents an interesting review of the development of "Western Civ" as a field of study and challenging analysis of the concept of world history. It raises a number of methodological and epistemological issues that all historians, and especially those interested in comparative history and world history, let alone anthropological approaches to history, will find provocative. The article provides a very useful analysis of the origins of the genre, but in the closing section, which examines contemporary World History texts, we found Segal's description of the text in which we collaborated (Stearns, Adas, and Schwartz, *World Civilizations*) to be something of a caricature: misleading in some places and simply wrong in others.

Segal questions the use of "civilization" as a basis for the inclusion of societies in a World History text. He suggests repeatedly that there are alternatives, but he, in fact, offers none explicitly, so it is difficult to imagine what his World History text would look like, what would be gained and what would be lost by removing "civilization" as the organizing principle. His point that we cannot know the future so it is wrong-headed to normalize the present is well taken, but while he claims that he is not advocating the impossible task of telling all human histories, he seems to negate the principal task of World History to be the description and analysis of interactions, contacts, and comparisons between societies. He seems, rather, to be suggesting that the principal goal should be to discuss the variety of human experience. If interactions, contacts, and comparisons can be accepted as legitimate themes for World History, then his desire to move away from a focus on "civilizations" seems to us misguided, a strategy perhaps more suited to a text in anthropology than one in history.

"Civilization" seems to be burdened by Segal with a heavy load of evolutionary prejudice, and by concentrating on its role in human history, he suggests that other "alternative" ways of life are being slighted in reviews of the past. For him, to concentrate on civilizations is to imply that those who did not live in them are less "civilized," or "evolved" in some kind of Victorian evolutionary scheme. We cannot speak for other authors or texts, but we did not see "civilization" as an evolutionary stage and explicitly said so. In our text, "civilization" was given a very limited meaning: societies relying on sedentary agriculture able to produce surpluses that support elites and craft specializa-

tion, with a degree of social stratification, as well as population concentrations in urban areas. We emphasized that this lifestyle has existed for only about 9,000 years of the 2.5 million of human existence and that other lifeways were possible and quite viable, but we believed that since, in recent times, the vast majority of the world's population has lived in civilizations, it is not unreasonable to use them as an organizing principle and to focus on their role in history.

Hunter/gatherers seem to be the peoples that Segal feels are slighted in World History texts, but there are other lifeways as well. In fact, *World Civilizations* devoted two substantial chapters to the nomadic peoples of the Arabian peninsula and Central Asia, and long sections to the cultures and peoples of Polynesia, as well as the "stateless" societies of Africa. We were not unaware of the tendency toward "social evolutionary" understandings, and we sought in a number of places to point out the dangers of using Western measuring rods of technology and writing as the only means of evaluating human accomplishments. We would agree with him that we should be careful not to conflate living peoples who subsist by hunting, gathering, herding, or simple forms of agriculture with those of the ancient past, but the truth is that not only are fewer and fewer peoples able to live exclusively by those means, but even those practicing sedentary agriculture are diminishing today. There are many histories and many possible audiences. Which are the histories to be told and to whom? What are the trends to be emphasized—at this point in time? Authors of textbooks have to make choices.

These are matters of theoretical emphasis, selection, and interpretation, and we look forward to seeing his alternative to the dreary sameness of the World History texts he reviews in the article. We are troubled nevertheless by his reading of the evidence used to draw his conclusions about the existing texts, particularly our own. On one point, Segal is just wrong. He claims that in *World Civilizations* Native Americans disappear from historical analysis after the period of contact. Segal displays in his Table 2 a chart based on our volume that claims to demonstrate that Native Americans are not mentioned in our text after the eighteenth century. In fact, the chapters on Latin America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries pay a considerable amount of attention to indigenous peoples. The Caste War of Yucatan (p. 740), the effects of the Reforma on Mexico's Indian peoples (p. 741), the Argentine Conquest of the Desert (p. 743), the role of indigenous peoples in the nations of Bolivia, Peru, and Mexico (p. 747), the Mexican Revolution (p. 917), *indigenismo* (p. 918), Guatemalan politics (pp. 925–26), the Bolivian Revolution (p. 927), and, in later editions, the Zapatista movement in Chiapas all received attention. In addition, a long documentary section gave space to indigenous voices such as Domitila Barros de Chungara of Bolivia (pp. 929–30) and in later editions Rigoberta Menchu of Guatemala. Now Segal's table is based on "Indexed

Passages,” but we cannot believe that he limited his research to looking up “Native American” or “Indian” in the index as his *modus operandi* for this article (nor that the *AHR* would have permitted him to do so). Perhaps if our volume had a more detailed or sophisticated index, his characterization of the book might have been different on this point, but if this was indeed the technique that produced his conclusion, it indicates an unfamiliarity with textbook publishing as much as a flawed method of research. More important, such a method suggests that his preconceived categories of analysis are the only legitimate ones. Thus we should talk of the Maya-speaking *campesinos* of Chiapas in the twentieth century not as peasants or as revolutionaries but as Native Americans, and if we do not, then supposedly Native Americans have been left out.

Clearly, he is wrong in our case that “Native American histories do not continue past the selected moments of ‘contact,’” but he is correct in that little is said about North American indigenous peoples in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. To some extent, that is because this is a book of World History, not U.S. History, and because the process of interaction of Native American peoples with the industrializing societies with which they were in contact is paralleled and represented by similar processes in other places, specifically southern Africa and South America. This is a strategy we think he might applaud since he did admit that not everyone’s history can be included in a World History text.

We would also like to note that our discussion of Native American peoples emphasized the similarities between those who lived in “civilizations” and those who did not, how social and material complexity was sometimes achieved by non-agricultural societies (p. 398), and how the history of Native American peoples confounded many assumptions about the evolutionary nature of civilizational development. Finally, one small point: we are taken to task for suggesting that the Aztec tribute system created a “peculiar” economy and interrupted the normal function of the market (p. 387). This is held out as an example of “naturalizing” capitalism and denying the possibility or value of other economic forms. Segal might have read farther in the chapter to see that non-market arrangements and state-sponsored reciprocity in Inca Peru (p. 396) were also discussed in some detail and compared favorably with the extractive and exploitative Aztec system, which in the last analysis was a major factor in the fall of that empire, not because it was an evolutionary dead end but because the Native American peoples who had been forced to live within it seized the first opportunity to destroy it.

STUART B. SCHWARTZ
Yale University
MICHAEL ADAS
Rutgers University

DANIEL A. SEGAL REPLIES:

The thoughtful letter from Stuart B. Schwartz and Michael Adas does much to answer Norman F. Cantor’s claim that today’s textbooks represent only “the publisher’s sense of the market, not the ideas of the authors.” Much to their credit, Schwartz and Adas demonstrate that they care about the ideas present in the text they wrote with Peter Stearns and, equally, that as scholars and teachers they are open to reflecting on and debating those ideas. Happily, this belies Cantor’s deeply cynical view of our colleagues whose names appear on the covers and spines of undergraduate survey textbooks.

In regard to Cantor’s must scurrilous allegation—that “the publisher’s staff may write the final, published version”—let me say that after interviewing many textbook authors and a smaller number of editors, I know of no case where such a strong claim can be sustained in regard to the textbooks discussed in my article. Cantor is also mistaken in his claim about the cost of producing a new survey textbook: \$500,000 would be a better figure than the \$250,000 he provides.

Yet though Cantor has gone astray on many points, his letter is animated by a genuine insight. It is indeed the case that undergraduate level Western Civ and World History textbooks are today lodged in, and standardized by, a constellation of mutually reinforcing relations, including, but not limited to, the financial relations between publishers and textbook. I would add that the relations between course faculty and the institutional employers of faculty matter as well, as do still other relations, which I discuss elsewhere (Daniel A. Segal, *Educated Pasts*, forthcoming). Theoretically and politically, it is of the utmost significance that such a constellation of relations can produce so much uniformity in textbooks, in the absence of anything like the Texas State Board of Education, much less the sort of state control of publishing found historically in both fascist and Soviet regimes. Strategically, we must ask, “How can we exercise agency in the face of such a constellation of relations?” In writing and publishing my article, I acted on the view that presenting reasoned arguments to historians through the *AHR* was one way I could exercise such agency. Cantor thinks otherwise, declaring that I live “in a dream world.” In response, I would note that there is a large body of scholarship, much of it amassed in recent years, decrying the racism, sexism, heterosexism, and classism of various mass-mediated cultural artifacts. For my part, I see virtue in diverting some of this critical attention to our textbooks, precisely because as faculty we have some authority and control when it comes to the textbooks we teach and author—at least relative to the influence we are likely to have on, say, the next Disney flick or Eminem rap song. But we should expect no improvements in our textbooks if we do not let publishers know that we are disappointed in the highly limited range of textbooks now available to our stu-

dents. My hope is that my article might catalyze such feedback to publishers.

Turning to the letter from Schwartz and Adas, let me say first that I appreciate their interest both in the historical portion of my argument and in the article's larger theoretical concerns. I also want to acknowledge—as I should have in my article—that working within the confines of a journal article, and writing about a set of textbooks *as a set*, I was not able to do justice to the complexity of each textbook I discussed, theirs included. Nonetheless, after reviewing their letter, the passages of their textbook they highlight in that letter, and the full chapters those passages appear in, I am not able to revise my overall conclusions about contemporary textbooks, theirs included.

The most fundamental allegation in their letter is that I, Daniel Segal, have “burdened” the concept of civilization “with a heavy load of evolutionary prejudice.” Sure. And Al Gore invented the Internet. What I mean to suggest, of course, is that undergraduates do not read the word “civilization” fresh, without preconceptions, as they might read the term “infrastructure,” were they to encounter the latter in an undergraduate textbook. Rather, “civilization” is both in wide circulation and heavily freighted with the violence of social evolutionary and racial distinctions. In noting in their letter that their textbook offers some caveats in its use of “civilization,” and that in some passages it attempts to make the word mean a great deal less than it does in ordinary circulation, Schwartz and Adas fail to face up to the profound difficulty of *writing against* received or institutionalized meanings. Imagine, if you will, an author proclaiming innocence after using the “s” word (“savage”) on the grounds that she had provided a definition that gave the term a “limited meaning,” ostensibly free of associations with racial distinctions and/or judgments about worthiness. The rub is that the re-making of meaning is a much tougher business than inserting such a definition into the flow of a larger narrative. But let us not be content with only such a theoretical response; let us look again at *World Civilizations*, in light of the letter from two of its authors.

The letter tells us that their textbook takes the “principal task of World History” to be the “analysis of interactions, contacts, and comparisons between societies.” Yet in the textbook itself, we find this task identified as but one of “two principle subjects” of World History—the other being the study of “the evolution of leading civilizations” (Stearns, Adas, and Schwartz, *World Civilizations*, 2d edn., xxi). Somehow, this second “principal subject” goes unmentioned in their letter, where they claim that I—not they—have put social evolutionary thinking into their textbook.

Similarly, in their letter, Schwartz and Adas claim that their textbook “emphasized . . . that other life-ways”—outside of civilization—“were . . . quite viable.” Yet their textbook offers students this sketch of life outside of civilization, depicted “on the average”: “They crouched around their campfires in constant fear of animal predators and human enemies. They

were at the mercy of the elements . . . they had a few crude tools and weapons; their nomadic existence reflected their dependence on the feeding cycles of migrating animals” (Stearns, Adas, and Schwartz, *World Civilization*, 2d edn., 13). I will not repeat here the line of interrogation I provided in my article in response to similar passages from other textbooks, since the relevant point is again that their letter either overlooks, or is blind to, their textbook’s reinscription of social evolutionary images of Others outside of civilization.

Schwartz and Adas’s most specific, and best documented, charge of misrepresentation on my part concerns the table on page 795 of my article. The table is unfair to their textbook, they argue, because it is a table only of “Indexed Passages.” As such, it fails to register passages about Native Americans that are present in their text but missing from the entries in their index that I used when making the table. According to the letter, the linking of Native Americans to a past that is complete and superseded is an artifact of the index, and is safely absent from the text itself.

As Schwartz and Adas recognize, the larger question here is one of method and, I would add, representation. Analyzing a set of twenty textbooks, each composed of some 450,000 words, poses significant practical problems, in terms both of looking in any systematic way through so many words and of presenting one’s findings after one has done so. I certainly do not claim that I have read each and every word of these twenty textbooks, nor did my article present, without substantial distillation, the results of what I found by sifting through them. Instead, I have adopted a number of strategies for looking systematically at specific topics in the entire set of texts and for presenting, in a concise form, the general patterns I believe I uncovered. The use of indexed passages for a given topic—found by reading through all the headings in the index, not by restricting myself to a preconceived heading or set of headings—is one such strategy I adopted, though one I supplemented by reading each section within which each of the indexed passages appear and, in most cases, the entire chapter in question. So, too, my article used tables, in conjunction with a narrative synopsis of the general pattern of coverage of Native Americans in world textbooks, so as to spare the reader the task of slogging through separate summaries of this coverage in each textbook. The relevant question is not, then, whether my tables of indexed passages leave out some relevant but unindexed passages—who would expect otherwise?—but whether *the pattern* changes if we attend to the unindexed passages that are absent from my tables, such as the passages highlighted by Schwartz and Adas for their own textbook.

In this regard, I would note that if one reads the nine unindexed passages Schwartz and Adas specifically identify in their letter, one finds a significant range in terms of how much or little each passage is concerned with Native Americans. In some, Indians are genuinely

a if not *the* focus of attention, but in at least two cases (pp. 740 and 917), I think the absence of indexing is indicative of the quite small role Indians play in the narrative, or to put this slightly differently, for these two passages at least, I think the index is a reliable detector of coverage of Native Americans. A third passage (p. 918) is really not about Indians; it is about the romantic appropriation of "the Indian past" by Mexican nationalists. Turning to the remaining passages, I do not see, for instance, that a short discussion of "the final defeat of the Indians" in nineteenth-century Argentina—to quote from the unindexed discussion on page 743 of their textbook—disturbs the pattern I described, in which Native Americans are represented as superseded in and by history. So, too—to provide a response to the nine passages considered as a whole—though Schwartz and Adas celebrate their text's (unindexed) attention to Native Americans in Latin America after 1800 as evidence of a lack of U.S. parochialism (*after* 1800, but not before?), we should consider the allegory that is likely set in motion by a narrative in which Native Americans disappear first in the United States and then appear (and disappear) some chapters/decades later in Latin America: for our students, such a narrative may well read as if history lags "south of the border." The general point here—and much in my analysis depends on this point—is that we must look at the distribution of areal coverage over the course of a narrative in its entirety, not just in one "period" of history, to see how a text links peoples and places, on the one hand, to times and stages, on the other.

Nonetheless, let me affirm that among the unindexed passages that Schwartz and Adas highlight in their letter, we do indeed find some good material on Latin American history and specifically on Indians in Latin American history. Stuart Schwartz is, after all, one of our leading scholars of Latin America. Without question, *contra* Cantor, such local moments of excellence were not written by editors at a publishing house. The problem is a more difficult one: these local moments of excellence have been written *into* a conventionalized framework and plot organized by social evolutionary understandings of humanity. To break out of, or even to disturb, such an overall framework and plot requires more than the presence of exceptions reflecting, and produced by, an author's own area of scholarly expertise; it requires both a substantial reworking of the overall outline of these textbooks and a mode of writing, quite the antithesis of textbook prose, that would encourage students to interrogate, rather than reconcile themselves to, such concepts as civilization."

This brings me to Schwartz and Adas's claim that though my article criticizes mightily, it fails to indicate what an alternative World History textbook or course might look like. In this regard, let me say that I tried in the concluding section of my article—and in particular in the final paragraph—to extract and distill from my argument what I hoped were useful guidelines for

producing better textbooks and courses than the ones available to us now. I also used my biographical note to provide readers a web address for the syllabus for the World History course I teach at Pitzer College. Yet while I am happy to share that syllabus, I would stress that the arguments in my article and the guidelines offered in its conclusion open up a wide range of new possibilities, and do not correspond to one and only one "correct" way to teach world history. Indeed, I think it best at this juncture to encourage experimentation within this range of new possibilities, rather than attempt to anoint a single model to replace the extant genres of Western Civ and World History. I would be quite pleased to see Schwartz and Adas participate further in this process of experimentation; they clearly have much to contribute.

DANIEL A. SEGAL
Pitzer College

TO THE EDITOR:

I enjoyed Daniel A. Segal's article about textbooks in the June 2000 *AHR* ("Western Civ' and the Staging of History in American Higher Education"). Segal is convincing that a discredited version of "stages" in social evolution (also known as "cultural evolution") is still at least implicit in most of today's Western and World History textbooks. I have found and adopted an exception, however—namely *Traditions and Encounters: A Global Perspective on the Past* by Jerry H. Bentley and Herbert F. Ziegler (New York, 2000).

I have two quibbles about Segal's article: first, he spends six pages (including three tables) documenting the absence of Native Americans after 1800 in Western and World textbooks, blaming their omission on textbook authors' alleged assumption that "'the backward' inevitably and automatically . . . gives way to 'the developed'" (p. 797). But surely most *AHR* readers are aware that post-1800 Native Americans (along with most other U.S. survey topics) are omitted from Western and World texts because they are covered in the U.S. texts.

Second, the main point of Segal's article seems to be "that we [should] recognize the contingency of any and all historical outcomes and, in response, that we [should] robustly bracket our sense of already knowing the trajectory of human existence" (p. 802). So far, so good, but Segal could have been more forthcoming about the actual claims of today's social evolutionists (a.k.a. cultural evolutionists). Segal says that in anthropology "social evolutionary theory is a 'dead horse'—a 'Victorian' one at that" (p. 800). But this is not entirely so. The insight that natural selection tends to favor the survival of organisms and organic systems that are more complex (and thereby more adaptable) is still used by cultural anthropologists such as Robert L. Carneiro.

Furthermore, this insight is still plausibly useful in history, especially if we think of social complexity the

way today's biologists tend to think of organic complexity—as enhancing feedback processes and as multiplying possible responses to environmental challenges. Such survival advantages, conferable by complexity, were emphasized in Brett Fairbairn's 1994 *AHR* article, "History from the Ecological Perspective: Gaia Theory and the Problem of Cooperatives in Turn-of-the-Century Germany" (*AHR* 99 [October 1994]: 1203–39). Fairbairn's promising hypothesis there was that history is often analogous to biology: that, in each, the existence of "cooperation" among separate beings within symbiotic systems often furthers survival through natural selection.

Thus, although Segal in his June 2000 article makes a convincing case that "the capitalist world familiar to our students" is not "something inevitable in the course of human development" but rather is something "historically contingent" (p. 799), I do not agree that historical contingency rules out *all* hypotheses about social or cultural evolution affecting human history. Fairbairn's 1994 analogy between Gaia theory and historical processes might yet, with further application, show us that human survival through natural selection tends to be furthered by cooperation.

PAUL SALSTROM

Saint Mary-of-the-Woods College

TO THE EDITOR:

Daniel A. Segal ("‘Western Civ’ and the Staging of History in American Higher Education," *AHR* 105, June 2000), in his examination of World History textbooks, does not seem to make a distinction between whig history and cultural parochialism, lumping them both together under the rubric of evolution. However, these are two different things and need to be dealt with separately. One could certainly imagine a textbook written in the vein of Immanuel Wallerstein or Eric Hobsbawm, which would be resolutely anti-whig and yet would treat non-Western populations in an essentially similar manner as the textbooks Segal dissects. Such a book would presumably contain phrases like "North America did not offer impressive resistance to the capitalist juggernaut," or "Capitalism was contained by Asian peasant guerrillas." Such an approach, while not presenting Western civilization as the pinnacle of evolution, would nonetheless dismiss non-Western societies, save as a foil to Western civilization.

The issue of cultural parochialism is a bit more complicated. To deal with it, I think we have to recognize that the enterprise of anthropology differs in certain important respects from that of history.

The enterprise of anthropology is summed up in the phrase "man's many ways," which, if it hasn't been used as a textbook title, ought to be. One of the standard clichés of freshman anthropology is Rudyard Kipling's ditty about there being "nine and sixty ways of constructing tribal lays / And every single one of

them is right!" (From "In the Neolithic Age.") A tribe of fifty people off in the jungle somewhere is important because they offer an alternative design for living. One can always go and do likewise. Modern anthropology's semi-mythical culture hero is Bronisław Malinowski, going gloriously native in the Trobriand Islands over the course of several years during the First World War. Put another way, at a certain level, anthropology is about what could happen, rather than what actually did happen.

The enterprise of history is inevitably concerned with the antecedents of the present. I suppose a comparable tag phrase would be George Santayana's line about those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it. The whole premise of history is that you can't simply walk away from your own past. That said, a great many antecedents of the modern non-Western world are of Western origin. To take one example, it is all very well to talk about Amazonian Indians, but the incontrovertible fact is that the overwhelming majority of the population of Brazil consists of urban, Portuguese-speaking Roman Catholics of Caucasian and/or African descent. Short of a nuclear war in which all of humanity perishes, these people, all hundred and sixty million of them, are not simply contingent. They are there, living more or less within the tradition of Western civilization, and a world history must necessarily deal with them. The numerical smallness of a given population is a legitimate reason for minimizing its coverage. If alternative World History textbooks are to be written, they will necessarily be based on alternative central interpretations of Western civilization (for example, Dependency Theory), rather than on an attempt to portray Western civilization as parochial and unimportant. History, ultimately, has to pay a certain attention to Leopold von Ranke's dictum: "how it really was" (*wie es eigentlich gewesen*).

History and anthropology are both worthwhile subjects. It is, however, far from self-evident that they can be synthesized as a general principle, nor is it valid to criticize one for not carrying out the enterprise of the other.

ANDREW D. TODD

Morgantown, West Virginia

DANIEL A. SEGAL REPLIES:

Andrew Todd distinguishes "whig history" from "cultural parochialism," and complains that I have mistakenly conflated them. But his letter does not identify where such error occurs in my argument, and I do not on my own see that it does, so I am at a loss to know how to respond to this charge. The "ditty" from Kipling is one I had not before been exposed to, and I guess I am better off knowing about such things when all is said and done, but I certainly hope that this ditty is no staple of "freshman anthropology." Malinowski is well described as "semi-mythical," but in the wake of

the publication of his diaries in 1967, we can say with much certainty that he did not “go native” in the Trobriands, gloriously or otherwise (*A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term*, Norbert Guterman, trans.) Finally, I see no connection at all between recognizing the contingency of existing social orders, in Brazil or anywhere else, and the probability, great or small, of “nuclear war”—though I confess that claiming something to be true “short of nuclear war” gives me the willies, since I think it dangerous to belittle the possibility that the historical experiment with industrial capitalism will come to such a terrible end.

Nonetheless, Todd is absolutely right to suspect that my argument advocates new sorts of history courses inflected by anthropology (as well as vice-versa, I would add). Todd clearly would prefer to keep each discipline pure and on its own. My view is that if recent disavowals of the distinction between “Europe” and “peoples without history” are to be something other than a sham, then we must be open-minded about, and even welcoming of, reconfigurations of history and anthropology. (My phrasing here is lifted from the ironic title of Eric Wolf’s wonderful work, *Europe and the Peoples without History*, 1982.) How could it be otherwise, given how much the parsing of humanity into historical and non-historical peoples has been lodged in the intellectual division of labor between these two disciplines? Yet let me stress that I think it neither possible to magically transcend existing disciplines nor desirable to try and do without them. Indeed, rather than believing that I or anyone else possess a blueprint for some super-duper “anthro-history,” my brief is merely for greater *cross-literacy* between anthropologists and historians, as a condition of possibility for “working through” both disciplines, in both senses of “working through.”

Turning to the letter from Paul Salstrom, his first line of criticism echoes Schwartz and Adas in suggesting that exclusions of Indians of the United States from World History textbooks can be rationalized as an effect of avoiding U.S.-centrism. But unlike Schwartz and Adas, Salstrom has missed that I did not claim that the disappearance of Indians from history in these texts was limited to the United States. Rather, I claimed to identify a pattern of temporal coverage of Indians in the Americas overall. It thus makes no sense to suggest that the pattern of exclusion, as I described it, is due to a purported division of labor between World and U.S. textbooks. Quite similarly, though I indicted clearly that it was World History texts, rather than Western Civ texts, that were the appropriate test case for my argument—due to the global aspirations and claims of the former—Salstrom has lumped together Western Civ and World History textbooks in responding to me, as if I had equated the absence of Native Americans from Western Civ texts with their absence from World History texts. But beyond sorting out what I did or did not argue in my article, we should note the painful irony of a view that would permit U.S. Native Americans to be excluded from World History

textbooks in the name of resisting U.S. parochialism. Surely, a satisfactory globalizing of history must pay attention to, and treat as historical, both marginalized persons within the United States (and within the West) and persons outside the United States (and outside the West). I am, moreover, skeptical about the strategy Salstrom in effect endorses of accepting a division of labor between World and U.S. survey courses, since I think it unrealistic to expect students to fill in and integrate the missing U.S. hole in the World History donut this strategy would create. But the most important point here is the same one I stressed in responding to Schwartz and Adas: we cannot explain exclusions from these textbooks on a piecemeal basis. Rather, we must consider the overall pattern of coverage of an area or identity-grouping if we wish to understand, rather than rationalize, the linkage in these textbooks between peoples and places, on the one hand, and times and stages, on the other.

Regarding the rest of Salstrom’s letter, I am not quite sure what there is for me to say, since the remainder seems to be primarily an invitation to discuss a broader set of issues—and some of these are matters of which I am largely ignorant, for instance, Gaia theory. For what it is worth, however, I will note that, in my view, attempts to understand social life by analogy to biology have yielded precious little insight into human affairs, though certainly not for a lack of true believers. At the same time, I think a second cross-literacy for which there is a crying need today is between history and biology (broadly construed), since I do not see how we will gain a better understanding of such matters as, say, the long-term environmental effects for humanity of centuries of industrialization, except by combining skills in reconstructing the past with knowledge of ecology and human biology.

DANIEL A. SEGAL
Pitzer College

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

It is somewhat disconcerting to learn from Esther Kingston-Mann that Martin Malia’s *Russia under Western Eyes*, greatly praised by Jack Matlock, among others, as the book “likely to stand as the definitive treatment of the subject for years to come” is, “[a]s a work of history . . . rather an embarrassment” [*AHR* 105 (April 2000): 643]. While one may appreciate the reasons why the editor of the *AHR* might have thought it appropriate to approach a Marxist to review the book of one of America’s most eminent historians of Russia, known for his anti-Soviet opinions, one cannot but wonder what a Marxist historian as accomplished as Eric Hobsbawm, for example, would have written about Malia’s profound and learned work. While he might have expressed certain reservations about Ma-

lia's anti-Soviet views, he would almost certainly have seen the work as instructive and illuminating. Regrettably, Kingston-Mann's review is neither.

STEPHEN R. GRAUBARD
EMERITUS
Brown University

ESTHER KINGSTON-MANN REPLIES:

As I understand it, Stephen Graubard's frustrations are threefold: 1) although the book has been praised by others, I described Martin Malia's *Russia under Western Eyes* as "an embarrassment"; 2) the *AHR* assigned the book for review to "a Marxist," but to the wrong sort of Marxist; and 3) my review is neither instructive nor illuminating.

I will respond to points 1 and 2, and hope that my responses will prove both instructive and illuminating, if not to Graubard, then to the general readership of the *AHR*.

1) My review was not intended as a personal attack on Martin Malia, whose scholarly monographs in the field of Russian intellectual history have been required reading for undergraduate and graduate students in the United States and elsewhere for many decades. However, in my judgment, Malia's book is extremely problematic when considered as a scholarly work published in 1999 rather than 1950.

To take one significant example: the book's treatment of the Soviet era is wholly and unapologetically unhistorical. The Soviet Union is portrayed as unchanging and unchangingly malign, the site of "the greatest mass hallucination in modern history" (pp. 366, 377). In this rendering of over seventy years of political, economic, social, and cultural crisis and struggle, the scholarship of historians who have researched the rise and fall of the Soviet Union counts for nothing. Instead, we are presented with powerful images of Russia's "Eastern" hordes unceasingly manipulated and terrorized by "an incomprehensibly Oriental" Stalin (labeled here as "the Great Khan") (p. 370).

Recalling the more unfortunate terms of historical discourse that prevailed in the 1950s, the book uses words such as "Asiatic" and "Oriental" as codewords for every possible variation of evil thought and activity. I confess that I would not have expected a historian publishing a book in the year 1999 to assume that readers would find a description of Stalin as "incomprehensibly Oriental" to be either instructive or illuminating.

2) Outside the United States, there are many distinguished and "uncloseted" Marxists, such as Eric Hobsbawm and the late E. P. Thompson; that there are far fewer in the United States may be attributable to precisely the sort of "Marxist = pro-Soviet" caricature featured in Graubard's letter. However, before labeling me a Marxist, I would suggest that Graubard read my work. "Marxism and Russian Rural Develop-

ment: Problems of Evidence, Experience and Judgment," *AHR* 86 (October 1981): 731–52, *Lenin and the Problem of Marxist Peasant Revolution* (1983), or *In Search of the True West: Culture, Economics and Problems of Russian Development* (1999) would be good places to start. If on the other hand, he has already read my books and articles and still wants to make the same argument, I can only recommend that he read them again.

ESTHER KINGSTON-MANN
University of Massachusetts,
Boston

TO THE EDITOR:

In writing my *History of the Byzantine State and Society*, I decided not to catalog the many places in which later research had superseded George Ostrogorsky's *History of the Byzantine State* (first published in 1940, last revised in 1963). I hoped that readers who were surprised that I differed with Ostrogorsky would check my references to see why. Lawrence Tritle seems not to have done this before writing his review in the June 2000 *AHR*: 986–87.

When Tritle says I "seemingly [fail] to appreciate the internal and external crises" that Diocletian faced in 284—crises I describe in some detail (pp. 5–10)—he apparently fails to appreciate the findings of Ramsay MacMullen and others that the empire had already made substantial progress toward resolving those crises (admittedly not in my references, limited to the period after 284). I nonetheless conclude (pp. 26–27), "Diocletian had assumed power when the empire was in apparently hopeless disorder, and he gave up power . . . when peace and stability had returned." My lack of emphasis on the foundation of Constantinople is deliberate, based on the excellent book of Gilbert Dagron (cited on p. 900), which shows how much more slowly Constantinople developed than had previously been assumed with the help of historical hindsight. My characterization of the Arab attack on Constantinople in 674–78 as a "raid in force," which according to Tritle "ignores what was a major effort by the Umayyad Caliphate . . . to complete the destruction of the empire," follows a demonstration by Paul Lemerle (cited on p. 936 n. 2) that this raiding never amounted to the formal siege long supposed without evidence. As for middle Byzantine society, Tritle seems to expect a restatement of the obsolete views of Ostrogorsky that the "powerful" formed a homogeneous group or that the problematic *Farmer's Law* is vital evidence; my discussions reflect the work of Michel Kaplan, Michael Hendy, Jean-Claude Cheynet, and Alan Harvey (cited on pp. 908, 912), though I follow only Hendy and Cheynet without significant qualifications (compare p. 894).

If read without preconceptions from Ostrogorsky, my book answers the questions Tritle raises. "How Constans [II], who shared his reign with regents and

lived away from the capital for prolonged periods, could establish a system of military grants that would become a provincial system is unclear” to Tritle. But at the dates I propose for the establishment of those grants, 659–62, Constans was between twenty-nine and thirty-two years old, had had no regent for fifteen years, and had spent most of his life in Constantinople, though he soon left, probably to finish implementing his system in the provinces (see pp. 314–20). On page 667, my reference to “disorganized nomads” means not the Seljuk Turks in general, as Tritle assumes, but the Turks outside the Seljuk sultan’s control who invaded Anatolia (as explained on p. 614). The question of “the rapid success of these newcomers in rolling back millennia of Hellenism” I answer a few pages later when noting that the interior of Anatolia (which was not fully Hellenized even in the early Byzantine period; see p. 5) had always been sparsely settled and was soon deserted by much of its Greek-speaking population (see p. 672). I see nothing “confused” in my thinking that regular Byzantine monks were important but that freelance “holy men” were much less so; if Tritle thinks “holy man” is just a synonym for “monk,” he has misunderstood not only me but Peter Brown as well.

Since practically every emperor from Constantine I on claimed authority in religious controversies superior to a priest’s, Leo III’s claim to be emperor and priest is not “a critical omission” from my discussion of Iconoclasm, but a detail not worth mentioning in a single-volume history. Tritle’s assertion that “the name of the . . . church of St. Saviour in Chora means ‘in the country’ and not ‘dwelling’” disregards the mosaic in the church showing Christ labeled “the dwelling (*chora*) of those who live.”

As I researched my book, I myself was dismayed to find how often my lectures had repeated ideas taken from Ostrogorsky that had since been refuted. Admirable for its time, his history needs replacing precisely because its prestige is perpetuating errors like some of those in Tritle’s review.

WARREN TREADGOLD
Saint Louis University

Due to a death in the family, Lawrence Tritle does not wish to respond.

THE EDITORS

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The titles of articles and films in the *AHR* are printed in italics, and titles of books reviewed are in quotation marks. Books of collected essays are designated by (E). The reviewer of a book or film is designated by (R), the author of a letter for the Communications section by (C).

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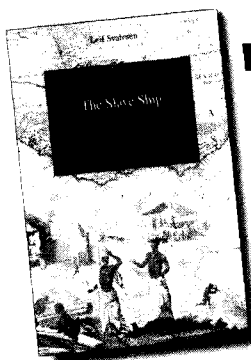
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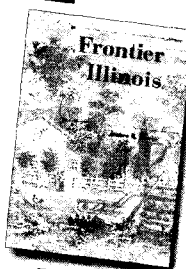
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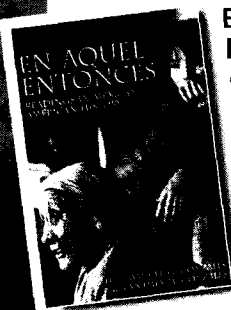
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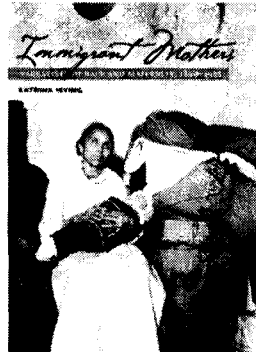
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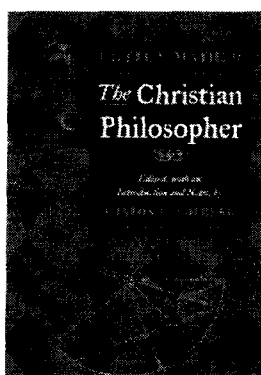
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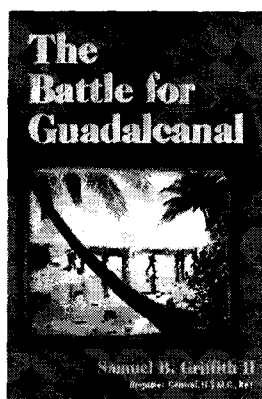
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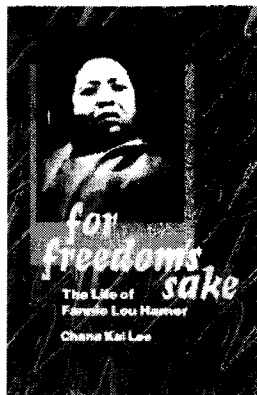
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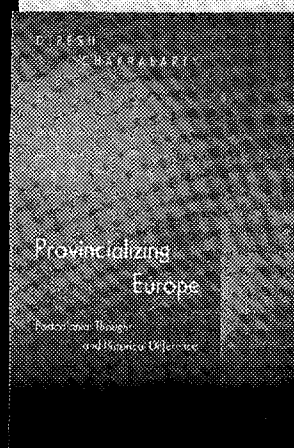
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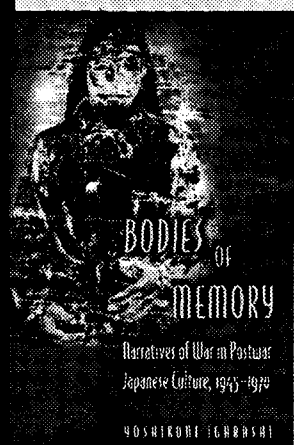
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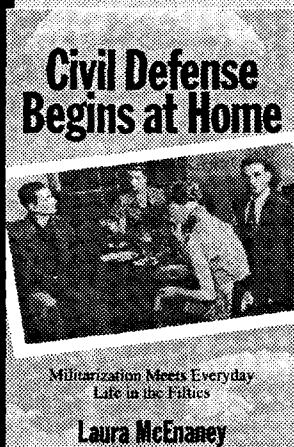
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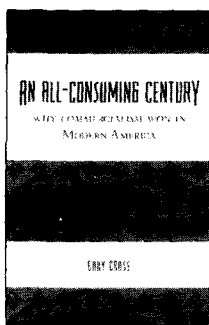
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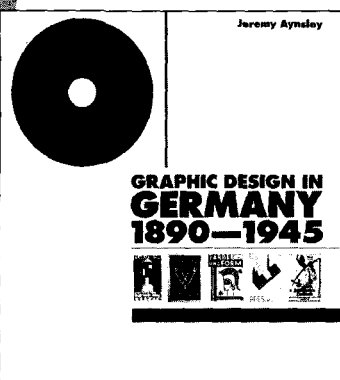
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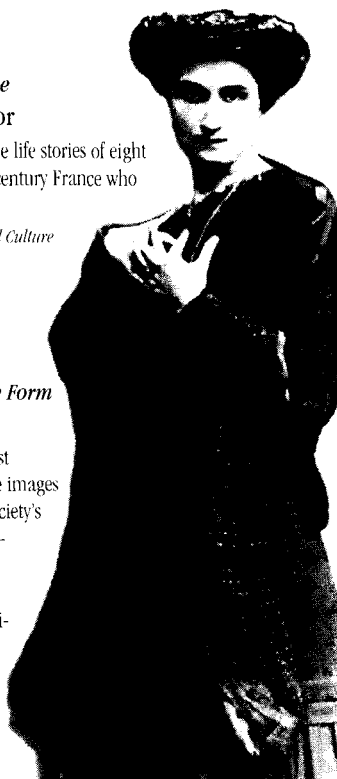
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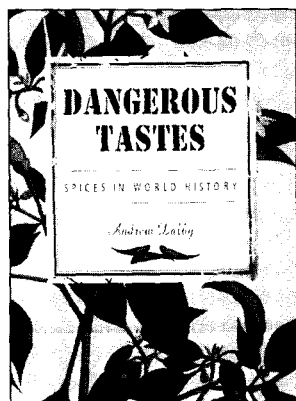
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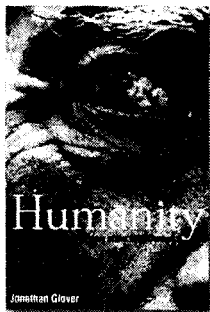
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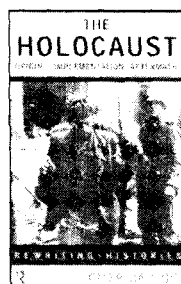
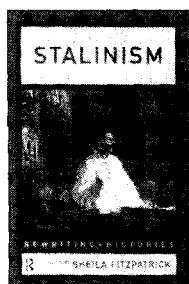
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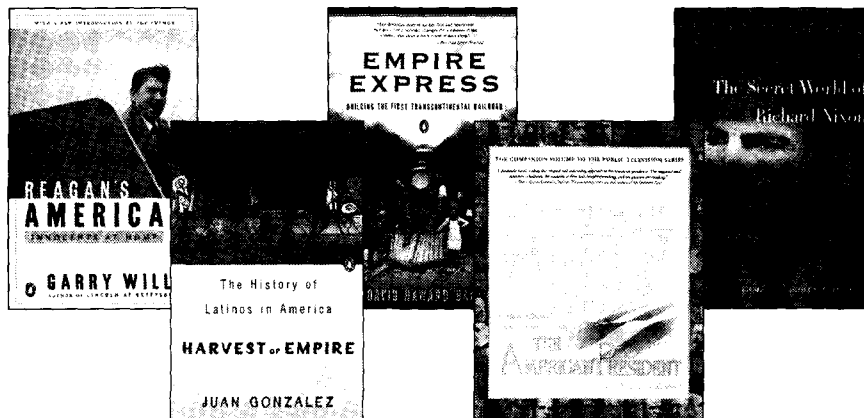
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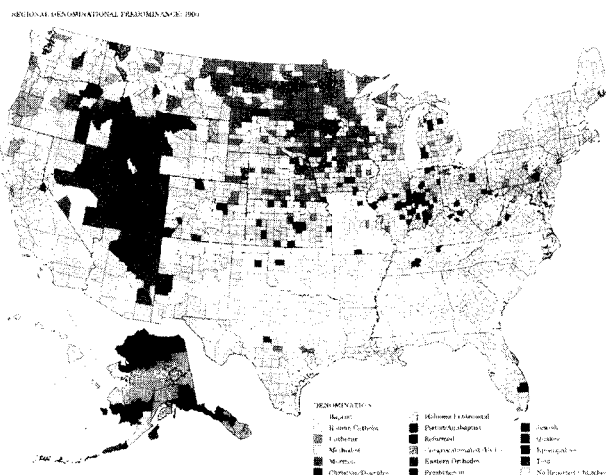
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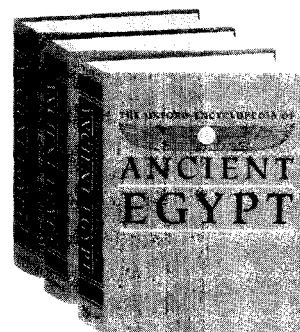


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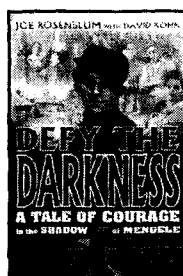
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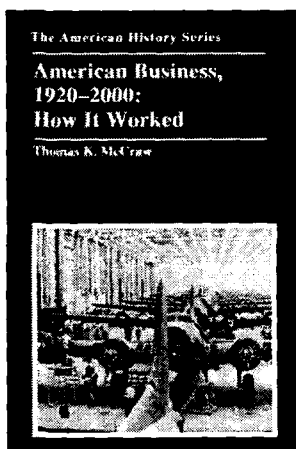
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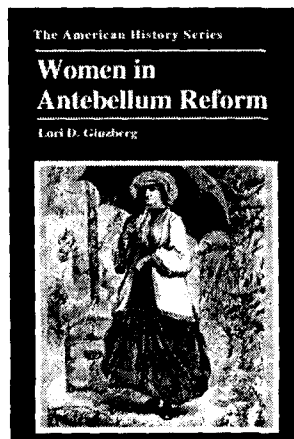
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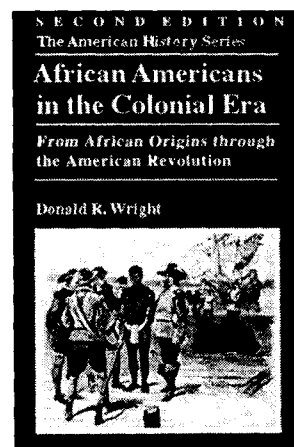
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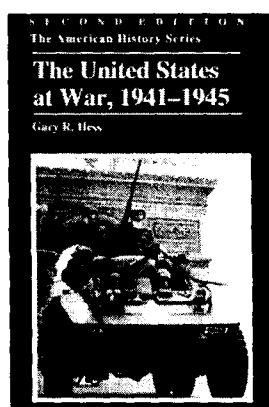
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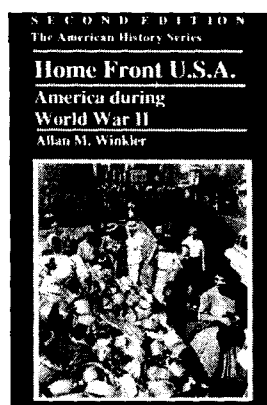
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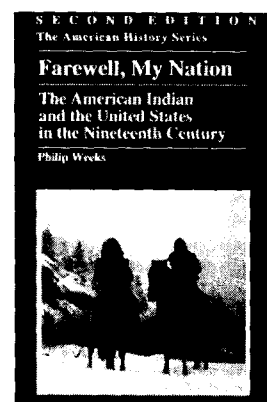
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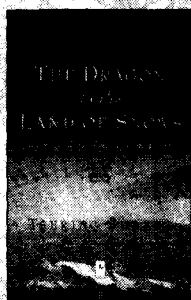
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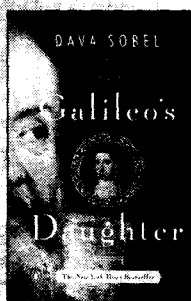
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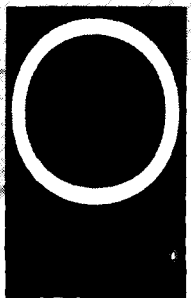


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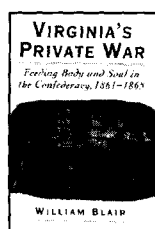
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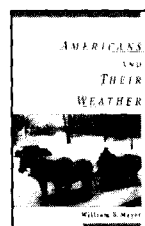
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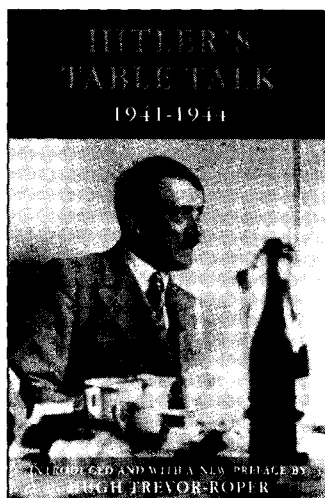
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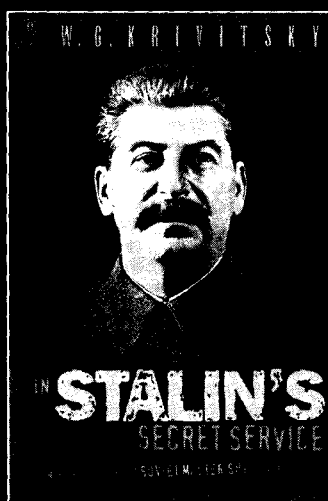
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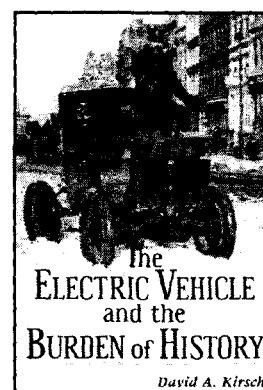
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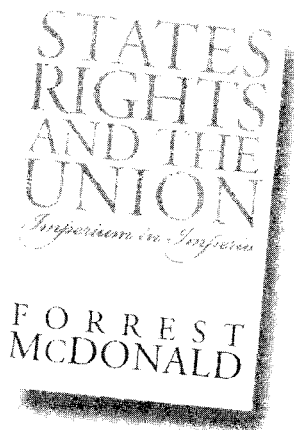
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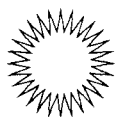
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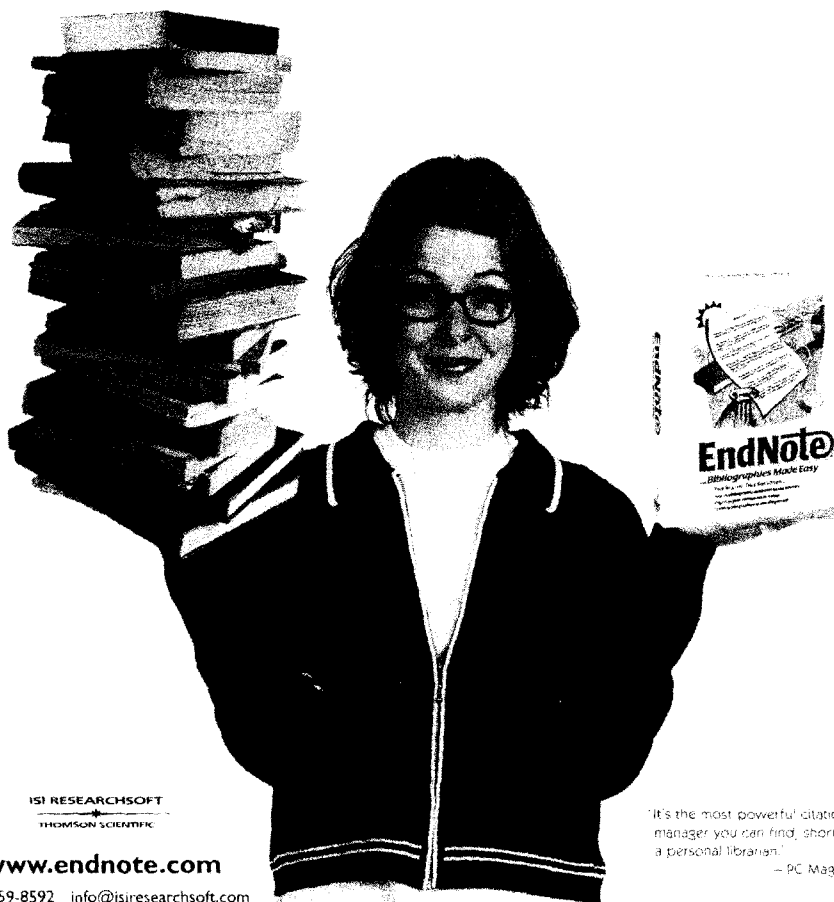
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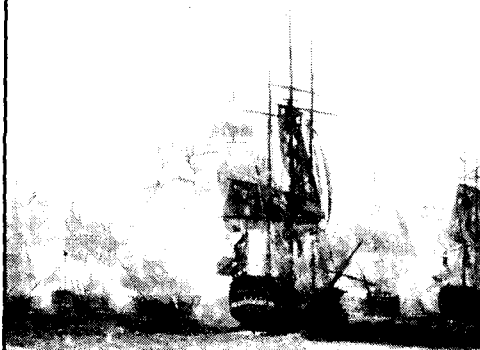
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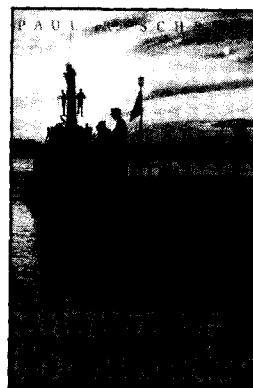
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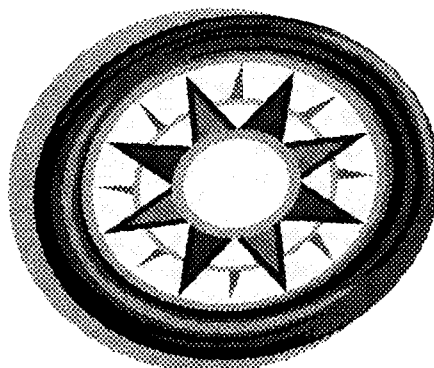
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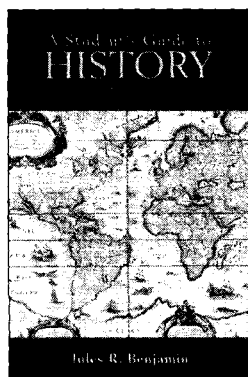
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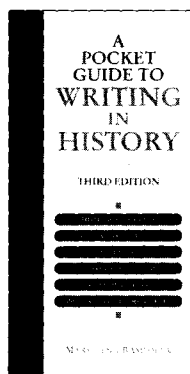
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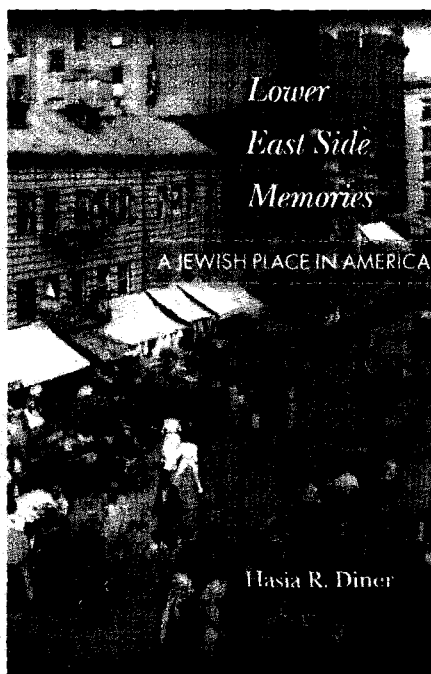
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